Sir Peter Pett.

THE HAPPY Future State of England:

OR,

A DISCOURSE by way of LETTER to the late EARL of *ANGLESEY*, Vindicating Him from the Reflections of an *AFFIDAVIT* Published by the HOUSE of COMMONS, *Ao.* 1680. by occaſion whereof Obſervations are made concerning Infamous WITNESSES.

The ſaid Diſcourſe likewiſe contains various Political Remarks and CALCULATIONS referring to many Parts of Chriſtendom; with Obſervations of the **Number of the People** of *ENGLAND*, and of its Growth in Populouſneſs and **Trade.** The Vanity of the late *Fears* and *Jealouſies* being ſhewn, the Author doth on **Grounds of Nature** Predict the Happy future State of the *Realm.*

At the End of the Diſcourſe,

There is a Caſuiſtical Diſcuſſion of the Obligation to the KING, His Heirs and Succeſſors, wherein many of the Moral Offices of Abſolute and *Unconditional Loyalty* are Aſſerted.

Before the Diſcourſe, is

A large PREFACE, giving an Account of the whole WORK, with an **Index** of the Principal Matters.

ALSO,

The Obligation reſulting from the Oath of SUPREMACY to Aſſiſt and Defend the Preheminence or Prerogative OF THE

Diſpenſative Power

Belonging to the KING, His Heirs and Succeſſors.

In the Aſſerting of that Power, various Hiſtorical Paſſages occurring in the *Uſurpation* after the Year 1641. are mentioned, and an Account is given of the Progreſs of the *Power* of *Diſpenſing*, as to Acts of *Parliament* about *Religion* ſince the Reformation, and of diverſe Judgments of *Parliaments*, declaring their Approbation of the Exerciſe of ſuch Power, and particularly in what concerns Puniſhment by Diſability or Incapacity.

LONDON, Printed MDCLXXXVIII.

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To the Right Honorable the

Earl of Sunderland,

Lord Preſident of His Majeſty's moſt Honorable Privy-Council, and Principal Secretary of State, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the GARTER.

MY LORD,

FOR one who is ſenſible how little he knows of things paſt or preſent, to Dedicate a Diſcourſe of the future State of his Country to your Lordſhip, who are by the Age allow'd to be as Critical a Judge of Men and Things as any it affords, may ſeem to have in it ſomewhat of Preſumption. But when your Lordſhip ſhall have had leiſure to conſider the plain Grounds of Nature, on which my Prediction in the following Papers hath gone, I will not ſo much hope that what I have attempted may appear to have been no Preſuming, as I will expect that your Cenſure will caſt the Preſumption on the other ſide, namely, on ſuch who were Predictors with a continuando, of the Unhappy State of their Country; and eſpecially on the account of the Religion of our moſt Gracious Prince. And were I now to have my Judgment tryed only by that of the Mobile, who meaſure all things by the Events, I account I ſhould be out of the Gunſhot of Cenſure, ſince the courſe of Providence after my writing of the following Work having Conducted His Majeſty to fill the Throne of his Anceſtors with ſo many Royal Virtues, it has been Conſpicuous to them that the Glories of his Reign have tranſcended the higheſt flights of my mentioned Expectation.

And indeed, as I remember to have long ago heard one of the Fathers cited for a Paſſage to this purpoſe, namely, that on a Suppoſal that God recounting to him the Perfections of the Creation, ſhould ask him what he could name wanting, and that he could wiſh, he would anſwer, Unum Laudatorem, Domine, ſo it might till of late be ſaid that in this new Creation or Reſtoration of England under His Majeſty's Reign, the only thing we had with anxiety to wiſh and deſire from God next to the ennabling us to Praiſe his divine Goodneſs, was one whoſe Talent of noble thoughts and words might be adequate to the celebrating the many Talents of our Prince, and their ſucceſsful Improvement both for the Honour and Security, and Eaſe of his People.

But neither is ſuch one Praiſer now wanting; for he who ſhall read the many late Loyal Addreſſes from all Parts of the Kingdom, will find the People of England to be the Unus Laudator.

My

My Lord, as I in the following Diſcourſe almoſt wholly Printed long ago in the laſt Reign during the freedom of the Preſs, adventured on Grounds of Nature to predict ſuch a growth *of* Loyalty, *as would make* all *England* become one ſober Party of Mankind, *and that the more ingenious ſort of Jeſuits would by natural Inſtinct throw off thoſe Principles condemned in this Pope's Decree; and with Juſtice then acknowledged a* Sober Party *in that order, and have at large in* p. 322. *particularly ſhew'd my Abhorrence of charging the belief or practice of thoſe Principles on all Perſons in that Order: So I have likewiſe in* p. 238. *given my Judgment that all Seditious Principles own'd by any who call'd themſelves Proteſtants muſt naturally decay, and have at large in my* Preface. *oppoſed my meaſures of* futurity *to thoſe of a late* Father *of the* Church *of* England *concerning the* two Plots, *that he thought the* Papiſts *and* Diſſenters *would be ever carrying on, and without his Lordſhips excepting the Loyal in thoſe religionary Parties.*

But having ſaid this, I muſt likewiſe ſay that theſe happy births *of* Fate, *having been but (as it were) the* Births *of a* Day *under the Powerful Influences of His Majeſty's Government, or (as I may ſay) a* Nation's *being thus* born *in a* Day, *are beyond what I did expect: and I did little think that with the ſuddenneſs of the motion of Lightning when it melts the Sword and ſpares the Scabbard, His Majeſty's* Declaration *of Indulgence to Diſſenters, would at the ſame time melt ſo many hearts, and all hoſtile Principles of the Doctrine of Reſiſtance wrapp'd therein, as it ſpared the Perſons of the deluded Opiners. I account that any indifferent Obſerver of the extraordinary* ſweetneſs *of the* way *of* painting *their Loyalty in their* Addreſſes *(and which reſembleth the way of* Corregio, *and is as excellent in its kind as that of the Sons of the Church of* England *after the way of the* bolder touches *of* Titian *in their former* Addreſſes, *with the* Style *of* LIVES AND FORTUNES *was in its) muſt be very hard-hearted if he likewiſe be not melted into a new kind of Compaſſion toward ſuch his Brethren; and into a noble ſenſe of a great and good Prince, having made his Subjects of all Religionary Perſwaſions* Lachrymiſts *for* Joy, *and turned all their hearts to invoke Heaven in wiſhing for him according to that* old Style, a long Life, a ſecure Kingdom, a ſafe Houſe, valiant Armies, a faithful Senate, loyal Subjects, the world at Peace, *&c.*

The comparatively narrow Idea's *of Charity and Beneficence that Subjects Minds are capable of toward one another do incline them to think chiefly of* particular *Toleration, and ſuch as we call* Diſpenſation, *and that too with the nicety of Caution, and upon Perſons making the notification of their Principles, and their particular diſclaiming of all Diſloyal ones, previous to their Toleration; and beyond this pitch the flights of my poor thoughts have not gone in the following Work. But His Majeſty having his Great thoughts intent on reſtoring* England *to its ancient Figure in the World, namely of balancing it, and coming to the Throne when he found the Land ſo impoveriſh'd by the Witneſſes Plot, and the ſpirits of the Inhabitants ſo much intimidated with Fears and Jealouſies, he by his own* noble *Jealouſie for the Honour of the Nation hath chaſed away all ignoble Jealouſies for ever, and by ſhewing ſo great an Example of* Univerſal *Confidence in his People, hath by his Auguſt* Genius *found out ſo expedite a way to make the Confidence between the Prince and People mutual (and which is the hinge on which the Happy State of any Country turns) as hath made any general Relapſes into Principles of diſloyalty during his Reign, almoſt morally impoſſible. For according to that Saying of* Tully, Perditiſſimi eſt hominis eum lædere qui læſus non eſſet, niſi credidiſſet, *and the Common Notion that next to the being perfectly good, it is the moſt difficult thing to bring Humane Nature to be perfectly bad, we may well expect a general growth of Loyalty from the Effects of that great*

great Confidence, and the great Spectacle it affords the World, that may be partly expreſſed in the words of the Prophet, viz. The heart of the Father's being turned to the Children, *and the natural Conſequence of the* turning the heart of the Children to their Father; *a more noble work then for an* Elias *to* come *and ſolve Doubts.*

And thus while the Principles of ſome narrow-hearted Divines might ſeem confined, like the Sands in their Hour-glaſſes, yet His Majeſty's great Thoughts and largeneſs of heart *given him by God, being* (*as was ſaid of* Solomon's) *like* the Sands of the Sea ſhoar, *and he having without ſetting up* Weigh-houſes *for Loyalty or Religionary Principles, created univerſal Charity and Peace in the Nation, and allow'd his Subjects a* paulò majora canamus *then verbal Recantations, he by thus truſting his Subjects at once with their Conſciences, hath provided an otherguess Proſpect for Engliſh Minds, then what can riſe from* diſputacity, *or the* Eccleſiarum Scabies, *and hath likewiſe ſecured the tranſmitting of his Character into the Engliſh Chronicles with ſuch Rays of Glory as are brighter then thoſe that have there adorn'd our former Princes, under whom the* Roſes, *and* Scepters *and* Kingdoms *were* united, *through his having ſo much united the hearts of People of all Religions to himſelf, and to one another.*

My Lord, It is here but juſt that I ſhould acknowledge it to your Lordſhip that you have been and are Pars Magna *in ſo highly Contributing by your great Figure at the Helm in the laſt and this preſent Reign, to this happy State of* England. *For while in that Reign ſo many were ſo intent by what an ingenious late Writer calls* The Wheel within a Wheel, *i. e. the Real Plot within the Nominal one of the Witneſſes; and by Out-cries againſt the* Church *of* Rome *to bring in a Roman Republick, your Lordſhip by your moſt wiſe Councels and indefatigable diligence in guarding the Monarchy, and effecting that it ſhould not be plotted away by Names or Things, will appear in the Hiſtory of the Age, as one who perhaps beyond any one now a Subject ſecured the old Fundamental Government of* England, *and upon which only the new future Happineſs of it could ſubſiſt.*

I have entertain'd the Reader with a new Argument of Republicks generally growing more impracticable: but I ſhall do but juſtice to your Lordſhip in repreſenting your very Character *as an* Argument *of ſufficient weight to poiſe the minds of the ingenious and the ingenuous againſt innovations by that ſort of Government. For the World would ſoon want the benefit of the Example of the perfect juſtice inherent in your nature* (*that glorious Virtue that is the allow'd Continent of all the reſt, and neceſſarily attracting the Eyes and Hearts and Veneration of the Populace*) *if Heaven had not fix'd you in the Sphere of Monarchy; a dull Mediocrity of Vertue and of Wit, and reaſon being only eaſie to a popular Government, and nothing but an* Oyſter-Shell *or an* Olive-Leaf *being to be there expected by a Perſon heroically juſt to his Country as his recompence, and his being always liable to ſuch* liberæ accuſationes & Calumniationes *as were under what I have call'd the* Martyrocracy *here in the turbid Interval of the Plot-times, and of the Fears and Jealouſies.*

Your Lordſhip was then by the help of your great Underſtanding and excellent Temper, and your conſtant Serenity of thought, ſævis tranquillus in undis; *and while ſo many of the timid were with their narrow ſpirits in that ſtormy Conjuncture, toſs'd about with exceſſive Fears and Jealouſies, and nauſeous to themſelves and others, your Lordſhips great thoughts like a well-built firſt Rate-Ship, allow'd you both Eaſe and Triumph on the Sea of Time: and in the Night of the Popular Fears, your great Reaſon was directive to the Loyal* tanquam lucerna in navi Prætoriâ *how and where to ſteer their Courſe with ſafety to the Publick.*

While toward the End of the following Diſcourſe, I recollected how much and how far my belief had been with that of many Loyal embarqued in the belief of a Plot *or* the Plot, *I there in* p. 359, *and* 360. *took notice that* the Notions that men had of a Plot were very various: Some then were ſo far gone in credulity, as like the Fool that *Solomon* ſaith believeth every word, they were reſolv'd to believe every thing the Witneſſes had ſaid or would ſay, the Loyal generally acquieſced in the Notification of it as Publiſh'd by the Government; *and I likewiſe call'd to mind what I had during my belief of ſomewhat of it mention'd in thoſe hot Times, and while I was writing the warmeſt part of my Diſcourſe in that Conjuncture, and when generally every heat of mens Paſſions was Feveriſh, and every Fever Peſtilential, and when the* Vitium temporis *was Concurrent with the Faults of the Writer: and there in* p. 14. *obſerving, that* ſince according to the expreſſion of God's not being the God of the Jews only, but alſo of the Gentiles, ſo it being true that the King is King of the Papiſts as well as Proteſtants, King of the Iriſh as well as Engliſh, and a Common Father to them all, it may be worthy of his Royal goodneſs, and a god-like thing in him to diſtribute to them all the kindneſs that would not undo themſelves and others, (i. e. *that they were* capable of) *and having then in* p. 44. *urged the* poſſibility of Recuſants being a ſound part of the State here as well as in *Holland, I held my ſelf obliged to do them and the Courſe of my Impartial obſerving, the right as toward the end of the Diſcourſe to mention it, that* whatever petulance ſome of them were formerly guilty of, yet that the deportment of the generality of them hath of late appear'd with ſuch a Face of Loyalty, as was neceſſarily attractive of our Chriſtian Love and Compaſſion. *And I concluded with the Obſervation,* That it was not for nothing, nor without ſome end that Divine Providence permitted ſo many Proteſtants to erre in one great Point; and that probably it might be to the end to produce in their Minds ſo great a degree of Compaſſion and Charity toward the Perſons of all Roman-Catholick Chriſtians, as may not only laſt in this Conjuncture, but be operative in them by all Moral Offices of Humanity and Chriſtianity during their Lives.

But the Courſe of Providence having further honoured His Majeſty's Government by bringing to light in it the Truth about thoſe odious Matters that particular Roman-Catholicks were charged with, (and for which in the general Judgment of the Impartial they appear now to have been put to Death by falſe Teſtimony) the cry *of ſuch* Blood *may well (I think) paſs for a* loud Call *againſt making the Body of the Roman-Catholicks uneaſie by the Penal Laws, and while the Reaſon for their Severity hath ſo apparently ceaſed.*

As toward the latter end of the Preface *which was committed to Writing in the latter end of the laſt Reign, I mention'd it as the Concordant vogue of the Populace to throw off the belief of the only Perſon referr'd to as a witneſs in the following Diſcourſe, ſo it muſt be acknowledged that Time hath by its births of Diſcovery, now given a juſt occaſion for the laying aſide all the Aggravations there againſt any Principles in the Canon-Law, or the Caſuiſtical Morals of the Jeſuits, that my ſelf and others then built on the Fate of* Godfrey: *and hath according to what I have predicted concerning the Fate of the Principles of the Jeſuites Condemned by this Pope, tacitly evaporating by Fear and Shame, made them appear obſolete. And it is one of the Glories of His Majeſty's Reign, that all thoſe Principles* in terrorem, *which gave occaſion formerly for the Continuance of the Laws* in terrorem, *do now appear offer'd up as Sacrifices to the Juſtice of it. And tho from the account I found in* The Policy of the Clergy *of* France *of the Fact of ſome of the Jeſuits having oppoſed the Publication of that Decree in* France, *as having iſſued from the Pope*

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in his Court of Inquiſition, I took occaſion to dilate on the Aggravations of their Diſobedience to the Pope, yet upon my having ſince enquired into the Tranſactions of the Papal World, I have found Cauſe to abſolve them from any Cenſure of that kind.

And accordingly as the Ingenious Dr. Donne *in his* Pſeudo-Martyr *ſaith, that* Chryſoſtom *expounding that place in* Jeremy, *Domus Dei facta eſt ſpelunca* Hyænæ, *applies it to* the Prieſts of the *Jews* as hardeſt to be converted, *and ſaith,* That the *Hyæna* having (as *Chryſoſtom* obſerves) but one Back-bone, cannot turn except it turn all at once, ſo that the Romaniſt Prieſts having but one Back-bone, the Pope, cannot turn but all at once when he turns; *it muſt be acknowledged that the* Pope *having by that his noble* Decree *done ſo much right to his own Honour, and that of his Church (and indeed of Humane nature) as to damn thoſe tenets, the averſion of the whole Order of the Jeſuites from them was neceſſarily and naturally to happen.*

And from the Doctor *in that Book applying further to the Jeſuites, ſaying,* Chriſt ſaid to thoſe whom he ſent, what I tell you in darkneſs, that ſpeak you in light, and what you hear in the Ear, that preach you in Houſes, and fear not them that kill the Body; and if no other thing were told you in darkneſs, and whiſpered in your Ears at your miſſions hither then that which our Saviour delivered to them, you might be as confident in your publick preaching, and have as much comfort of Martyrdom, if you died for executing ſuch a Commiſſion, *and then reflecting on* the inſtructions that were delivered them in darkneſs *in that Conjuncture, for the promoting thoſe Papal Uſurpations on the Regal Rights, whereby they were delivered from all ſubjection to the King; it may be here occaſionally obſerved that many perſons of our ſeveral Religionary Perſwaſions having for Curioſity gone to hear the publick Preaching of theſe Miſſionaries, have there met with ſuch ingenuous Explications of the Moral Offices that concern the moſt Vital parts of Religion, and thoſe ſo pathetically applied, as that they have looked on ſuch men who were formerly dead in Law, to be as it were ſent from the dead to make others better Chriſtians and better Subjects, and to be thankful for the Diſpenſative Power animating thoſe for that purpoſe, and have found no Cauſe to fear that they had any Politick whiſpers in their Miſſions to oppoſe the Power of our Monarch more then their Brethren do that of the Great Neighbouring one, and to whom in the* litis-pendentia *between him and the Pope about the* Regale, *they adhered.*

My Lord, as to what I adventured to predict of the ſucceſs of his Majeſties Political Meaſures, his paſt Prudence ſo eminently appearing in the Series *of his Great Actions might ſufficiently encourage me without any help from Enthuſiaſme; for* Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia. *And the Suppoſal about his coming to the Throne in great maturity of years, a thing that the prudence of the* Romans *had ſtrict regard to in the Age of their Conſuls (and for which Office none was qualified under the Age of 43 years) and his bringing to the Throne a vaſt Treaſure of Knowledge and Experience refin'd and ſolid by many Experiments of Providence on himſelf, according to the Divine words of* Seneca de provid. Deus quos amat, indurat, recognoſcit, exercet, *might well raiſe the higheſt expectation of his Conduct.*

But yet neither was I without ſome regard therein to the common Courſe of Divine Providence, even in this Life rewarding in any Illuſtrious Perſon a ſignal tenderneſs for Religion, and inquiſitiveneſs in any Controverted Point about it, and at laſt contrary to the moſt valuable ſecular Intereſt determining his thoughts one way tho perhaps erroneouſly; and I will venture to conclude that if it had imported the ſalvation of ſuch an exemplary inquiſitive honourer

of

of God (and who with great holy Exerciſe had defecated his thoughts from ſettlement on any local Religion, as ſuch) to have found out the truth in that Problematick Point, God would have honoured him ſo far as to have ſent an Angel to direct him to it: and will expect that ſuch a one whoſe delight was in the Law of the Lord and therein did meditate day and night, *tho he perhaps comprehended not every thing aright in it, yet that* he ſhall be like a Tree planted by the Rivers of Water, that brings forth his fruit in his Seaſon, and that his Leaf ſhall not wither, and that whatever he doth ſhall proſper: *and that his* ways *thus*, pleaſing God, he will make even his Enemies to be at peace with him, *and that he* who makes peace in his high places, and who can make peace between high and low, and makes men to be of one mind in an Houſe, *will bleſs him with theſe Effects, and make him* grow in favour with God and Man.

My Lord, I ſhall in the next place take occaſion to acquaint your Lordſhip that in the Preface (and which every Candid Reader of any Book will peruſe before his reading of the Book) I do explain my ſelf more clearly about ſome things and words writt in the turbid times, and which as one ſaith well, are the worſt times to write in tho the beſt to write of: and I do not fear the wanting any mans pardon who ſhall read over the whole, and which may well be expected before the allowance of his Exceptions, *tho it may ſeem as copious as one of the Bankers Bills in Chancery. But becauſe the former part of the Diſcourſe neceſſarily requiring thoſe courſer Colours relating to Popery to be firſt laid on, before the finer ones and the gilding on the happy Future State of our Country; and for that to trouble any ingenious men now with Notions of Popery were to hinder their repoſe in the ſtate I foretold, I have been at the pains of making a* large INDEX, *and where I have directed the Reader how and where to enter into the* New Heaven *and* New Earth *of his Country, without paſſing through the* Purgatory *of any expreſſions about Popery or the Plot: and perhaps the more Loyal and Ingenious Recuſants whether Roman-Catholick or Proteſtants there taking notice of ſome grateful paſſages relating to ſome who were formerly of their perſwaſions being placed near others that are leſs ſo, may be the more pleaſed therewith, accordingly as my Lord* Bacon *obſerves, that a* Roſe *ſet by* Garlick *is the ſweeter.*

Heaven having furniſhed your Lordſhips mind with ſo many Excellencies that are extraordinary, I could wiſh that it had been my ability or fortune to have here provided for your Entertainment ſomewhat of value that was not vulgar. But my eſſaying, or offering here and there at ſome matter of thought which by receiving its Form from your Lordſhips great reaſon, and particularly in p. 158. *and the following ones in my making it a* Fundamental Principle for the quiet of the World, that men are neither to get nor loſe by Religion, *and my diſtinguiſhing in mens* Hypotheſes *between their* Principles *denominable as* Religionary, *and ſuch* Complicated *therewith that are not ſo, and my having judged that* none ought to be ſevere to any Recuſant before he hath a Moral Certainty of ſuch perſon having imbibed any of the Principles imputable to Recuſancy that are irreligionary and unnatural, *and my defiance of the petulance of the Faction by my placing Lawrels on thoſe Heads at which it was throwing dirt, and my ſhewing how not only Chriſtians of the Roman-Catholick Church in its great ſpreading Latitude, but even thoſe of the more particular Church of* Rome, *and reverers of the Dioceſs or Court of* Rome, *are under no obligation by the* LATERAN Councel *to be either Perſecutors or diſloyal, may ſhew ſomewhat of my honeſt well wiſhes in this kind.*

I am not ſo vain as to think that any thing relating to Numbers or Political Calculations *in the* Diſcourſe *can appear new to your Lordſhip, who are ſo great a Maſter in that kind of Knowledge, that the moſt Curious of the Age may therein beg inſtruction from you. But I ſhall here preſume to acquaint your*

Lordſhip,

Lordſhip, that I obſerving that many in the late Conjuncture whom I looked on as honeſt, loyal, and learned and ingenious men, and ſome who had formerly a guſto *for the real Learning that refers to number, weight and meaſure, did render their Converſation ſo uneaſie by talking of nothing but* Popery, Popery (*and which I looked on as unentertaining and nauſeous as the* Porke, porke & porke) *I thought it might be publickly uſeful to lay open a new Scene of Thought before ſuch Perſons by ſhewing them ſome Calculations relating to the* numbers *of the People of* England, *founded on ſomewhat like Records, and ſome to its gradual encreaſe in Trade as well as populouſneſs, and others relating to other parts of the World, whereby their Souls having ſomewhat like a new intellectual World before them to expatiate in, might no longer be confined to a perplext word.*

Tet moreover conſidering how lately it was that they came out of that Conjuncture of Panic *fears, when ſo many who went to Bed without their Brains were afraid of riſing without their Heads, and that as our Engliſh World was* emerging *out of the late general* DELUGE *of Fears and Jealouſies where* omnia pontus erant, *&c. the Curious beheld the ſeveral births of Mens Reaſons attended with Imperfections like thoſe of the Animals referr'd to;*

——& in his quædam modo cæpta per ipſum,
Naſcendi ſpatium, quædam imperfecta, ſuiſque
Trunca vident humeris: & eodem corpore ſæpe
Altera pars vivit, rudis eſt pars altera tellus;

and thus ſaw the ſpectacles of mens various Underſtandings gradually creeping into ſenſe and reaſon, and not ſuddenly likely to be perfected: I ſhew'd ſo much Complaiſance to them, as in ſtead of haſtily removing their Thoughts from the Courſe *ſoil of* Popery *or the old Papal Uſurpations, to build my Fabricks of Numbers and Calculations upon it: and I may ſay, that finding their vitiated Fancies relliſh'd nothing at that time grateful but the thoughts about Popery, I then choſe to make that the* Vehicle *of the Notions I meant as Phyſick for their Cure.*

According to the way of judging of the Draught and Proportion in perſpective Painting by their reſpect to the Eye being directed to the Center therein, any ordinary Reader's judgment will be carry'd by the Index *to find what was principally aim'd at in the following Diſcourſe, namely to incline him to preſerve the hæreditary Monarchy. And he will there find that my next aim to that was in a great part of the Work to diſpoſe thoſe who formerly had been diffident of their Prince, to* Promote the Public Supplies for the neceſſary Support of the Government. *And my judging that* our moſt eminent Patriots would be inclined to value themſelves as ſuch, on the promoting the ſame, *may to ſome appear as the moſt* ſanguine *part of my Predictions. But as I leave it to any indifferent man to judge of the grounds of Nature I went on in ſo doing, ſo I may ſome way ſupport the Credit of my meaſures of futurity in that Affair by the paſt event of the Loyal Confidence in His Majeſty ſhewn by his late Parliament in their proceeding ſo far as they did in Supporting the Government; and may add that His Majeſty's vaſt Expences that have been ſince ſo Conſpicuous to the World in his Naval Preparations, and otherwiſe in the Providing for the Security and Honour of the Nation, may well incline any one elſe to judge well of ſuch Patriotly temper of any future Parliament, and to allow of the Reaſons by me urged as more Cogent for the preſent Reign then the former, conſidering the Preparations of our Neighbors that have been ſince augmented.*

Tet however, I doubt not but that if it had been Gods will further to have lengthen'd the laſt reign, the Courſe of Nature would then have operated as I

have mention'd. And if it ſhall appear that thoſe natural Conſiderations I have urged ſhall have the ſucceſs of ſuch further Parliamentary Supplies to His gracious Majeſty, as may tend to the further greatning of his Character and that of the Kingdom, I ſhall account my claim the more equitable to have the pardon of my fellow Subjects of what Religionary Sect ſoever for any thing in this Diſcourſe that may diſguſt them. And, as an eminent Proteſtant *Divine hath in a Printed Sermon thus ſaid,* viz. That man is not worthy to breathe in ſo good a Land as *England* is, who would not willingly lay down his life to cure the preſent diviſions and diſtractions that are among us, *I ſhall ſay that any Subject deſerves not to live here under the Indulgence of ſo good a Prince, who for the helping him to money by all due means for the defence of this good Land, would not wiſh himſelf as well as his Bigottry a Sacrifice; and who would not as to any Extravagant daſh of a Pen lighting on his Party, and bringing Money to his Prince, cry* fœlix peccatum, *rather then ſuch Diviſions and Diſtractions and Diffidences of the Government, and ſtifling of Publick Supplies ſhould ſtill live as were formerly known in ſome Conjunctures, and when the Art of Demagogues appear'd ſo ſpightful in endeavours to fruſtrate the Meetings of Parliaments.*

But our Prince having freed all his diſſenting Subjects from their uneaſineſs under Pecuniary Mulcts for Religion, and the Members of the Church of England *from the uneaſineſs of impoſing ſuch* Soul-Money, *will, I doubt not, when he ſhall pleaſe to Call a Parliament, find from them ſuch neceſſary Supplies for the ſupport of the Body of the Kingdom, as may eaſe him under the weight of his great Deſires for it: and that it will then appear to all as abſurd to Crown ſuch a Head with Thorns as hath taken the Thorn out of every man's foot in* England: *and that his paſs'd Sufferings for his Conſcience (and others of his Communion having too ſuffer'd for his Conſcience) beſpeaking us in thoſe words of the Apoſtle,* Fulfil ye my joy; *that both his and theirs will be then Conſummated, and as the Joy of thoſe of the Church of* England, *and of all nominal Churches in* England *hath been fulfill'd by him: and that as* Luther *was pleas'd in a Chriſtian-like tranſport of good Nature to Profeſs in his* Epiſtle *to* Jeſelius *a Jew,* Me propter Unum Judæum Crucifixum omnibus favere Judæis, *we ſhall for the ſake of one of the Roman-Catholick Communion, who hath formerly ſuffer'd ſo much for his Conſcience, and ſince done ſo much for the freedom of ours, ſhew all thoſe of that Communion our favour to ſuch a proportion as may compleat his and their Joy.*

My Lord, I am here obliged to acknowledge, that tho while the ſeveral Parts of the following Work were written in the times the Government charged both Papiſts and Anti-Papiſts with Diſloyalty and Plots, I expreſs'd my ſenſe of the Non-adviſableneſs to have the Penal Laws againſt them repeal'd, pending ſuch Charge and Plots; I deſire the Reader to look on me as very far from inſiſting on any thing of that nature in this Happy State of England, *now that the* Corner Stone (*and that ſome of* the Builders rejected) *hath thus ſucceſsfully united the ſides of the Fabrick of the Government in Loyalty.*

My Lord, It is near a year ſince I writ my Thoughts at large concerning the Subject of the Repealing thoſe Laws, and they are in the Fourth Part *of my Work about* The Diſpenſative Power (*of which the* two firſt Parts *conclude this Volume*) *ready for the Preſs; and reſerving my poor Judgment in this great Point till the Publication of the whole, I think I ſhall then ſet forth my Opinion as founded on* Medium's *that have not appear'd in Print from other Writers, and which I believe will not only not give offence to any Member of the Church of* England, *but be of general uſe in allaying the* ferment *the Queſtion hath occaſion'd.*

And

And if as they who were long fellow-Paſſengers in a Ship among violent Tempeſts and Hirricanes, do uſually from their being Participants together in the danger and horror, take occaſion to raiſe a friendly eſteem and well-wiſhes for each other, ſuch of the Loyal whoſe belief I referr'd to, as imbarqued with mine in that of the Plot *during the late Stormy Conjuncture, ſhall be the more favourable to what I write, I ſhall be glad both for their ſakes as well as mine; but do further judge that what I have ſo largely in the following* Diſcourſe *aſſerted (and by* Reaſons *taken from* Nature) *concerning the Moral impoſſibility of the belief of the* Tenets *of the Church of* Rome *gaining ground here conſiderably, on the belief of the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *will tend to ſecure any one from fears of our loſing our Religion by any loſs of the* Teſt *that may happen: a thing that none (I think) will fear, who are of the Judgment of the* Houſe of Commons *in their* Addreſs to the late King *on the* 29th *of* November, 1680. *(that I have referr'd to in my* Fourth Part*) and where they ſay, that* POPERY hath rather gain'd then loſt Ground ſince the TEST ACT, *and make* that Act to have had little effect. *I have in the following Diſcourſe referr'd to that Act as repreſented to have had its rice in the year* 1673. *from the alledged* petulant Inſolence *of Papiſts in that Conjuncture, and I took notice of a learned* Lord *ſince deceas'd as vouching ſomewhat in Print of ſuch temper among ſome of them. And a* Proclamation *that year charging the* Papiſts *therewith, I was* implicitly *guided thereby to take the thing for granted, and as to the which, conſidering ſince the publick Paſſages in that Conjuncture, I have otherwiſe judged. But as I think no loyal Roman-Catholick ſhould in that Conjuncture have ſuffer'd any Prejudice for any ill Behaviour of any other of that Communion then, much leſs ought any ſuch thing be now; and when there appears ſo noble and general a ſpirit of Emulation among all men of ſenſe in the* Diffuſive *Body of the People about who ſhall make the* Head *and all Members of that Body moſt eaſie: and for the doing which we may well hope that the People* repreſentative, *and the other Eſtates of the Realm will come with all due* Preparation *of* Mind, *when it ſhall pleaſe His Gracious Majeſty to aſſemble them.*

My Lord, I have nothing further to add but my begging your Lordſhip's Pardon for this trouble, and my owning the many Obligations I am under to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Obedient

Servant,

P. P.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE Earl of *Angleſy* having ſhewed me an *Affidavit* and *Information* againſt him, delivered at the *Barr* of the *Houſe of Commons*, on the 20*th* of *October* 1680. and *printed* by *Order* of that *Houſe*, and in which *Affidavit* and *Information* he was Charged with Endeavours to ſtifle ſome Evidence of the *Popiſh Plot*, and to promote the belief of a *Presbyterian* one, and with encouraging *Dugdale* to recant what he had ſworn, and promiſing to harbour him in his Houſe, and that his *Lordſhips Prieſt* ſhould there be his Companion and likewiſe watch him, his Lordſhip being thereupon deſirous that right ſhould be done him by a printed *Vindication*, was pleaſed to Command my Pen therein: and I was the leſs unwilling to diſobey his Commands, becauſe in that *Conjuncture* wherein ſo many *Loyal* and *Noble* Perſons were ſufferers by the humour of *Accuſation* then *regnant*, I held it a *Patriotly* thing to withſtand its *Arbitrarineſs*.

Sir *W. P.* in an Excellent *Manuſcript* of his, called, *The Political Anatomy of* Ireland, hath one *Chapter* there, *Of the Government of* Ireland *apparent or external*, and the Government *internal*: and he deſcribes the *apparent* Government there to be by *the King and Three Eſtates, and with the Conduct of Courts of Juſtice*, but makes the *internal* Government there to depend much on the Potent Influence *of the many Secular Prieſts and Fryars on the numerous* Iriſh Roman *Catholicks, and on thoſe Prieſts and Fryars being governed by their Biſhops and Superiors, and on the Miniſters of Foreign States, governing and directing ſuch Superiors*: and thus while *England* was bleſt with the beſt *external* Government, namely of *Monarchy*, and with the beſt *Monarch* and a Loyal Nobility and Commons, yet after the detection of a *Popiſh Plot*, ſeveral Perſons under the Notion of *Witneſſes* about the ſame, made ſo great a Figure in the Government, and were ſo Enthroned in the Minds of the *Populace*, that the *Office* of the King's *Witneſſes* was as powerful as ever was that of the *high Conſtable of* England, and the *internal* Government of the Kingdom was then very much as I may ſay a *Martyrocracy*, and by that hard name the Noiſy part of Proteſtants Endeavoured to gain Ground as much as ever any peaceable ones did by the old known Name of *Martyrology*.

But as all *external* Forms of Government have ſome peculiar defects as well as Conveniences, ſo did this *internal* Government appear to have; and thoſe too ſo dreadful, that the Air of Teſtimony having ſometimes got into the wrong place, was likely to have made Earth-Quakes in the *external* Government: and as the *Militia* that after the *Epoche* of 41 was cal-

led the *Parliaments Army*, did before the fatal time of 48, produce the Revolution of the *Army's Parliament*, ſo were we endangered after the *Plot-Epoche* of 78, to have heard of the Office of the *King's Witneſſes* changed into another, namely, of the *Witneſſes* Kings.

And whoever ſhall write the *Engliſh* Hiſtory of that part of time wherein that *Martyrocracy* was ſo powerful and domineering, will (if he ſhall think fit to give a denomination to that *Interval* of *Time*, and to found the ſame on moſt of the *Narratives* he ſhall read, or the *Sham-Papers* that many Papiſts and Proteſtants after the Plot Attaqued each other with,) be thought not abſurd, if he gives the old *Style* of *Intervallum* ἄδηλον, *incertum*, or of μυθικὸν *fabuloſum*.

It was in the time of the moſt Triumphant State of this *Internal* Government, that I undertook to weigh its Empire, as I have done in *p.* 33, 34, 35. diſcuſſing the points of *Infamous Witneſſes* and their *Infamy*, and of their *Credibility* after pardon of *Perjury* or *Crimes and Infamy incurred:* and a bolder man than my ſelf would hardly have dared in that Conjuncture to have ſifted their *Prerogative*, and (as I may ſay) to have put hungry Wolves into Scales, and to have taken the dimenſions of the Paws of Lions, or to have handled the ſtings of Serpents, without expreſſing againſt ſome of the Romaniſts Principles he thought Irreligionary, all the zeal he thought conſiſtent with Charity and Candour to the Perſons of Papiſts, which is ſo much done in the Body of this *Diſcourſe*, and without the expreſſing of which my *Vindicating* a *Noble* Perſon from being a Papiſt, had been an abſurdity.

However I have been careful in any *Moot-points* of *Witneſſes*, not to diſturb in the leaſt the Meaſures of the *External* Government about them; and out of the tender regard due to the ſafety of Monarchs from all Subjects, have in *p.* 205 aſſerted the Obligation of doing every thing that is fairly to be done, to ſupport the Credits of *Witneſſes* produced in the Caſe of *Treaſon*, and have there given a particular reaſon for it: and have in *p.* 36. with a *Competent* reſpect mentioned *Dugdale* on the occaſion of the *Shamm* ſworn againſt the Earl of *Angleſy*, as if his *Lordſhip* had undertook to have unjuſtly patronized him: and have ſhewed my ſelf inclined enough to belief credible Witneſſes, by the Concurrence of my thoughts with the *Juſtice* of the Nation in *Godfrey*'s Caſe; and the fate of which Perſon, and the *Caſuiſtical* Principles that allowed it, I had perhaps not mentioned, but out of a juſt indignation againſt the infamous *Shamms* about it ſpread by ſome ill Papiſts to the diſhonour of that Excellent Lord the Earl of *Danby*.

But there was another Conſideration that induced me to write with ſuch a Zeal as aforeſaid, againſt ſuch *Romaniſts* Principles and their effects; and but for which the following Diſcourſe had not ſwollen to a large Volume.

I obſerved that ſince the late *Fermentation* in *England*, ſuch a *Panique* Fear of *the Growth of Popery*, and the numbers of *Papiſts* had been by Knaves propagated among Fools that made the *Engliſh* Nation appear ſomewhat ridiculous abroad, and that during its Courſe many conſiderable Proteſtants were ſo far mis-led, as to think the State of the Nation could never be reſtored to it ſelf, but by diſturbing the *Succeſſion* of the Crown in its lawful Courſe of *Deſcent*: and therefore reſolving to do my utmoſt to free the Land from the Burthen of another gueſs *Perjury*, by the general Violence done to our Oaths *Promiſſory* (I mean to thoſe of Allegiance and Supremacy) then that of any Witneſſes in their Oaths *Aſſertory*, I thought fit at large to ſhew the Vanity of any Mens fearing

that

that Popery can ever (*humanly* ſpeaking) be the National Religion of *England*; and to direct them that they may not, by the imaginary danger of Popery to come, run with all their ſwelling Sails on the Rock of it at preſent, by *founding Dominion in Grace*, and out-rage thoſe Oaths that do at preſent bind us without reſerve to pay Allegiance to the King's Heirs after his *demiſe*.

And for any one who being concerned to ſee ſo many of his Countrymen lying (as it were) on the Ground, and dejected with unaccountable fears of the extermination of their Religion and themſelves, and beſmearing themſelves with the dreadful guilt of their great Oaths, was reſolved to endeavour to help them up, and by perſwaſion gently to lead them to ſuch a high Proſpect of thought, from whence they might at once have a view of the *paſt* and *preſent* State of Popery here and abroad in former Ages, and likewiſe of its probable future one, (a *ſight* that might better entertain Curioſity than what the *Traveller* ſpeaks of, when from a high Mountain in the *Iſthmus* of *America*, he could view both the great *North* and *South* Sea) not to have rendered himſelf an acceptable *Perſwader* by his *Diſcourſe* carrying with it *Self-Evidence* that he was no Papiſt, had been a vain attempt.

And again for any one who would perſwade the generality of Popiſh or Proteſtant Recuſants, that it is not their Intereſt by any Artifices to endeavour to make ſo great a Figure in the *Internal* Part of the Government as they have in ſome former *Conjunctures*, without his Diſcourſe carrying likewiſe *Self-Evidence*, that his *Advice* was that of a Friend to their Perſons, as far as the publick Security would admit, had been an attempt as inſignificant as the former.

I have in this *Diſcourſe* often took notice of this *diſtinction* of the *Tenets* of *Popery* and *Presbytery*: *viz.* Such of them that properly are *denominable* by *Religion*, and ſuch that are not: preſuming in my private judgment to differ from the Meaſures took by the Government in King *James* his time, when the printed *Prayers* for the *Anniverſary* of the *Gun powder Treaſon* repreſented Papiſts *Religion* to be *Rebellion*; and I under the Notion of Principles *denominable* by *Religion* have ranked *Tranſubſtantiation*, *Purgatory*, *Invocation of Saints*, and others, and have judged none of their Principles Irreligionary, but ſuch as the late Learned Earl of *Clarendon* in his incomparable defence of Dr. *Stillingfleet* attributes to Popery, as injurious to Princes and their Subjects, and what King *James* in his *Speech* to *both Houſes*, hinted as ſuch (according to what is cited by me *p.* 172.) viz. *As it is not impoſſible but many honeſt men ſeduced with ſome Errors in Popery may yet remain good and faithful Subjects, ſo on the other hand none that know and believe the Grounds and School-Concluſions of their Doctrine, can ever prove good Chriſtians or faithful Subjects*: and ſuch as are apparently contrary to the Light and Law of Nature.

But there is nothing in this *Diſcourſe* otherwiſe than *en paſſant*, that impugns or confutes the old Religionary Points controverted formerly between the Church of *England* and that of *Rome*, and all the paſſages throughout referring to thoſe old points, might (I believe) be comprized together in about a *Page*.

And if I were as in a *Dictionary* to expreſs the ſenſe of the words, *Popery* and *Irreligionary* ſo often uſed in this *Diſcourſe*, I would ſay that generally by *Popery*, or (as the Writers in Latin call it, *Papiſmus*) I mean the power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, in impoſing *Creeds* and Doctrines

and

and Rules of Divine Worſhip on Men, and his Juriſdiction interloping in that of Princes and their Laws, and the doing this by the Charter of *Jus Divinum*, and as he is Chriſts pretended Vicar; and by the term of *Irreligionary* ſo often by me applied to Principles, I ſometimes mean ſuch as are barely *NOT* religionary, that is to ſay, Principles that are not in truth and in the nature things, parts of *Religion*, whatever any Sanction of the Papacy or a Presbytery may term them, and which do not *religare* or *bind* the Soul to God by *Moral* Obligations, nor by any *Band* of *Loyalty* to our Prince or *Charity* to our Neighbour, but do only tie men to a Party and to the owning with them ſeveral points of *ſpeculation*, and no more neceſſary to be believed in order to our improvement in Moral Offices that the Divine Law natural or poſitive enjoyns, or conducing to the ſame, than are the *Hypotheſes* of the old or new Philoſophy.

But I moſt commonly apply the word *Irreligionary* to Principles that are *reverâ* contrary to Religion, and Juſtice, and Morality, and ſuch as I would therefore diſ-robe of the Name of Religion; and under this term of *Irreligionary* not only all the Antimonarchical Principles of the Jeſuites and Presbyterians are properly to be reckoned, but thoſe Principles of the *Papacy* that even in the times of our *Roman* Catholick Anceſtors, (as I ſaid) *were ſo injurious to our Princes and their Subjects*, and which were by them as *Uſurpations* on the Crown oppoſed and defied, and eſpecially by thoſe of them who were in their tempers moſt Magnanimous: and in this Caſe the *Papal* Principles that favoured thoſe *Uſurpations* on the rights of our Princes, might be ſaid to be both *Non-Religionary*, or things beſide the matter of Religion, and likewiſe *Irreligionary* or contrary to Religion, as being unjuſt.

The *Religio Officii* (as *Tully* calls *the Conſcience one hath to do his duty*) did bind thoſe Princes of the *Pope's* Religion, to impugne his Arbitrary Uſurpations on their Realms: and in the Caſe of the meaneſt *Cottager* of *England*, the *Pope's* Excommunication was never allowed good in *Weſtminſter-Hall* under our *Roman* Catholick Kings.

The latter end of the very Reign of Queen *Mary*, was likely to have diverted our *Engliſh* World with the ſight of as remarkable a *Prize* played between the two *Swords*, (I mean the *Pope's Spiritual* and her *Temporal* one) as was ever played on its Stage: and when Cardinal *Pool* her Kindſman who had reconciled our Nation to *Rome*, was ſo far loſt in the *Pope's* good Graces, as that his *Legantine* Power was abrogated by the Pope, and in affront to *Pool* given to *Peito* a poor Friar; but whoſe red Hat by Queen *Mary's* oppoſition could get no further than *Callis*; and She was ſo regardleſs of the *Pope's* Curſes in the Caſe, that his *Bulls* in favour of his new *Legate* were not permitted to Arrive here, and the deſigned *Legate* was enforced to go up and down the Streets of *London* like a begging Friar without a red Hat. And more need not be here ſaid to expreſs the *Principles* that Uſurp on Monarchs to be *Irreligionary*.

When I have in the former part of the *Diſcourſe* once or twice mentioned the term of *Apoſtates*, for ſome turning to the Church of *Rome*, I did there ſpeak *Cum vulgo*, and likewiſe according to the *Style* of our *Courts Chriſtian*, which proceeding againſt ſome perverted to the Church of *Rome*, impute to them the Crime of *Apoſtacy*: but having obſerved in the Progreſs of this Diſcourſe, that that term was ſeditiouſly uſed by the Diſciples of *Julian*, I have reprehended the further calling any men *Apoſtates*, for the alteration of their judgments in ſome controvertible points of faith between *Papiſts* and Proteſtants, and that may without abſurdity be called Tenets of *Religion*.

As

As to the expreſſion of the *Extermination* of Popery. and likewiſe of Presbytery uſed in this *Diſcourſe* ſometimes, (and with alluſion to the trite term of the *Papacy*, viz. *Exterminium hæreticorum*) I have there in *p.* 283 ſufficiently expreſſed my abhorrence of the *Extermination* of *Perſons*, and (as is there ſaid) do only *refer to the Extermination of Things and Principles Religionary, and indeed to ſpeak more properly of that part of Mens Principles only that is Irreligionary and againſt Nature.*

The words of exterminating and recalling are often uſed by *Cicero* as ſignifying the contrary: and when Mr. *Coleman*'s Letters ſhewed ſuch an imperious deſign in him for the *Revocation* of *Popery* that had been driven away, and baniſhed or exterminated hence by ſo many *Acts* of *Parliament*, and even for the Extermination of Hereſie out of the *North*, as occaſioned ſuch apprehenſions in the Government of what was intended by other innocent and modeſt Papiſts, that made the gentleſt of Princes in a *Speech* in the *Oxford* Parliament ſay, *and if it be practicable* the ridding our ſelves quite of all of that Party that have any conſiderable Authority, &c. none need wonder at the paſt warmth of Subjects expreſſed againſt the *Recalling* of the *Exterminated* Papal Power: nor yet at the warmth of their Zeal againſt the Principles of the *Jeſuites*, propagating an *Internal* Power here when they had been exterminated from *Rome* it ſelf: and when the Lord *Chancellors Speech* to both Houſes had mentioned the Proceedings againſt Proteſtants in Foreign Parts; to look as if they were *intended to make way for a general Extirpation.*

They are poor Judges of things who think that Doctrines of Religion cannot be ſaid to be exterminated out of Kingdoms, and their Laws without the Baniſhment of the Perſons profeſſing them. Who accounts not Proteſtancy ſufficiently exterminated from being the State-Religion in *Italy*, and yet *Sandies* his *Europæ ſpeculum* tells us, *That there were* 40000 *profeſſed Proteſtants there.* Is not *Judaiſm* ſufficiently Exterminated from being the Religion at *Rome*, tho thouſands of profeſſed *Jews* are there tolerated?

'Tis the publick *approbation* of *Tenets* or Doctrines, and not any forbearance or indulgence to perſons who profeſs them, that gives Doctrines a place within the Religion of a State: for to make any State approve of a Doctrine contrary to what it hath Eſtabliſhed, is a *Contradiction.* But the truth is, the famous Nation of the *Jews* (formerly Heavens *peculiar People* on Earth) having not been more generally guilty of *Idolatry* during their proſperity, than of *Superſtition* during their Captivity and Oppreſſion, and Extermination from their Country, hath taught the World this great truth that the readieſt way to propagate *Superſtition*, and Error is by the *Exterminium* and Baniſhment of Perſons.

Whatever Church any men call their *Mother*, if the Magiſtrate finds them to own the Intereſt of their *Country* as their *Mother*, and to honour their true Political *Father*, they cannot wiſh their *days more long in the Land* than I ſhall do.

I remember under the *Uſurpation* there paſſed an *Act* of *Parliament* (as'twas called) *for the baniſhment* of that famous Boute-feu *John Lilburn*: and under the Penalty of the *Ultimum ſupplicium*, and he ſhortly after returning to *England*, and being tried in *London* where he was univerſally known, and the only thing *iſſuable* before the *Jurors* being *whether he was the ſame* John Lilburn, thoſe good men and true thought him ſo much tranſubſtantiated, as to bring him in *not guilty*: and when ever I

find any Papiſt not only willing to change the *Name* Papiſt for Catholick, but the thing *Papiſtry*, for the *Principles* of the Church of *Rome* under its firſt good Biſhops, and before *Popes* beyond a *Patriarchal* Power aſpired to be Univerſal Biſhops and Univerſal Kings, and that even a *Jeſuite* inſtead of the Rule of *Jeſuita eſt omnis homo*, hath alter'd his Morals and Principles purſuant to the *Pope's* ſaid *Decree*, ſo far as truly to ſay, *Ego non ſum ego*, I ſhall not intermeddle in awakening Penal Laws to touch either his life or liberty.

Nor can any *Presbyterians* with juſtice reflect on the Zeal of any for the Continuance of the Laws, for the *Extermination* of *Presbytery*, when they ſhall reflect on the Royal Family having been by their means (as is ſet forth in this Diſcourſe) *exterminated* out of the Realm into Foreign Popiſh Countries: and of which they might eaſily have ſeen the ill effects, if their underſtandings had notbeen very ſcandalouſly dull.

But there is another happy *Extermination* that I have in this Diſcourſe from Natural Cauſes predicted to my Country, and that is of the fears and jealouſies that have been ſo prevalent during our late *fermentation*: concerning which the *Reader* will ſhortly find himſelf referred to in many Pages in this Diſcourſe, and to have directed him to all of that Nature would have made the *Index* a *Book*.

I have in this *Diſcourſe* deſigning to eradicate the fears of Popery out of the Minds of *timid* Proteſtants, by the moſt rational perſwaſions I could, ſhewed ſomewhat of *Complaiſance* in ſometimes humouring their *Suppoſitions* of things never likely to come to paſs. I have accorded with them in the *poſſibility* of the Event of Arch-Biſhop *Uſher's* Famous *Prophecy*, tho I account the ſame as remote from likelihood as any one could wiſh it: and do believe that if that Great and Learned Man could have foreſeen the miſchief that *Prophecy* hath occaſioned by making ſo many of the Kings good Subjects diſquieted thereby, (and which by at once *Chilling* their Hearts and heating their Heads, hath rendered them leſs qualified for a chearful and ſteady diſcharge of their reſpective Duties) he would have conſulted privately with many other *Learned* and *Pious Divines* about the intrinſick weight of the matter revealed to him, before he had expoſed it to the World: for that in the days when *God ſpake by the Prophets*, yet even then *the Spirits of the Prophets were* always *ſubject to the Prophets*: and there is no *Fire* in the World ſo *bad a Maſter* as the *Fire* of Prophecy.

It is obſervable that there hath ſcarce ſince this Prophecy been a *Conjuncture* of time wherein men uneaſie to themſelves would make the Government ſo, but this *Prophecy* hath been *reprinted* in it and cryed about, and few *Enthuſiaſts* but are as *perfect* in it as a *Sea-man* in his *Compaſs*.

The ſubſtance of it was to foretel Perſecution that ſhould happen in *England*, from the Papiſts in the way of a ſudden Maſſacre, and that the *Pope* ſhould be the Contriver of it, and that if the King were reſtored it might be a little longer deferred.

A perſon leſs learned than that Great Prelate could eaſily give an Account of the paſt Out-rages of Maſſacres that have been perpetrated by Papiſts, and of the tendency of the *Jeſuites* Principles to the very legitimating of Future ones: but the moſt Pious and Learned Man in the World ought with the greateſt Caution imaginable to pretend to Divine Revelation of Future Contingencies, in a matter both ſo unlikely and ſo odious as this, and which might probably occaſion ſo much Odium to ſo many innocent

innocent Papiſts, and ſo much needleſs trouble to ſo many timid Proteſtants.

That Pious and Great *Prelate* did not (I believe) foreſee that at the time when his *Prophecy* ſhould dart its moſt fearful influences, St. *Peter's* Chair would be filled with a Perſon of ſo great Morality and Vertue as the preſent *Pope* is, and a Pope that would brand the ſicarious Principles of thoſe *Janizaries* of former Popes, the Jeſuites, and that he would be by ſo many *Roman* Catholicks called *the Lutheran Pope*, and that the Papiſts numbers would be here ſo comparatively ſmall long before this time, as to render it abſurd to think that without the Execution of Heavens *Penal Law* of an infatuation upon them, they will ever attempt any ſuch deſperate deſign againſt ſuch vaſt Numbers protected by the beſt of Princes under the beſt of Governments.

Whatever Principles of *Irreligion* any particular diſſolute Papiſts might by any be ſuppoſed to retain, it is not to be ſuppoſed but that they who ſhew reſpect enough to *Numbers* and their weight in *ſpiritual* Matters, and particularly in the Divine Concourſe with the Majority of Numbers in the Election of the head of their Church, and in the determinations of a General Council, and in their valuation of their Church by its Univerſality, will not contemn the power of Numbers in Matters *Political*; and I believe it will never among their innumerable Miracles and Revelations be Revealed to them, that numbers are by them in things *Political* to be diſ-regarded.

But as I obſerved of Mr. *Hooker's* Prophecy in this *Diſcourſe*, viz. *That he gueſſed ſhrewdly*: ſo one thing hath happened that may partly ſalve the Credit of this Prelate's Conjecture: And that is, that ſome *Nominal* Proteſtants (but too juſtly to be thought *Popiſhly affected*) having robbed the Jeſuites of their *Doctrine* of *Reſiſtance* and of their *Principle of Dominion being founded in Grace*, Endeavoured to *robb* them of their *Maſſacre*, and as his Majeſty's *Declaration* of *July* the 28th, 1683 mentioned, did plot an execrable Out-rage of that kind: and ſome of the *Diſſenters* that appeared to me for ſometime after I began this *Diſcourſe*, only *as Sheep ſtraying from the Flock*, as they did to that Great *Miniſter* of the State who beſtowed on them that expreſſion, were afterward turned ravenous Animals: and as the effect of *Nycippus's* Sheep according to *Ælian* bringing forth a *Lion* in one of the *Greek* States, was reſented as *portending* a Change of the Government, theſe mens producing the Principles of the *Jeſuites*, was to be much more regarded as an *Omen* of our Future Miſchief than what any former predictions could import, and it was ſhortly accompanied with a real deſign to have effected it: and as I hope it will be with ſuch a ſenſe of ſhame in others of them when they ſhall ſurvey the Circumſtances of that bloody deſign notified in the *King's Declaration*, as Mr. *John Geree* an Eminent and Learned Presbyterian *Miniſter* of *S. Faiths* in *London* did expreſs, in a *Dedicatory Epiſtle* before a *Book* of his called Κατασυναξις, publiſhed ſome Weeks before the Fate of the Royal *Martyr*, and in which *Epiſtle* he importunes the Lady *Fairfax* to ſhew the Book to her Husband then *Lord General* to prevent his participating in the guilt of the Regicide then feared, and ſaith, *O Madam let us ſit down and weep over our Religion, and we, whither ſhall we cauſe her ſhame to go. How ſhall we now look Papiſts in the Face, whom we have ſo reviled and abhorred for their Derogatory Doctrine and Damnable Practices againſt Kings or any in Supreme Authority? O ſtudy that it may never be ſaid that any Perſon of Honour and of the Proteſtant Religion had any hand in ſo unworthy*

worthy an Action as the depoſing and deſtroying of a King whoſe preſervation they ſtand bound to endeavour by ſo many Sacred Bonds.

I have accorded with our timid Proteſtants, that *Popery may gain ground perhaps in ſome turbid Interval, and how by the Divine Omnipotence and Juſtice, the Courſe of Nature in its continuing the Proteſtant Religion may be over-ruled, and that on the account of our having juſtly deſerved the Viſitation of Popery, we may reaſonably apprehend the dangers of it*, p. 140. but have never *recurred* from ſhewing them the Future proſperous Eſtate of Proteſtants and Proteſtancy in *England*, but to advance the more forward into the following Repreſentations thereof.

But having thus with Compaſſion to the timid endeavoured to diſcharge my duty as to the Moral Obligation of *Complaiſance* (an *Obligation* that Mr. *Hobbs* hath ſo well ſhewn to be moſt clearly riſing from the *Law of Nature*, and which the *Chriſtian* Doctrine ſo ſtrongly inculcates, and by vertue of which we are to *bear one anothers Burthens*, and ſometimes to *the weak to become as weak*) I thought it afterward proper by the ſtrength of Argument deſumed from the nature of things to fortifie the minds of the Loyal againſt Un-Chriſtian and Un-manly Fears.

But as to the Diſ-loyal and Factious, let them (by my conſent) *fear on.* I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to *bear* the *burthens* of them who reſolve to be *Burthens* to the Government, and who would if they could, load it with Presbyteries *dead-weight*, while they give that *term* to our Biſhops. Let thoſe who would have both Proteſtant Princes and their other Subjects *fear them*, be laughed at for *fearing* of *Papiſts*, and for not having a better underſtanding with the Perſons of Papiſts, when there is ſo good an underſtanding and coincidence between the *Principles* of ſuch *Nominal* Proteſtants, and that very part of the *Principles* of ſome Papiſts that is *Irreligionary* and ſubverſive of the Rights of Princes and their Governments, and when yet they ſeem not to underſtand that ; and let Papiſts (by my conſent) afford themſelves recreative ſmiles, if ever in any Conjuncture of time that may come, they ſhall behold the Factious Revilers of the Church of *England*, to come under its *Wing* for ſhelter after their ſo long endeavouring to *deplume* it.

But becauſe I have obſerved ſome well meaning and loyal *Diſſenters*, *frighted* both by Cholerick and Melancholy Expoſitions of the *Apocalypſe* (a good Book in which ſome ill men have found the obſcureſt paſſages to be the cleareſt for their ill purpoſes, and in the dark places of which Book many having long lain in Ambuſh, have thence ſallied out to cut Throats, and ſubvert Governments, I have here rear'd up a *Bull-wark* of *Nature*, that may ſecure them from the imaginary dangers of Caſtles in the Air, or *Viſionary* Armies in the Clouds of any Mens fancies : and in compaſſion to the *Loyal* Proteſtants of the Church of *England*, whoſe Melancholy *Suppoſitions* I had a while *cloſed* with both as a Friend and Wreſtler, that I might give them a fair and ſoft fall, I thought it then proper to warn them of the danger of extravagant *Suppoſitions*, and acquainted them that moſt *Bedlams* were founded on *Suppoſitions*, and the thought of *Quid ſi cælum ruat*, and of Peoples imagining Earth-quakes to happen in the State from falling Skies : and have ſhewn them how irrational a thing it is to ſuppoſe that a lawful Prince, how unlawful or heterodox any of his Tenets in Religion may be, will injure his Laws and the Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed : and having conducted the *Reader* through the former more melancholy and ſtrait and unpleaſant paſſages in the *Fabrick* of this *Diſcourſe*, have took care to lodge him in a more Airy and Cheer-

ful

ful *appartment*, and whence he may recreate himſelf with *looking out* on the Future State of *England*, and remain aſſured that no frightful *Spectrums* and *Fantoms* will diſturb him there, when he is either at his *Reſt* or at his *Devotions*, and which I have for his diverſion *furniſhed* with ſome ſuch fair *Pictures* of his Countries Future State as may perhaps not much either ſhame it or my ſelf, in regard that I think in the *draught* and *deſign* thereof, my *Art* has been according to Nature, how careleſsly laid ſoever the Colours may have been, and where he moreover will have the *Proſpect* I before deſcribed, and if his *ſight* be clear, will find the Sky ſo more and more, tho ſo many *Politick* and *Lachrymiſt would-be's* have told him of the contrary.

I believe that ſince the *Predictions* of the *deluge* by *Noah* to the old World, there were never ſo many angry *Predicters* and *Predictions* of a general inundation of miſery to any Country, under a Future Prince, as within theſe late years we have been overwhelmed with, and that to the diſcompoſing of mens minds in their common converſe and while they did *eat* and *drink* as in the days of *Noah*, and were ſo ready to devour all their Countrymen who believed not the ſame *inundation* with them.

But during this great *Deluge* of our popular fears of one of Popery, I have ventured in *p.* 297 and 258 of this *Diſcourſe*, to expreſs my preſenſion of the Future State of *England* making men aſhamed of their *paſt fears* and their former deference to ill boding *Prophets*, and that our Melancholy *Prophets* will appear to be *toto Cælo* miſtaken in their *Auguries* as much (as *Gaſſendus* tells us) all the *Aſtrologers* were in *France* when by reaſon of the great *Conjunction* of *watry ſigns* in *Piſcis* and *Aquarius* in the *Year* 1524, they ſaid that there ſhould be then in the *Month* of *February* a ſecond *Deluge* that ſhou'd overwhelm *France* and *Germany*, and by reaſon whereof *many People went with their Goods and Cattel from the low Lands to the hilly Country*, and yet after all the *fermentation* thoſe *Aſtrologers* had made among the *Populace* in *France*, that *Month* of *February* (as *Gaſſendus* tells us) tho naturally rainy, proved the dryeſt Month that ever was known in thoſe Countries.

I account that the *deluge* of the popular *fears* did ſenſibly decreaſe after the year 81, and that to the great diſſatisfaction of thoſe whoſe broken Fortunes made them no worſe under it, than the *Fiſhes* were in *Noahs*. The more rational and ſagacious ſort of Proteſtants, who had been ſo long *Sea-ſick* with that deluge, and did nauſeate the fears and jealouſies that had diſcompoſed them, began to ſee *Land*, when his Majeſty with ſo juſt a *Caution* adviſed them in his *Speech* to the *Oxford* Parliament, *That their juſt care of Religion ſhould be ſo managed, as that unneceſſary fears ſhould not be made a pretence for changing the Foundations of the Government*, and his *Declaration* of the *Cauſes* that induced him to diſſolve that Parliament, ſignifying his Royal *Reſolution both in and out of Parliament to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to extirpate Popery, and in all things to Govern according to the Laws of the Kingdom*, was in effect, like the *Olive-branch* brought by the *Dove* into the *Ark*, an happy *indication* of peace and ſettlement to the minds of the people and of *the Waters being abated*, and indeed a *demonſtration* to them that the *Dove* had found *ubi pedem figeret*, and that our Laws and Religion had done ſo too: and on that great *Viſion* of the *Lex terræ*, that ſo many miſts had ſo long kept us from ſeeing, there enſued a general *ſhout* of Loyal *Addreſſers* throughout the Kingdom, like that of *Sea-mens* at their firſt ſeeing of Land after a long ſtormy Voyage, and when they thought

they had loſt their Courſe: and the hearing of thoſe ſhouts from the ſeveral Countries, ſerved as a Call of invitation to the many *Timid* and Loyal, and likewiſe to many unfortunate perſons, to return thither after they had flocked from thence to the *Metropolis* as an *Ark* for their preſervation on the riſing of the *deluge* of fears in ſome preceeding years: and it ſerved to ſome *clean* and to other *unclean* Beaſts as a *Call* of *Nature* that they were to March out of the *Ark*.

By the *unclean Beaſts* I mean the ſturdy *Paupers* that I have in this *Diſcourſe* ſpoke of, who were obſerved ſhortly after the Alarms of the Plot from ſo many *Proclamations*, to flock from ſo many parts of the Country to *London*, like the Ruſtical *Plebs* I have ſpoke of naturally thronging to the ſhore, when they ſee a poor Veſſel contending with a violent Tempeſt near it, and the next Minute likely to *Condemn* it as a wrack, and furniſh them with *Gods Goods* (I mean ſuch as they call *wrack'd* ones) and when to prevent the *Owners* of them from the benefit of ſome coming *alive* to the *Shoar*, they are ſo ready to out-rage thoſe forlorn Mariners they ſee ſwimming to Land.

Many ſuch *Atheiſtical* Ruffians of all Religionary Sects (and who had been deſperate in the Country) might, being come to the *Metropolis*, there probably feed themſelves with vain hopes of miſchief to be done to or by ſome particular perſons, and would probably have been ready enough to be Mercenary Bravo's to either any *Jeſuites* or *Fifth-Monarchy men* or the Jeſuited Proteſtant Patrons of the *Doctrine of Reſiſtance*. But this *Scum* of the *Country* was afterward as naturally thrown *off* from the well governed City, as are the *Purgamenta Maris* from the Shoar without making any Heads or Arms ake to remove them, and not finding more welcome harbour in the City than they had in the Country, were I believe litterally thrown upon the *Sea* to Convey them to the *Aſylum* of the *Malheureus* that we may call our Foreign *Plantations*: and of the great and extraordinary Glut of the *Advenæ* from the *Country* ceaſing in *London* after the year 1681, the yearly general *Bills* of *Mortality* gave a ſufficient proof, and did (as I may ſay) *include* too the *Burial* of the *Plot*, or at leaſt of the popular fears of danger from it.

The critical *Obſervator* on the *Bills of Mortality* having long ſince told us, *That there come about 6000 yearly out of the Country to live in* London, and which ſwells the Burials about 200 yearly, and likewiſe taught us the *Rule* of 1 in 30 there yearly dying, I have in *p.* 155 Calculated by the yearly great encreaſe of the *Burials* from the *Year* 1675, (when the *fears* of the *Growth of Popery* were ſo much in faſhion) how very great the encreaſe of the number of the living there was to the *Year* 1679 *incluſive*, and the extraordinarineſs of which encreaſe was ſo juſtly imputable to that of the *Advenæ* from the Country: and to which it may be added, that the *Burials* from what they were in the *Year* 79 (*viz.* 21730) *falling* back about 700 in the *Year* 80, yet in the *Year* 1681 were in all 23971, and ſo for every *Thouſand* gradually dying more in thoſe *Years* referred to, 29000 were ſuppoſed to have in the ſame gradually lived more than in the former: and all which years before mentioned were of ordinary health.

But the *Year* 1681 having produced that *Pacific* Royal *Declaration*, and the Congratulatory *Addreſſes* thereupon, and likewiſe that encreaſe of the *Burials* before mentioned (that might be ſuppoſed to happen partly by the *Advenæ* from the Country being for ſome time neceſſarily detained in the *Metropolis*, in making preparations there to leave it, and by

ſome

ſome of them in the mean time dying, and partly from ſome new *Paupers* then coming from the Country to hide their heads in obſcure places in *London*, and which they durſt not ſhew in the Sun-ſhine that *Declaration* had made in the *Country*, and partly by the deaths of many Loyal Perſons in *London* whom the *Addreſſes* and expectations of Preferment for their Loyalty brought thither) yet the Burials in the following year, *viz.* 1682, being but 20690, was a conſiderable *indication* of the abatement of the popular fears which led ſo many timid Perſons from the Country, with hopes to find our *Metropolis* to be the moſt quiet part of the Nation, as the moſt quiet part of a *Ship* is naturally that which is neareſt the *Main-maſt*: and the *Burials* in the year 83 being but 20587, gave an *indication* of the *Advenæ* from the Country not then encreaſing: and although the *Total* of the *Burials* for this year 84 was 23202, yet it being moſt probable that there dyed above 3000 of *Infants*, and of *Aged*, and *infirm*, and *indigent* People by the *Accidents* of the extraordinary *Froſt*, it may be well accounted that the popular fears have not been in this year augmented.

Altho during the ſo long continuance of the general *ferment* in the Kingdom after the *Plot-Epoche*, (and in which interval ſo great a part of the following *Diſcourſe* was printed Sheet by Sheet) I could not after the King and Pope had both of them by written *Edicts* (as it were) denounced War againſt the *Tenets* of the *Jeſuites*, that included ſo much Hoſtility to the Church of *Rome* as well as of *England*, but participate in the general heat againſt thoſe *Tenets*, and improve the occaſion of writing *polemically* about the ſame, yet I think none could more carefully obſerve the *Laws* of *Military* Diſcipline, than I have thoſe of *Loyalty* in not going beyond the *Meaſures* of the Government, and in following the *Standard* of the Royal Pen, ſet up in the *Proclamations*, and likewiſe in the *Declaration* aforeſaid.

Dr. *Donne* dedicating his *Pſeudo-Martyr* to King *James*, begins his *Epiſtle* by ſaying, that *as Temporal Armies conſiſt of preſſed men and voluntaries, ſo do they alſo in this War-fare in which your Majeſty hath appeared by your Books: and not only your ſtrong and full Garriſons, which are your Clergy and your Univerſities, but alſo obſcure Villages can Miniſter Souldiers*, &c. *Beſides ſince in the Battel your Majeſty by your Books is gone in perſon out of the Kingdom, who can be exempt from waiting on you in ſuch an expedition.*

That Learned *Monarch* in his printed *Premonition to all Crowned Heads, free Princes and States*, doth *Magno Conatu*, go about to prove the Pope to be *Anti-Chriſt*, and very ſubtilly diſcuſſeth the *Moot-points* out of the *Apocalypſe* that refer to it: and from that one *word* of *Anti-Chriſt*, the *Papacy* hath ſince the *Reformation* received much more prejudice, than hath the *Reformation* from that other famous *word* of *Hereſy*: and the Compellation of *Anti-Chriſt* is eſpecially a more terrible weapon againſt the Pope, when uſed by the hand of a King.

But I muſt frankly ſay ſhould my *Prince* Combat the *Pope* with this name in Print, and deſcend to Command my poor Service in that War-fare, I ſhould humbly apply to him to excuſe me therein: and as it was obſerved concerning *Aretine*, that *he left God untouched* in his *Satyrs*, giving this reaſon for it, *Ille inquit non mihi notus erat*: ſo I ſhall ſay the ſame thing of *Anti-Chriſt*.

But when the *Thunder* of the *Royal* Power was in ſo great a number of Proclamations heard all over Chriſtendom againſt particular perſons, and

and their known Principles and Deſigns, his Subjects might well think it a part of Loyalty during that time to wear *Clouds* in their Brows, and to be tributary to the Royal Cares by endeavouring in their ſeveral Capacities to ſupport the Throne, and to concur with the conſtant *Practice* of *Nations* in receiving the beliefs of Matter of Fact as ſtated by Soveraign Power according to the common ſaying of *Imperatori ſeu Regi aliquid atteſtanti plenè creditur.*

It is this *Teſte* of the *Sovereign* (as I may ſay with alluſion to the words in our Writs of *teſte me ipſo*) that will be the *Clew* to the *Hiſtorians* to guide them in that dark and intricate Labyrinth of time, I before ſpoke of: and will probably be helpful to any *ingenious* Proteſtants or Papiſts who ſhall write its *Hiſtory*, when they ſhall from the many *Collections* of the *Pamphlets* relating to that time treaſured up by the curious, ſee ſo many bold and contradictory *Shamms* and *Affidavits* fighting with each other for that belief in a Future Conjuncture, that they could not obtain in the paſt: and 'tis nothing but the declared *Senſe* of the *Government* that in ſuch *odioſa materia*, will qualifie a judicious Hiſtorian to do *right* to himſelf or his *Reader*, or even to his Hiſtory, and keep it from being thruſt down among *Narratives.*

It may be rationally ſuppoſed that when *Princes* and their *Miniſters* do think fit to notifie their judgments of ſome matter of Fact wherein they might receive the firſt Information from Perſons lyable to exception, that there were many concurrent Circumſtances lay in the *Balance* before them: and which perhaps they might not think convenient to divulge: and moreover it is a thing commonly obſervable, that Divine Providence doth influence the underſtandings of *Princes* (who are its inſtruments in the Government of the World) more ſignally than of other men, and that Crowned Heads are ſtill bleſſed in ſome meaſure as of old *by another Spirit coming on them*, than what animated them while private perſons, and that therefore their aſſerting of *Facts* of *State* is more to be revered than that of other men.

I therefore in the *Caſe* of the *ſhamm* of throwing the *Odium* of a Plot upon *Proteſtants* in one particular Conjuncture, have not come ſhort of or gone beyond the Meaſures of the Government: nor do I believe that any Hiſtorian of it will.

And when I did read the various *Pamphlets*, and did confer Notes with ſome of the *Curious* about the laſt mentioned *Shamm*, and participated with the Loyal Proteſtants in their Concern and Sollicitude for the honour of their Religion thereby attacqued, yet I gave no *Rule* about the *Merits* of the matter in my private thoughts, till I ſaw in the *Prints* the Copy of the Order of *Council* of *November* 2d, 1679. reflecting on the Treaſonable Papers thrown into a Gentleman's Chamber, by which divers *Nollemen* and other *Proteſtants*, were to be brought under a ſuſpicion of carrying on a Plot againſt his Majeſty, and which Order was after a Perſon was ſent to *Newgate* by the *Council* for forging of Letters importing High-Treaſon and fixing the ſame in a Gentlemans Chamber, and of which Forgery I yet thought none but ſome few of the *fæx Romuli*, who believed and practiſed the Jeſuites *Doctrine* of *Calumny* could poſſibly be guilty.

But I preſently accorded in my thoughts with the many Loyal Proteſtants and Papiſts who judged another *Effort*, that pretended to be of the ſame Nature with the former, and referred to a Plot of Proteſtants, to be a poor vile *Artifice* or *Shamm*, projected by ſome Calumnious *Anti-Papiſts*,

Papiſts, a ſhamm too deſpicable to be here named, and obvious enough to *detection* from the *Trite* ſaying, *That they who can hide can find.*

But the many pitiful *Shamms*, whoſe humming noiſe did a while pleaſe our *Mobile*, and were below the notice of the Government, have had their *triduum inſecti*, and are not to expect to live in *Story*, or to be there Entombed like the *Fly* in Amber.

The powerful Effects of the Royal *Declaration*, freeing our Land from the Plague of Fears and Jealouſies and the Annoyance of the *Swarms* of theſe *Flies*, as *Moſes* his interceſſion prevailed to deliver a Realm from the Judgments of other ones, will be a more adequate Subject to a great Writers thoughts, and eſpecially when he ſhall conſider that in the Courſe of Nature and without Miracle, thoſe great Effects could not but riſe from ſo great an Efficient: and as to which any one will perhaps be of opinion with me, who ſhall conſider that the moſt *terrible* of *terribles* in ſo many mens apprehenſion of *Popery* is its *arbitrarineſs*: and that therefore the publication of the Royal Reſolution to govern according to the Laws would effectually ſecure us againſt all *Arbitrary* Power whatſoever.

Mr. *Hobbs* ſaith in his *Behemoth*, *I confeſs I know very few Controverſies among Chriſtians of Points neceſſary to Salvation. They are the Queſtions of Authority and Power over the Church or of Profit, or of Honour to Church-men, that for the moſt part raiſe all the Controverſy. For what man is he that will trouble himſelf or fall out with his Neighbours for the ſaving of my Soul, or the ſaving of the Soul of any other than himſelf?*

And no doubt it is not barely any mens believing the *Doctrines* of *Purgatory* or *Traſubſtantiation*, or *Merit* or *Works of Super-Errogation*, that hath made the paſt ferment among us, but the Arbitrarineſs of the Papal Power and the Complication of the *Tenet* of the Plenitude of that Power with thoſe Religionary Tenets, and the making of it Penal not to receive thoſe or other Tenets from *Rome*, and the making men Tenants *in capite*, to a Foreign Head for their Brains and Eſtates, and an outlandiſh Biſhop, who lives a Thouſand Miles off, with new *Non obſtantes* outraging their old Laws, and whom they can never ſee bluſh after it. But his Majeſty having declared, *That he would uſe his Royal Endeavours both in and out of Parliaments to Extirpate Popery*, (of which its Arbitrarineſs was its great dreaded part) *and in all things to Govern according to the Laws of the Realm*, the People knew that the *Laws* had ſufficiently provided againſt *Appeals to Rome*, as well as againſt *Appeals from the Country to the City*, and that *Declaration* naturally fortified the minds of the People as a *Præmunimentum*, guarding them before hand (as I may ſay with alluſion to our *Statutes* of *Præmunire*) againſt the Arbitrary Power either of *Rome* or *Geneva*, and did in effect ſet up an *Enſurance Office* in each of his Majeſtie's *Courts* of *Juſtice*, to ſecure them againſt Arbitrary Power *as ſuch* in whomſoever, and that they might in *in utramvis aurem dormire* as to any danger from the ſame; and 'tis therefore no wonder that the *Reflux* of People from the *Metropolis* to the Country enſued thereupon, as I have remarked out of the *Bills* of *Mortality*: and from which *Bills* perhaps we may divert our ſelves with the ſight of the *Burial* of that *Plot*, which ſome feared and others hoped would have been *immortal*, who would have had it *Entailed* too on their *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, tho they would not allow the *Crown* to be ſo to the *Royal* Line.

The *Political* uſes that the *Bills* of *Mortality* may be put to, being more *various* than the profound *Obſervator* on them took the pains to mention, as I have thence, by a *glancing* view of the gradual Encreaſe of the People, coming out of the Country for ſeveral years, to dwell within the Compaſs of thoſe Bills, and likewiſe of the gradual decreaſe thence deduced, given an account of what I thought might in ſome meaſure deſerve the name of an *Indication* of the diminution of the popular fears reſulting from the *Burials*, after the great *auſpicious* year of the Royal *Declaration*, ſo I could, in order to the *leſſening* of the fears of the encreaſe of *Diſſenterſhip* within the Circuit of thoſe *Bills*, from the *Total* of the *Chriſtenings* in the reſpective *years* ſince that of 81, give what I might without Vanity call more than *Indicium*, and which perhaps would be by Critical Perſons allowed for ſomewhat like a *Demonſtration* of the Encreaſe of the Numbers there, (as I may ſay) *born* into the Church of *England*, and to what *proportion*, and that very particularly: and make it out thence that above the proportion between the *Burials* and *Chriſtenings* that was in the *Year* 81, there were *Chriſtened* 1084 in the *year* 82, and that the diſpoſition of People for baptizing their Children in the way of the Church of *England* did encreaſe near a 13th *part*, in the year 82, and that above the *proportion* between the *Burials* and *Chriſtenings* that was in the year 82, there were in the year 83 Chriſten'd 2146, which is near a 6th *part*, that the *Baptizing* of Children in the way of the Church of *England* hath gained, and Diſſenterſhip hath loſt ground in that year.

Nor do I find cauſe to alter my opinion of ſuch baptizing in the way of the Church of *England*, having loſt, but rather, on the contrary, gained ground in this year 84, tho to what proportion I cannot poſitively judge, by reaſon of what I before hinted, namely, of the extraordinary proportion of the *Burials* this year, ariſing from the *Accidents* of the great *Froſt*, and which *Phyſicians* by comparing the encreaſe of the particular Diſeaſes by which ſo many died this year more than in the former happening from thoſe Accidents, have judged to be conſiderably above 3000, and likewiſe by reaſon of the *Births* having this year been *reverâ* conſiderably fewer, according to the *Rule* of the *Obſervator* on thoſe *Bills*, *That the more ſickly the year is, it is the leſs fertile of Births.*

All who have been in the leaſt converſant with thoſe *Obſervations* of his, know that the *Births* in ordinary years are equal to the *Burials*, or rather more: and I have obſerved the ſame from the *Paris* Bills, where the *Chriſtenings* do generally much exceed the *Burials* (and as particularly appeared by the *Total* of the *Burials* in the year 1683 being 17764, and the *Total* of the *Chriſtenings* being 19717) but by the *Chriſtenings* among us *regiſtred* and *reckoned* in our *Bills*, we know thence when the diſpoſition of the People to baptize their Children in the way of the Church began to encreaſe, and Diſſenterſhip conſequently to decreaſe; and accordingly the ground gained by the Church of *England*, and loſt by Diſſenterſhip within the Compaſs of thoſe Bills, after the year 81, hath been by me ſufficiently proved, *Quod erat demonſtrandum*.

I have in this *Diſcourſe* given ſomewhat like a little *Hiſtorical* Account of the *Numbers* of the *Papiſts*, ſince the *Reformation* to our late Conjunctures, and have with honour mentioned the Vigilance of his *Majeſty's* late *Miniſter*, the Earl of *Danby*, in directing a *Survey* of the *Numbers* of the People of ſeveral Religionary Perſwaſions in the Province of *Canterbury*, and which was returned in the year 76, and whereby the

the Comparative Paucity of the number of Papiſts there is apparent, as it is by themſelves agreed on ſo to be, as I have cited out of the *Compendium.*

But tho the Copy of that *Survey* is in the hands of ſo many Perſons, I would not have mentioned any thing thereof as to the Number of the Papiſts, but that Dr. *Glanvill* had firſt publiſhed the ſame, and whoſe *Book* I have referred to for the ſame. Nor ſhall I therefore give any particular account of the numbers of the *Non-Conformiſts* reſulting from the ſame.

But tho I think that the Number of the *Non-Conformiſts* was not returned perhaps in that *Survey*, ſo juſtly and near the matter as was that of the Papiſts, yet I am fully of opinion that if the number of *Non-Conformiſts* were thrice as great as that returned (which I believe no man will reckon it to be) their proportion with that of the *Total* of this great Populous Nation would be very inconſiderable.

But as to all the Writers or Diſcourſers of their proportion to that *Total* that I have converſed with, (and who have rendered the *Quota* of the *Diſſenters* ſo vaſt with much poſitiveneſs) I am able to ſay, That I have eaſily perſwaded them to deſiſt from any poſitive magiſterial determination therein, by ſhewing them that their meaſures of the *Total* of the People of *England* have been but conjectural, and depending perhaps on ſome Calculations too fine and ſubtle, or others too courſe and groſs, and that no man can be a competent Judge of this *Total*, who hath not ſeen the *Returns* on the Biſhops *Survey*, and likewiſe the *Returns* on the late *Pole-Bills*, and of which latter under the Patronage of a powerful Miniſter of the Kings, I obtained Copies, and have thence in the following *Diſcourſe* ſhewed the *Total* of the People of *England* and *Wales*, to be probably much greater than any cautious *Calculators* have made it, and ſome whereof made the *Total* to be 5, others 6, others 7 *Millions*. I thought the doing of this an acceptable ſervice to my Prince and Country, and the rather for that ſeveral *Authors* among the *Magna nomina* have publiſhed it in Print, that the People of *England* and *Wales* are but 2 *Millions*: and which number if they did not exceed, we might allow our Diſſenters a conſiderable proportion therein, tho yet nothing near ſo great even as to ſuch a *Total* as ſome would have it.

But the Ebb of their Numbers is at this time ſo apparent, if we reſpect the State of them in the whole Kingdom, that their Out-cry of *Implevimus omnia*, and *The Nation and its Trade cannot ſubſiſt without us*, is very ridiculous: and they are not in my opinion their friends who writing for them do ſo cuſtomarily magnify their Numbers, and as if they were half the People of *England*, as ſome have done: and I believe the Gentleman whom I have cited for ſaying in a late *Parliament*, that he obſerved, *That in the Choice of Knights of the Shire for the County he lived in, that they could not bring one in twenty to the Field*, would if he had been at *Elections* in ſome other Counties have found they could not there bring in ſo great a number.

And tho the *Puritans* of old were very numerous in the *Houſe of Commons*, and our *Diſſenters* in the King's long *Parliament* made ſo great a Figure as to be able by their weight to cruſh the *Declaration* for *Indulgence*, yet in the ſucceeding *Houſes* of *Commons*, the *Diſſenters* were far from valuing themſelves an their weight or numbers: but of the *Diſſenters* in that Loyal Long Parliament, I believe there were not any who wiſhed for the Yoke of *Presbytery*, or thought its Platform practicable in this Realm.

The Preface to the Reader.

I have in this *Diſcourſe* mentioned one thing, that made the moſt Eminent *Presbyterian* Divines after 41, think their bringing of the *Yoke* of Presbytery upon the *Engliſh* Necks practicable, and that is, their accounting according to the *Pacta conventa* between Them and the *Parliament*, they ſhould have the *Biſhops* and *Deans* and *Chapters* Lands ſettled on their *Church*, whereby their *Diſcipline* how defective ſoever in weight as to Principles of *Divinity* and *Humanity*, would have made it ſelf formidable by its *Balance* of Land: and 'tis probable, that in *Scotland* the *Livings* of the inferiour *Clergy* weighing more in value than the Eſtates or Livelihoods of the ordinary inferiour *Layety*, hath ſupported that *Clergy* there in their pretences to expect ſomewhat of *Power*, and which they yet enjoy in the Figure of the Church Government there Eſtabliſhed under *Biſhops*: and altho King *James* in his planting ſo many *Benefices* throughout that Kingdom, worth 30 *l. per Annum*, with a *Houſe* and ſome *Glebe Land* belonging to them, never intended any advantage to *Presbytery* thereby; he yet occaſioned ſome by making ſo many *Divines* there more conſiderable in wealth: but our *Presbyterian* Divines here having been ſo fatally diſappointed about the *Biſhops Lands* promiſed them, all ingenious men muſt neceſſarily thereby be made apprehenſive that they are never to hope to bring the terror of that Church Government upon us by that means.

It is moreover obſervable that moſt of the Race of our old *Presbyterian* and *Independant* Divines having been extinct, (ſome few of whom were Learned Men and gave ſome Ornament to their *Tenets* by their Learning) ſcarce any new ones, and who appeared not in the Church before the King's Reſtoration, have ſince by the publication of any Theological or Devotional Writings propp'd up the Credit of their Party, and that of the Eccleſiaſticks of thoſe perſwaſions none have publiſhed any thing valuable againſt Popery but ſome of their *old* ſtock.

Tho ſome *Presbyterians* have not hitherto learned that Modeſty and Policy from the *Papiſts*, as to leave off their unjuſt *valuing* themſelves on their *Numbers*, yet as I know not of any number of Gentlemen that would chooſe to live in any Pariſh in *England* under the ſeverity of that Church Government, and who would not rather deſire to be *exterminated* from their *Native* Country than to live in it with Presbytery Paramount, ſo neither do I believe, that Presbytery would be endured by many of our illiterate Mechanicks now more than heretofore, if they were taught its rigour.

And tho likewiſe another Sect of *Diſſenters* more Gentlemanly than that of the *Presbyterians*, I mean the *Independants*, do in the little *Pamphlets* they write, trouble us much with *proclaiming* their Numbers, and as if they were not only the ſober but the major part of the *Nation*, they are very ridiculous in trying to make themſelves that way dreadful contrary to what is in Fact true.

I believe that the number of thoſe who in the late times liſted themſelves in the particular *gathered* Churches, and ſubjected themſelves to their Laws, and Contribution to their Paſtorage, was always inconſiderable; and as an Argument, of that 'tis in this *Diſcourſe* mentioned that the *Paſtors* of the moſt Opulent of thoſe Churches in *London* did moſt readily quit their Poſts, when they could obtain *Head-ſhips* of *Colleges*, and that in a Conjuncture when *Independancy* was in a manner the form of Church Government owned by the *State*.

Theſe

Theſe Churches were always very few in the Country and are now fewer and ſcarce viſible, unleſs we will call the Bands of *Quakers* by the name of Churches, and a name I do not hear they think fit to uſe.

I am of opinion that under the *Chriſtian* Religion ſo much fuller of *Myſtery* than the *Pagan*, *Jewiſh*, and *Turkiſh*, its Divine *Planter* did neceſſarily make *Chriſtians loving one another*, the *Characteriſtical* Mark of their being ſuch; and under the noble freedom allowed by the *Proteſtants* Religion to *try all things*, and to truſt no Religionary Tenets but what they have tryed, a Heterodoxy as to ſome ſpeculative ſuppoſed Tenets of the Church of *England*, may among ſome inquiſitive perſons have long gained ground, and ſtill do ſo.

There was in *London* an Independant Church under *Cromwel*'s Government, and Mr. *Biddell* was their *Paſtor*, and among other *Tenets* denominable as thoſe of Religion, they owned theſe following, viz. *That the Fathers under the old Covenant had only Temporal Promiſes*; *and That the Univerſal Obedience performed to the Commands of God and Chriſt was the ſaving Faith*; and That *Chriſt roſe again only by the Power of the Father and not his own*; *and That juſtifying Faith is not the pure gift of God, but may be acquired by mens natural Abilities*; and That *Faith cannot believe any thing contrary* to, or above reaſon; and That *there is no Original Sin*; *and That Chriſt hath not the ſame body now in glory in which he ſuffered and roſe again*; and That *the Saints ſhall not have the ſame body in Heaven that they had on Earth*; *and That Chriſt was not Lord or King before his Reſurrection, or Prieſt before his Aſcenſion*; *and That the Saints ſhall not before the day of Judgment enjoy the Bliſs of Heaven*; *and That God doth not certainly know Future Contingences*; *and That there is not any Authority of Fathers or General Councils in determining Matters of Faith*; *and That Chriſt before his death had not any Dominion over the Angels*; *and That Chriſt by dying made not ſatisfaction for us*: and 'tis poſſible that ſuch Religionary *Tenets* as theſe, which are far from being *de lanâ caprinâ*, and are contrary to the *Articles* of our Church may not be extirpated: tho yet I believe there will never be any *Fermentation* in our Church or State produced here by them, if in courſe of time any of them ſhould happen to be the *Sentiments* of any of our Princes: and much leſs that any Prince, if ſo *opining*, would conſute others as Hereticks with Fire and Sword, and as *Calvin* confuted *Servetus*.

There was likewiſe in our *Metropolis* another *Independant* Church, of which Mr. *John Goodwin* was the Paſtor, and by which Church the Tenets of *Arminius* were received, and which tho they have ceaſed to ferment the State, yet the opinions of men equally pious and learned will in all likelihood be always different about the ſame: and as to theſe *Tenets*, the *Queſtions* are not ſuch as are called *Queſtiones Domitianæ*, or of catching of Flies.

But there is a ſort of *Queſtions* that is little better, and that in our buſie World will not uſurp the time they have done, and that is, ſuch as are of the Nature of that I have ſpoke of toward the Cloſe of this *Diſcourſe*, that made the *fermentation* in a Church of *Separatiſts* that went hence to *Amſterdam*, namely, *Whether* Aron's *Ephod were blew or Sea-green*: and tho I have aſſerted it That mens liberty of profeſſing Religionary Tenets may be reckoned as a part of their Purchace by *Chriſt*'s Blood; yet methinks to make the Son of God leave the Boſom of his Father, and take a Journey from Heaven to Earth to impreſs on it right Notions about *the lawfulneſs of ſigning Children with the Croſs*, *or of mens kneeling at the Sacrament*, *or*

ſtanding at the Creed, or bowing at the name of Jeſus, or of placing the Communion Table in the Eaſt, or of wearing Surplices, Tippets, Lawn-ſleeves or ſquare Caps, or of keeping of Holy-days, or ſinging Pſalms to Organs, and to reſolve the World in ſome plain points, as namely, *Whether the Soveraign Power may not lawfully enjoyn the obſervance of the external Circumſtances of Divine Worſhip, which every man doth in his own Family?* or *Whether it be not as lawful for the Sovereign Power to enjoyn kneeling at the Sacrament, as 'tis for private Perſons to command their Flocks not to kneel?* and the reſolving *who doth moſt hurt by Chriſtian Liberty either the Magiſtrate, who, commanding me to kneel, tel's me the thing is in its own nature indifferent, and that he doth not and cannot change the nature of things in themſelves; or my private Paſtor, who ſhall tell me That my not kneeling is neceſſary to ſalvation?* and the reſolving the Queſtion, *Whether I may lawfully joyn in a ſet form of Prayer with a Congregation, when 'tis plain that another mans conceived, or* extempore *Prayer is as much a form to me or to another as any printed Prayer can be?* or the reſolving what Mr. *Gataker* in his *Book* of *Lots*, calls a frivolous *Queſtion* as made by ſome *Separatiſts*, viz. *What Warrant have you to uſe this or that Form of Prayer, or to pray upon a Book?* (and to which he anſwers, That *it is Warrant ſufficient that we are enjoyned to uſe Prayer, Confeſſion of Sin, and Supplication for Pardon*, &c. *No ſet Form thereof determined, therefore any fit Form warrantable: this Form that we uſe not unfit otherwiſe, this Form thereof allowable. And let a man demand of one of them when he prayeth, what Warrant he hath to uſe that Form that he then uſeth, he can anſwer no otherwiſe. So for a Book, the means of help are not determined: and this one among others: this therefore not unwarrantable. And if one of them ſhould be asked how he proves it warrantable to uſe a printed Book to read on at Church: he ſhall not be able to make other anſwer than as before*) and further hereupon the reſolving of another Queſtion, *viz. Whether one man eminent for Piety and Learning, or perhaps eminent for neither, is alle without premeditation to make as fit a Prayer for the People to ſay Amen to, as a hundred Perſons eminent for both are able to frame with long ſtudy?* I ſay to make an *Elias* and much more the holy *Jeſus*, to come down from Heaven to ſolve ſuch *doubts* as theſe, is an extravagance Parallel with the Error of thoſe old *Poets*, who would on all occaſions introduce *Gods* to end doubts that were never fit to be begun by men, and wherein there was not *dignus vindice nodus*, and againſt which the judicious *Poet* gave the known *Caution* of, *Nec Deus interſit*, &c.

The holy *Jeſus* by his Tacit Rejection of *Queſtions* as *impertinent* (that the World thought of more moment than ſome ſuch as are above named) when he forbore to give his thoughts of *Pythagoras* his *pre-exiſtence* of *Souls* upon the *Queſtion* put to him, viz. *Who did ſin this Man or his Parents that he was born blind?* ſhewed he thought it not for his honour to have it ſuppoſed that it was part of his Errand from Heaven to ſet the World rightin Speculations of Philoſophy; and ſo he threw that famous *Notion* off as a *Titivilitium.*

Chemnitius in his *Harmony* taking notice of our *Saviour's* reprehending in the *Phariſees* their uſe of Oaths, and thereby invocating God as a Witneſs in the Occurrences of their common talk and Converſation, ſaith, *In re levi ne magnum quidem virum in teſtem vocare auderemus:* as I find him cited by Mr. *Gataker* in his *Book* of *Lots*, and wherein he doth ſo learnedly confute the ſuperſtitious conceit in ſome of the unlawfulneſs of the uſe of *Cards* and *Dice* in recreation, as likewiſe the other

of

of mens being obliged to count every thing unlawful that they have not a Scriptural Warrant for.

Yet ſince his writing of thoſe Books of *Lots*, thouſands of ſuch our ſuperſtitious Proteſtants have not ſcrupled to throw the *Dye* of *War*, and to appeal to the *Lord* of *Hoſts* by the *Deciſion* of Battel to ſignalize the truth in ſome of thoſe nugatory and others of thoſe *plain* points beforementioned: and our Land groans under the guilt of the Blood of hundreds of thouſands of Subjects as well as of the Royal Blood, by *Queſtions*, on which an ingenious man would ſcarce think a drop of Ink neceſſary to be ſpent.

But I have in this *Diſcourſe* expreſs'd my belief, That the fierceneſs of our *Diſſenters* humour of quarrelling about ſuch little *Ceremonial* matters will be naturally reclaimed by the influence of the Civility appearing in the many *French* Proteſtants here, into a *Complaiſance* with our King's and Church's enjoyned Ceremonies, that all the learned *Books* of our *Divines* have not been able to work in them: the Civility of the *French* humour making it natural to thoſe Proteſtants (as I have remarked) not only to comply with Princes but even their Fellow Subjects in the uſe of all Ceremonies they expect: and as I have in many places of this Diſcourſe, and particularly in *p.* 239, expreſſed my thoughts that the *ſicarious* Principles of the *Jeſuites* will naturally evaporate by fear and ſhame; ſo I have in the following *Page*, that all Rebellious Principles of any Nominal Proteſtants *will by fear and ſhame in our populous* Engliſh *World be abandoned:* and do think, That to the *ſhame* of quarrelling about *little* matters, the ſhame of doing it before *Strangers*, being ſuper-added, will prevent our future diſquiet thereby.

Let them ask thoſe *Proteſtants* who are fled hither from Perſecution (the Circumſtances of which are with great Judgment ſtated by Dr. *Hicks* in his Excellent printed *Sermon* on that Subject) if in caſe their great Monarch had excuſed them from Conformity to the *Gallican* Church in the points of Praying in an unknown Tongue, and the Worſhipping the *Hoſt*, and the Forbidding the Cup to the Layety, and the other momentous Religionary points controverted between Papiſts and Proteſtants; and had enjoyned them only ſuch things as our Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed doth, whether they would have with the hazard of their lives made a migration hither from the beſt Country in the World, their Native Soil, or have made their Monarch and his Miniſters at home uneaſie by Complaints of Perſecution, and by raiſing of any duſt about unneceſſary *Queſtions* as aforeſaid.

Leo Afer tells us, that the Inhabitants of the *Mountain Magnan* on the Frontiers of *Fez*, have not thought fit to be at the Charge of any ſettled Judicature or *Parade* of the Law to ſupport their *Polity*: but to the end their Controverſies emerging may be decided, and that impartially, they ſtop ſome Travellers paſſing that way, to give Judgment in the ſame; and that himſelf in his paſſage there was detained many days to perform the Office of a Judge, and that his performance of the ſame was rewarded by the Inhabitants, defraying the Charges of his Stay: and ſome of thoſe People were aſhamed perhaps to trouble him, a Stranger with *vilitigation*, or *querelles d' alleman*.

And thus perhaps may thoſe Proteſtant Strangers that Providence hath ſent hither, prove to our Religionary branglers uſeful itinerant Judges, and their patience in their Judicature will in my opinion deſerve to be well rewarded, and for the greatneſs of its burden from the minuteneſs of its

Controverted

Controverted Cauſes, and whereby Strangers are impoſed on by as needleſs trouble as *Travellers* would be if in the ſeveral Territories they paſſed through, the Inhabitants ſhould deſire them to *weigh* their *Air*. But I hope the Non-Conformiſts to the *Gallican* Church will find thoſe to ours aſhamed to entertain them here with the *Crambe* of old Controverſies of Ceremonies and things Indifferent; and that thoſe Strangers will not find themſelves invited hither by Nature as to a *Theatre*, where they ſhall only ſee our *digladiations* with *Air*, or *beating of the Air* (as the *Scripture* Expreſſion is) and much leſs where they ſhall ſee any Diſſenters *implicitly* ſwallowing the *Doctrine* of *Reſiſtance*, and weighing nothing but *Air*.

It was (I think) a little before the Migration of ſo many *French* Proteſtants here, that ſome of the *Fæx* of our Diſſenters were ſo ſhameful as to Nick-name our Clergy: But I do account that the inquiſitive and Philoſophical *Temper* of the Age, ſhining with ſo much luſtre in our *Engliſh Clergy* (and which *temper* is as naturally accompanied with the gentle warmth of Charity for the Perſons of different Opiners as light it ſelf can be with heat) is a ſufficient *Guarranty* to all Proteſtant *Recuſants* of their finding from our Church all the favour, I will not ſay that they have deſerved from it, but all that they will or can: and I believe the Charity of our Church-men is ſo great for them as almoſt to tempt them to wiſh That there were ſome *dignus vindice nodus* in the Religionary part of *Diſſenters* Principles, that might give our Clergy a ſignal occaſion to diſplay the before mentioned *Characteriſtical* mark of *Chriſtianity* in loving the Perſons of Men diſſenting from them in any matters of moment.

They have experimented this *temper* of our Divines in Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s Book of the *Unreaſonableneſs of the Separation* after ſo many of their Waſpiſh *Pamphlets* had attacqued his Excellent *Sermon* of the *miſchief of ſeparation*: and the ſoft inſinuations of reaſon, in which having produced from them ſo much unmanly paſſion, may ſerve as an *indication* that the preſent *Diſſenterſhip* is languiſhing under its old Age, when the gentleſt weight and even when the *Graſs-hopper is a burden* to it.

They have ſeen this happy *temper* appearing in ſome of our moſt Celebrated Divines not being exaſperated againſt the perſons of one another, tho owning *Sentiments* different from our *Articles* and Homilies. And indeed 'tis natural to any man of a great *Genius* (and of ſuch illuſtrious Abilities that all the ſeveral Religionary Parties thinks of, with the wiſh of *Utinam noſter eſſet*) in ſome Notions peculiar to himſelf, to ſoar above the common flight of the ordinary Obſervers of their Rules and Preſcriptions, and not to be fled out of the hearts of thoſe of their Sect, when ſome times he towres out of their, ſight and above the reach of their underſtandings.

I have in the Learned Theological Writings of Mr. *Baxter*, concerning *Juſtifications*, contemplated his great parts and abilities: and have likewiſe obſerved the great Learning of Doctor *Tully* appearing in his *Juſtificatio Paulina*, and where he ſaith, That *in the point of Juſtification the Controverſy is not* de muris, ſed de Palladio Chriſtiano: and have moreover read Dr. *Tully*'s printed *Letter* to Mr. *Baxter* wherein he chargeth him (whether juſtly or no I enquire not) for ſeeming to place moſt if not all the differences that are in the *point* of *Juſtification*, between us and the Church of *Rome*, among *Logomachies*, p 16th, and uſeth to him theſe words in p. 17. *But ſeeing you are ſo buſie in turning our greateſt Controverſies*

troverſies with the Papiſts into a Childiſh Conteſt of words, and in p. 21. he deſires him, *That he would conſider the great affinity his Tenet of* Juſtification *hath contracted with the* Roman, and in the ſame *Page* deſires him *to take his Balance and weigh more diligently, that he might ſee only the very ſmall odds between his juſtification and the Council of* Trent's.

That great Adorner of the Church of *England* both with his Learning and Piety, Dr. *Hammond*, thought it not ſo acceptable ſervice to the World to fill it with more Volumes againſt the *Idolatry* of the Church of *Rome*, as to diminiſh it by diſtinction, and when in his *Tract* of *Idolatry* §. 64. *p.* 41. he makes the worſhipping of the Hoſt to be only *material Idolatry*, tho he knew as well as any the *Articles* of our Church, and that without the *formale peccati* as well as the *materiale*, there can be no ſin of Commiſſion, and that in all things *forma dat eſſe*.

Our Famous Dr. *Jeremy Taylor* likewiſe in his *liberty of Propheſying*, p. 258, doth free the *Papiſts* from *Formal Idolatry*. Thus likewiſe tho our Homilies and our *Jewel*, *Raynold*, *Whitaker*, *Uſher*, &c. and the *Tranſlators* of our *Bible* into *Engliſh* in King *James*'s time did place the Name of *Anti-Chriſt*, and the *Man of Sin* on the Biſhop of *Rome*, yet Dr. *Hammond* as well as others of our Church have publickly avowed their Sentiments of the Popes not being ſo.

I have not mentioned this as if I thought that any of our excellent *Divines* of the Church of *England*, would ever occaſion the leaſt *umbrage* of jealouſie in any Future Conjuncture, about any deſign of uniting our Church to *Rome*, or *Rome*'s to ours: the common Rule in Politicks of *minor pars unita majori cenſetur facta illius appendix* (and which is exemplified by the Church of *Rome*, not having been united to all the *Aſiatick*, *African*, *Græcian*, *Ruſſian* and *Proteſtant* Churches, as containing *three times* more Chriſtian Souls than doth the Church of *Rome* with all its *Dependents* and Adherents) and the ineffectual *Project* of ſome well meaning *Divines* in a former *Conjuncture* here, will I believe effectually avert all future jealouſies of any thing of that Nature, or the danger of any in the Veſſel by trying to pull the Rock to it, bringing it *ſuper hanc Petram*. From various grounds of natural reaſon, I may venture to predict that the beſt Evangelical Church and the beſt Clergy the World can ſhew, will direct their meaſures ſuitably to thoſe Words of the great Evangelical *Prophet* Iſaiah, *Their ſtrength is to ſit ſtill*, and without any faith to remove the ſeven Hills or Mountains of *Rome* hither, or on their ſullen Contumacy reſolving like *Mahomet* to go to the *Mountains*.

Among the various Conſiderations urged in this *Diſcourſe* to fortifie the minds of the Loyal timid againſt their unaccountable fears of Heterodoxy in any Prince as to the Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed, rendring him a meer natural *Agent*, or one without freedom of will as to the point of freedom of their Conſciences, and depriving him of the Brains as well as Bowels of a Man, and againſt impreſſions of trouble from what ſo many Writers have inſinuated, namely, that a *Roman* Catholick Prince muſt by virtue of the Authority of the *Lateran* Council exterminate his Heretical Subjects, I have in *p.* 283 mentioned that the *Munſter Peace* hath in *Germany*, cured the timid *Lutheran* and *Calviniſt* Subjects of any fears and jealouſies as of their Religion and Property upon any Prince by the Lineal Courſe of *Deſcent* coming to be their Ruler, who may profeſs any Religionary *Sentiments* different from theirs.

And becauſe the *factum* of that Peace hath not by any Writers ſince our late fermentation (that I know of) been inſiſted on for the illumination

of Peoples underſtandings in the firm Proviſion made there for mens being ſecure in their Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed, whatever the Religion of their lawful Princes may be, I ſhall here give ſome Curſory Account of the great *Fact* of that Peace (and wherein ſome Popiſh Princes made ſo great a Figure, and who ſufficiently underſtood how far the *Lateran* Council obliged them) that may not only ſhew it a kind of Pedantry to imagine that *Roman* Catholick Princes are ſtill by their Religion bound, after all the Revolutions of time and its incurſions made on their former meaſures as to Heterodox Religion and Religionaries, to uſe the ſame Methods as formerly, and to move in the ſame Line as heretofore, (juſt as ſome *Crabs* on the Land are obſerved in the *Weſt-Indies* to be ſo ſullen in their way, that rather than they will move in the leaſt on any ſide, they will go over a Houſe or a Tree) but may likewiſe ſerve as a *Præmunimentum* to ſecure men in all future times againſt the fear of any danger to their Religion by the *Heterodoxy* of their *Princes*, a thing that may be expected often to happen, ſince People can no more promiſe themſelves that their Princes will ſucceſſively reſemble one another in their underſtanding faculties than in their bodily ſhapes.

Thus then ſufficiently for the purpoſe above mentioned the *Reader* may take the *Scheme* of that matter.

It may be obſerved that in *Sueden* and *Denmark* and in all the Territories of the lower and upper *Saxony* where ever Proteſtants have the ſole power, no Papiſts are permitted to have any publick exerciſe of their Religion: and that in *Auſtria*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and all the Hereditary Lands of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, *Bavaria* and the upper Palatinate, where the Papiſts have the ſole Power, no Proteſtants are ſuffered to have the publick Exerciſe of their Religion. And theſe whole Territories above mentioned being entire bodies within themſelves, under one head either of the one or the other Religion, without the intermixture of different Dominions, are uniform in the exerciſe of their Religion reſpectively different.

But the intermediate parts of the *German* Empire are interwoven under ſeveral Princes of different Religions, and therefore are of mixt Religionary profeſſions: *that is to ſay*, thoſe profeſſions are exerciſed ſome here, ſome there in different places: and becauſe the Inhabitants of the *intermediate* Territories being mixed and pretending to have each of them a right to the ſame places of Worſhip, various Quarrels did ariſe among them: therefore when they deprived one another of the freedom to exerciſe their *Religion*, the Treaty of Peace at *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug* in the year 1648. did appoint the reſtitution of places for the publick exerciſe of Religion on both ſides, and ordered that all matters of this kind ſhould be thence forward ſettled as they were in uſe heretofore in the *Year* 1624: which Order occaſioned a *Deputation* from all the *States* of the *Empire* at *Francford* in the *Year* 1656, and 1657 and following, to ſee that Decree and other matters put in Execution.

Thoſe *intermediate* Territories are the Circles of *Weſtphalia*, of the *Rhine*, of the *Welterans*, of *Franconia*, and of *Suaben* containing many Principalities and great Cities, depending immediately upon the *Empire*, which being of different Religions and mixed one with another, in reſpect of their Territories and Juriſdictions, none that in the time of War was prevalent, did ſuffer a different Religion to be exerciſed: but ſince the Inſtrument of the Peace made at *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug* was publiſhed, the liberty of Religion is to be regulated univerſally by the 7th

Article,

Article, and ſome other *Articles* determining matters between *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*: and according to this *Conſtitution* altho ſome Territories, which formerly were under Proteſtant Divines, are now under a Popiſh power, and *vice verſâ*, yet the liberty of Religion is to be left to each Party as it was uſed in the year 1624.

Thus the Duke of *Newburg* and one of the *Landgraves* of *Heſſen*, and a Prince of *Naſſaw* are obliged to leave to the *Proteſtants* within their Dominions, the free exerciſe of their Religion. And ſo in ſome of the *Imperial* Cities, as in *Francford*, *Ausburg* and others, the Papiſts have the free exerciſe of their Religion reſtored to them among the Proteſtants.

At *Ausburg* the Magiſtracy is half of the one and half of the other Religion: but in all the other Imperial Cities the Magiſtrates (I think) were wholly Proteſtants, except at *Collen* and *Heilbron* where they are wholly Papiſts.

If any one conſidering the ſharper Animoſities between *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, then thoſe between either of them and the *Papiſts* (accordingly as we are told by *Tacitus*, that *Odia proximorum ſunt acerrima*) ſhall tell me, That if the Treaty of *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug* did plant Civility among *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* as to the Perſons and Religions of each other, it did wonders, I ſhall therein accord with him, and that it was ſomewhat like that of the pulling down the *Partition-wall* between *Jew* and *Gentile*; and that tho *Luther* a more Cholerick yet (I think) a better natured man than *Calvin*, did ſufficiently in his Writings inveigh againſt the aſperity of Magiſtrates in puniſhing Heterodoxy (and particularly in his Tract, *De magiſtratu ſæculari: parte ſecundâ*, where he tells Chief Magiſtrates ſo doing, viz. *Per Deum ſanctè juro, ſi id verum, tantillas vires in vos acceperit veſtra negligentia, nulli eſtis, etiamſi ſiguli non eſſetis inferiores Turca ipſo, potentiâ: neque veſtra crudelitas & rabies vobis quicquam commodabunt:* yet many of *Luthers* followers did not imbibe that his opinion, and as appeared long ago by a dreadful inſtance of this in Queen *Mary*'s time, when *John a Laſco* Uncle to the King of *Poland*, and many Families of Strangers who had been here received by *Edward* the 6th, were baniſhed by Queen *Mary*, and went for *Aſylum* to the King of *Denmark*, but (as I have read it in the *Hiſtory* of that Migration of theirs writ in Elegant *Latin* by *John a Laſco*) he renders their uſage in *Denmark* by the Clergy and Populace to have been very ſevere, and makes the firſt *Courſe* in their Entertainment to be an *Invitation* to Church ſome days after their landing, on pretence of being *inſtructed*, and the hearing there *Calvin* and themſelves publickly *lampoon'd* or railed at: and becauſe that pleaſed not their palates, their next was, an Edict to be gone from the *Metropolis* in a peremptory ſhort time, when the Seaſon of the Froſt in that Country was ſo extremely afflictive, and without permiſſion for their Sick or Infants or Women with Child to ſtay for the Clemency of better weather; and whereby many of them there died with the extremity of the cold in their Journeys. And it had been in a manner as eligible for them to have ſtayed and periſhed in *England* by the Fires of Queen *Mary*: And *Alſted* in his *Chronology* ſpeaking of what happened in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, ſaith to this purpoſe, *Multi ob Religionem mutatam, Angliâ relictâ primò in Daniam, deinde in Germaniam veniunt: nam in Daniâ non poterant habere locum, per theologorum rabiem: inter exules fuit* Johannes Laſcus Polonus.

But

But I can by the *Munſter* Peace, direct the *Reader* to ſee that old *Lutheran* bigotry and hatred of the Perſons and Religion of *Calviniſts* exterminated out of *Germany*, whereby it is determined as by a *Statute Law*, that *the* Calviniſts *ſhall have the ſame right for the free exerciſe of their Religion which the* Lutherans *and* Papiſts *have*, and that to the end that any might be aſhamed of pretending to be afraid of any detriment that might accrue to their Perſons or Religion, under a *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* or *Popiſh* Succeſſor, and that all might be really afraid of diſhonouring God and wounding their Conſciences, by prejudicing the Inheritable Rights of thoſe Princes Succeſſions, it is thus further determined by the 7th *Article* of the *Inſtrumentum pacis Cæſareo ſuecicum*, §. 1. viz. *Unanimi quoque Cæſareæ majeſtatis omniumque ordinum conſenſu*, &c. *'Tis likewiſe thought fit by the unanimous Conſent of the Emperor and all the States of the Empire, that whatever right or benefit both all the other Conſtitutions of the Empire, and the Peace of Religion, and this publick agreement, and the deciſion of all Grievances therein do allow to all Catholick States and Subjects, and to thoſe addicted to the* Auguſtan *Confeſſion, the ſame ſhall likewiſe be allowed to thoſe that are called the Reformed*, (i. e. Calviniſts) *with a Salvo to the States called Proteſtants* (i. e. Lutherans) *as to all things Covenanted and agreed between themſelves with their own Subjects, and as to all Privileges and other diſpoſitions whereby Proviſion was made for Religion and its exerciſe and the things thereon depending, by the States and Subjects of each place, and with a* Salvo *to each for the freedom of their Conſciences. Now becauſe the Controverſies of Religion which are in Agitation at this time among the forenamed Proteſtants have not been hitherto reconciled, but have been referred to a further endeavour of agreement, ſo that they ſtill make two Parties: therefore concerning the right of reforming it is thus agreed between them: that if any Prince or other Lord of the Territory or Patron of any Church ſhall hereafter change his Religion, or obtain or recover a Principality or Dominion either by the right of Succeſſion or by virtue of this preſent Treaty, or by any other Title whatſoever; where the publick exerciſe of the Religion of the other Party is at preſent in uſe, it ſhall be free to him to have his Court-Chaplains of his own Religion about him in the place of his Reſidence, without any burthen or prejudice to his Subjects: but it ſhall not be lawful for him to change the publick Exerciſe of Religion or the Laws, or Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions which have been there hitherto in uſe, or take from thoſe their Churches whoſe they formerly were, or their Schools or Hoſpitals, or the Revenues, Penſions and Stipends belonging thereunto, or apply them to the men of their own Religion, or obtrude on their Subjects men of another Religion, under the pretence of a Territorial Epiſcopal or Patronal Right, or under any pretence whatſoever, or bring about any other hinderance directly or indirectly to the Religion of the other Party*, &c.

In fine, here hath been a great *Pacification*, and the ſame agreed on to be a perpetual Law, and *pragmatick Sanction*, and as ſtrongly binding as any Fundamental Law or Conſtitution thereof, comprehending in behalf of the *Emperor*, all his Confederates and Adherents, firſt the Catholick King and Houſe of *Auſtria* the Electors and Princes of the Empire, the *Hanſe Towns*, the King of *England*, the King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and all the Princes and Republicks of *Italy*, and the States of *Holland* and others, and in the behalf of the Queen of *Sweden* all her Confederates, the moſt Chriſtian King, the *Hanſe Towns*, the King of *England*, the King of *Denmark* and the *Dutch* States, &c.

Well:

Well: but yet it may be by our timid Proteſtants objected; that all theſe *Roman* Catholick Princes thus projecting the Peace of *Germany* and that of *Chriſtendom*, did in this great *Inſtrumentum pacis* and the *pacta Conventa* referred to, but reckon without their *Hoſt*, I mean the Biſhop of *Rome*, and that one *Bull* againſt it from *Rome* would thunder it to nothing, and render it voidable or void, and that all the Conceſſions to *Hereſie* and *Hereticks*, and hindring their *Extermination* were nugatory, and that ſuch a written *Treaty* carried in it, its own *deletion* and that of Hereticks, and that the *Bulla Cœnæ* every *Maundy Thurſday* Excommunicates and Curſes all *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, *Hugonots*, and their *Receivers*, *Fautors*, and *Defenders*, and that the many immunities granted to Hereticks by this Peace as likewiſe *Lands* and *Territories*, and the Erecting of *Biſhopricks* into Secular *Principalities*, and ſettling them on Heretical Princes and their Heirs forever, whereby ſo much prejudice accrued to the *Roman* Catholick Religion and the Apoſtolick Sea, would probably engage the Pope ſome time or other to quaſh it as null, and to damn both the Peace and all that made it.

I anſwer, that within two days after the ſigning that Peace, the Popes *Nuntio* at *Munſter* proteſted againſt it: declaring that he made that *Proteſtation* by the Pope's expreſs Commands: and on the 26th of *November* 1648, Pope *Innocent* the 10th iſſued out his *Bull* againſt it from *Rome* called, *Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri Innocentii divina providentia Papæ. X. Declaratio nullitatis articulorum nuperæ Pacis Germanicæ, Religioni Catholicæ, ſedi Apoſtolicæ, Eccleſiis aliiſque locis piis ac perſonis & juribus Eccleſiaſticis quomodolibet præjudicialium, ad æternam Rei memoriam.* And he therein blames the *Emperor* and his Confederates and the moſt Chriſtian King, on the account of the perpetual abdication of ſome Eccleſiaſtical Goods and Rights poſſeſſed by Hereticks, and for their permitting to Hereticks the free exerciſe of their Religion by that Peace, and their being further Authorized by it to bear *Offices* and enjoy not only Church Livings but Biſhopricks, and Arch-Biſhopricks: and in fine, that Pope having made it null and void, further declares, *That if any have ſworn to obſerve the Articles of that Peace, ſuch Oath ſhall not bind them.*

But what did this *Declaration* from his Holyneſs ſignify in that Caſe? No more than one from *Preſter John* would have done. The Emperor and Princes of *Germany* did gloriouſly ſtand to their *Pacta conventa*, and took care to ſee the ſame ſolemnly ratified and executed notwithſtanding the Papal *Declaration* of their *Nullity*. They knew the Pope's *Nuntio* would ſoon proteſt, and the Pope himſelf declare againſt the Peace: and had therefore in *Terms* therein agreed, *That no Canons or ſpecial Decrees of Councils or Concordats with Popes or Proteſtations, or Edicts, Reſcripts, Mandates or Abſolutions whatſoever ſhould in any Future time be allowed againſt any Article of it.* And they likewiſe knew that the Pope's *Declaration* of the *Nullity* of that Treaty would contain no Threatnings of *Excommunication* or *Damnation* againſt their Perſons, but only *Quelques choſes* or *things of Courſe*, or to ſpeak more properly *Nullities* of Courſe: and that while all Chriſtendom was embarqued in that Treaty and going with full Sail, and favoured with a ſtrong Gale of Nature into its Haven of Reſt, and being to paſs by the Popes Fort, and had reſolved againſt lowering their *Flag* to it, the Pope would of Courſe fire ſome *Bulls* of *Nullity* at them Charged with no ſignificant *Shot*, and as it is uſual for the Forts of Princes to do to Ships that paſs by them without paying the expected Civility, and the Shot from which is not valued by Capital

Ships that paſs by them with a ſtrong Gale of Wind: and which perhaps think it not *tanti* to fire again upon the Fort; nor doth that perhaps throw away more ſhot on them.

And thus ſtood this *Munſter* Peace, wrought (as it were) by the conſent of the Crowned Heads and States of Chriſtendom, and thus it ſtands; and any who will look into the *Empire* will find thoſe *Pacta conventa* as to the part of the Emperor and Princes of the Empire outbraving the chances of time to this year (how much ſoever the Emperor may be ſuppoſed to have been ſteer'd by *Jeſuites* Councils) and likely ſtill ſo to do, whereby the various Rights and Religions of *Princes* and their Subjects have been ſecured, and whereby we may ſee how *unſtudied* thoſe men are in the great Book of the World, who think that Popiſh Princes will not go on in the Courſe of their Politicks, tho the Pope ſhould ſeem in earneſt or in jeſt to ſtop them, and that they cannot tacitly reject the Papal Declarations of Nullity, and yet continue Civil to the *Pope* and his *Church*.

The firm continuance of the *Munſter* Peace to the year 1680, is mentioned by the *Author* of an ingenious Book called, *The Intereſt of Princes and States* that year publiſhed, and which goeth under the name of Mr. *Bethel*, and where 'tis moreover obſerved in p. 155. *That among the Lutheran Princes the Prince of* Hannover *was lately turned Papiſt, and likewiſe one of the Houſe of the Landgrave of* Heſſen, Darmeſtat *and another of* Mecklenburg *lately turned Papiſt, but their Countries do all continue Lutherans, and among the Calviniſt Princes* he mentions the Elector of *Brandenburg*, but ſaith, *his Dominions are moſt Lutherans*, and where in *p.* 156. 'tis his Obſervation that of *four Popiſh Princes of the Empire, all their Countries are Lutherans*, and ſaith, *the Princes in this Country* (meaning *Germany*) *have no great influence on their Subjects in point of Religion:* and ſaith, That *in ſeveral Countries belonging to Popiſh Biſhops and Abbots, many Lutherans and ſome Calviniſts have not only a Right, but do alſo actually enjoy the publick exerciſe of their ſeveral Religions without diſturbance, and much more without Perſecution:* and further inſtanceth in other places in *Germany* where the Proprietors are mixt of ſeveral *Princes, Earls, Free Cities*, and *Romiſh Eccleſiaſticks which cauſeth in each of them the like Variety in Religion, and ſome there being Lutherans and Papiſts and others being Calviniſts, Lutherans and Papiſts.*

And thus we ſee inſtead of the Popes having nulled the *Munſter* Peace *cum effectu*, the *Nulla fides ſervanda cum hæreticis*, hath been nulled in *Germany* by Popiſh Princes, and which if they had not done, *Luthers* aforeſaid *nulli eſtis* had been their *doom:* and the Empire it ſelf had ſcarce been more than a *ſubſtantial Nullity*, as I may ſay alluding to what *Vantius* in his Book, *De Nullitatibus* makes ſuch. In plain terms the *Germans* had not elſe been now a *Nation*, nor would the *Emperor* again have been ſaluted by the *Grand Signior*, as I have in ſome of the Comminatory *Letters* from the *Port* obſerved him called, *viz. Lord of few Regions:* and this any one (I think) will grant who ſhall conſider that all the relaxation he hath had either of inteſtine troubles or Foreign between the years 1648 and 1680, hath made his Circumſtances as to Power and Riches appear but juſt proportionable for holding his own (with the help of his Neighbours) againſt the *Turk*.

I have obſerved great right done to the *Emperors* Politicks in that Peace, by a printed Panegyrical *Oration* made by *Henricus Schmid*, a Famous Profeſſor of Divinity in *Tubing*, for the Celebration of the *Munſter* Peace,

Peace, and wherein he ſaith, That *the Emperor preſerved thereby at leaſt the lives of eleven times a hundred and ninety two thouſand Myriades of men* (that is of 21 *thouſand*, 1 *hundred and* 20 *millions* of men) and whereupon the *Panegyriſt* pronounceth, *That the World was bleſt by a new Æra from that Peace*: and ſome of the Expreſſions in that *Oration* for that purpoſe being very memorable, I ſhall here ſet down, *viz. Ferdinande Cæſar Auguſte, pie fælix triumphator, ſalve, Fælicior Julio Cæſare qui gloriabundus fatebatur, undecies centena & nonaginta duo millia hominum præliis à ſe occiſa; atque ita ut non veniat in hanc rationem ſtragem Civilium bellorum, Tua, Imperator, quâ major eſſe non poteſt, gloria & claritudo erit, totidem Myriadas aut plures non mactaſſe ſed ſervaſſe. Macte animo iſto tuo, imperator, &c. Tuis auſpiciis novum Calendarium Juliano longe melius ac emendatius orbi Chriſtiano exhibetur, quod pacis æra inſignitur*, &c.

The Panegyrical Orator did in his *Calculation* of the Lives ſaved by the Emperor, uſe more than Poetical Licence, as any one will probably think who ſhall read what Sir *W. P.* in a printed *Diſcourſe* hath mention'd of Critical Perſons having judged that there are but 320 *Millions* of *Souls* now in the World: and according to ſome ingenious mens Calculations I have ſeen in print concerning how much at a *Medium* each head may be ſuppoſed to add to the Riches of a State *per* year, and thence making each to be therefore valuable at 80 l. *Sterling*, the *Panegyrick* may be ſaid to have made the Emperor preſerve for the World by that Peace 1 *Hundred* 68 *Thouſand* 9 *Hundred* and 60 *Millions* of Pounds *Sterling*.

But leaving ſo exorbitant a Sum for the diſpoſition and *Aſſets* of *Dego's Will*, and (*raillery* apart) accounting the lives of the *hundreds of thouſands ſlain in* Germany *on the Score of the Excommunication of Princes and Emperors*, (as I have in *p.* 68 mentioned out of *Eraſtus* and ſuitably enough to *Hiſtorical* truth) to have been valuable to the Empire at but half of 80 *l.* each, it may well be ſuppoſed that it was a very vaſt Treaſure that *Germany* hath loſt by its Wars and preſerved by its ſaid Peace.

Yet is there one way aſſignable from which it may be deduced that the value of what the Emperor preſerved was as much really too ſhort, as from the Panegyriſts account it appeared extravagant; and that is this, *viz*, The *Emperor* by that Peace having kept ſo many from afterward deſtroying their own Souls by deſtroying others Bodies, may be truly ſaid to have preſerved what was invaluable, we know who having judged it that there is no *proportion* between the wealth of the whole World and one Soul.

And now having by the deduction of the great *Fact* proved the *Practicableneſs* of the happy continuance of the luſcious bleſſings of Peace and Unity of affections among Princes and their Subjects of different Religions, I ſhall here in the *Cloſe* of the Conſideration of the ſame, entertain the *Reader* with this laſt pleaſant agreeable *Scene* of it, which *Scene* will repreſent to him the fair Church built at *Fredericsburg* by the preſent *Prince Elector*, one of the faireſt Churches in *Germany*: and which was by him in our great year of fears and jealouſies and fatal diſcords, namely 1680, finiſhed and dedicated to *Holy Concord* and *Union* perhaps in Contra-diſtinction to the Term of *Holy Church*: and its Dedication and Conſecration was with great *Devotion* ſolemnized, and not without the choiceſt *Vocal* and *Inſtrumental Muſick* that could be thought proper to be uſed then, and with which the Offices of the *Ceremony* began: and

the

the *Muſick* being over, there was an inaugural Oration there made in the honour of *Holy Concord*, and of the *Dedication* of the Church to it. And after that, the Prince Elector (who is a *Calviniſt*) engaged Doctor *Fabritius* Principal *Divine* to his *Electoral* Highneſs, to preach there; and in the *Afternoon* of that day another *Sermon* was there Preach'd by a *Lutheran* Divine, and in the *Evening*, another *Sermon* was there made by a *Roman-Catholick* Divine: and they all made pious and learned *Sermons* in order to the propagating of *Holy Concord*, applauding therein the Electors deſign, and with a moſt devout attention all thoſe three *Divines* were preſent at each others *Sermons*.

Nor was any of his Popiſh Subjects then afraid that he would infringe the rights of the exerciſe of their Religion, becauſe the *Papal* Intereſt had been ſo active in bereaving his Family of the *Bohemian* Crown as well as of its ancient Rights, many of which are forever abdicated from it by the *Munſter* Peace.

Thus *on this Rock* of the *Munſter* Peace was the *Holy Concord* of holy Church-men diſcordant in opinions founded abroad by a *Prince* allied to the Crown of *England*, and whereby the oppoſite Religionary *Opinors* quitted their Antipathys againſt each other, and the Lion made under his Government *to lie down with the Lamb*, at the ſame time that we groaned under a judgment more opprobrious than that threatned to the *Jews* in *Leviticus*, namely, *The ſending of wild Beaſts among them*, I mean that of our *Populace* being frightened and worried with *Chymæras* and with *Chymeric Ideas* of all Popiſh Princes being bound to have the Council of *Lateran* by *heart*, and to obſerve it *ſemper & ad ſemper*, and without the Latitude of *Prudence* which the very *Definition* of Moral *Vertue* makes *Eſſential* to it (as I may ſay with alluſion to *Ariſtotle's ſicut vir prudens eam definiret*) and to loſe themſelves in catching of *Tartars*, and to have forgot the Saying of *Solomon*, That *in the multitude of the People is the King's honour, and the want of people is the deſtruction of the Prince*, and with the *Idea* of a Heterodox *Prince* ſwearing to maintain the Laws and yet breaking them, and with another *Idea* as horrid and monſtrous, namely, that men might obſerve their Oaths acknowledging *Allegiance* to Kings and their Heirs and Succeſſors, and yet exclude their *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* from the Throne by a Law.

It was an Obſervation worthy of the *Doctor* of the *Gentiles*, and which he inculcated to the *Corinthians*, namely, that τὸ σχῆμα τῦ κόσμυ the faſhion *of this World paſſeth away*.

I have in this *Diſcourſe* mentioned that in the year 1212, the *Lateran* Council brought in *Tranſubſtantiation* as an Article of Faith, and decreed Princes were to be compelled to *exterminate* Hereticks: but the World hath been often *Tranſubſtantiated* ſince that time, and its ſubſtance that the *Apoſtle* calls its faſhion hath been ever in *tranſitu*: and the faſhion of that *Lateran* Council is ſo far *paſſed away* that Proteſtant Writers are ſomewhat put to it to prove it to have been a *General one*.

There was a ſcurvy faſhion long ſince in the World abroad, and that was the faſhion of mens ſowing a piece of red Cloth on their Garments, when the Monks had Preached them into *Cruſados*, for the *Exterminium hæreticorum*, and by Virtue of one of which *Cruſado's Bellarmine* boaſts that 100,000 of the *Albingenſes* were ſlain; but that faſhion hath been long left off in the World, and the World been ſince no more outraged by it than by the *Fraternity* of the *Roſy Croſs*, nor ſo much as our *Engliſh* World hath been by ſome who have troubled it about the *ſign of the Croſs*.

It

The Preface to the Reader.

It was a ſaying of the old *Greek* Philoſophers, ὁ κόσμος ἀλλοίωσις: and the Papal World is as to many of its *Politicks quite another thing* from what it was. *Azorius* in his *Inſtit. Moral.* obſerved in his time, *That it falls out often that that which was not the common opinion a few years ago, now is.*

Some of our *timid* Proteſtants who do not know the *Papal*, *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* World, becauſe they ſee it not in the *Antique* faſhion they heard it was dreſſed in 30 or 40 or 50 years ago, ſeem to have been aſleep ſince the *Munſter* Treaty, and to have dreamed that ſuch faſhion would never alter, and are like *Epeminides* that the old *Fables* mention to have fetched a ſleep of fifty years, and who found himſelf loſt in the World at his wakening, wanting the ſight of the old faſhion to ſhew him where he was.

I have therefore a great Compaſſion for thoſe Proteſtants who take the meaſures of their Religion and Politicks in a manner only out of the *Revelation*, and who think that almoſt all the *Predictions* of that Book were made only for *England*, and that *England* was made to be governed only by their fancies, and their fancies to be given up only to fears of all ill faſhions of things and principles in the World being unalterable, tho there be ſcarce a Chapter in that Sacred *Book* but what refers to Changes and Revolutions, and to moving the unwieldy bulk of Empires by unexpected and irreſiſtable Turns of Fate.

The old *Faſhion* of the Popiſh Writers aſſerting the Right of the Biſhop of *Rome* to take away *Hereticks* lives by virtue of that Branch of the *Judicial* Law of the *Jews*, *Deuteronomy* 17th, hath been long exterminated by them. The words of the *Text* are thus agreeable to the old Latin Tranſlation, *And he that out of Pride ſhall refuſe to obey the Commandment of that Prieſt which ſhall at that time Miniſter before the Lord thy God, that man ſhall by the Sentence of the Judge be put to death:* and the *Calviniſtick* Faſhion of founding the practice of *Hereticidium* on the Authority of the *Judicial* Law is paſſed away. I have in this *Diſcourſe* repreſented the Tenet of firing Heretical Cities, that is in the *Canon* Law founded on *Deuteronomy* the 13th, to be chargeable on our late *Presbyterians*, and that juſtly on the account of their having declared the *Judicial* Law obligatory to us: and have ſhewed what *Calvin*'s Principle and Practice was purſuant to that Law.

The Learned *Klockius* a *Lutheran* Lawyer in his large Volume *de Ærario l. 2. c. 86. n.* 10. endeavours to acquit the *Divines* of his Religionary perſwaſion from the Tenet of *Hereticide*, and ſaith. *Noſtri vero Theologi ut capitali pœnâ hæreticos (contrà quam plerique* Calvinianorum *cum* Pontificiis *cenſent*) *affici nolunt, ita nec bonorum confiſcationem, meo judicio, concederent:* and *Pellerus* in his *Notes* on *Klockius* refers to *Thuanus* about *Servetus* his Caſe, and ſaith of him, *Igitur comprehenſus, cum ſententiam mutare nollet, re prius ex Johannis* Calvini *conſilio cum* Bernatibus. Tigurinis, Baſileenſibus & Schafuſianis *Miniſtris communicatâ, tandem ad mortem damnatus eſt. Ejus doctrinam poſteà* Calvinus (*quòd ei ex illius invidia conflaretur*) *propoſuit & publicato libro confutavit, quo in hæreticos etiam gladio à magiſtratu animadvertendum eſſe contendit.* But *Beza* who was a *Calviniſt*, and in the firſt *Tome* of his *Works*, p. 85. aſſerts *the lawfulneſs of puniſhing Hereticks with death*, cites not only *Bullinger*, who was a *Calviniſt*, but *Melanchton*, who was a *Lutheran*, for the ſame opinion: and *Zanchius Operum Tome* 4. *Lib.* 1. *in tertium præceptum* expreſly owns that opinion.

The fashion of the *Judicial* Law of the *Jews* in that point was certainly most proper for the Body of their *Polity*, as being thereunto adapted by the great *Legislator*: but to say that all States and Polities are bound to observe it, because God prescribed it to the *Jews*, is as senseless, as to say that all men are bound to go cloathed in *Beasts Skins*, because God did Apparel *Adam* and *Eve* in that fashion.

I have in this *Discourse* thought it of some use to the publick to have mens understandings disabused, as to the obligatory power of the *Judicial* Law, because mens erring therein hath very much encreased the *fermentations* in his Majesties Realms in several Conjunctures.

It is not unknown that *Deuteronomy* the 13th, and the 6th was urged to Queen *Elizabeth*, as an Argument for putting the Queen of *Scots* to death.

Our Kingdom hath likewise found by experience, That the *Fifth Monarchy* men, have not fired more Guns against us out of the *Revelation*, than the *Scotch* Presbyterians have out of the *Judicial Law*.

An Excellent *Discourse* called, *Fair warning to take heed of the* Scotish *Discipline*, printed in the year 1649, and writ (I think) by Arch-Bishop *Bramhall*, asserts in *Chap. 6. That it robs the Magistrate of his dispensative Power:* and saith there, *Our Disciplinarians have restrained it in all such Crimes as are made Capital by the Judicial Law, as in the Case of Blood, Adultery, Blasphemy, in which Cases they say the Offender ought to suffer death as God hath commanded. And if the life be spared as it ought not to be to the Offenders*, &c. *And the Magistrate ought to prefer Gods strict Commandment before his own corrupt Judgment, especially in punishing these Crimes which he commandeth to be punished with death.* The Books of the *Scotch Discipline* are there particularly cited by the *Author*.

I have been expressly cautious in the following *Discourse* to exempt the Reformed *Churches* abroad, from the *Odium* of those *Principles* of the former *Scotch* and *English* Presbyterians that I have impugned as Disloyal and Seditious; and was a Concurrer with many loyal Persons after part of it was written in thinking that time had untaught those *Principles* to most of our present *Non-Conformists:* and notwithstanding the many Seditious and Libellous *Pamphlets* published by some of them against the Government both of Church and State, yet such was the continuance of the Candor of the Kings Ministers to them, as that some at the Tryal of a poor seditious *Nominal* Protestant at *Oxford* occasionally declared before that wretch, *We know of no Presbyterian Plot.*

But as a *Popish* Ambassador sent to Queen *Elizabeth* began his *Audience* Speech wherein he was to complain of the *Turks* having unprovoked broke their League with his Master, *Erupit tandem Ottomannorum Virus*, it happened that about the time of the finishing of this *Discourse*, the *poyson* of some pretended Protestants former Seditious *Principles* broke out again in a horrid *Conspiracy* before mentioned, and which was confessed by several of the Conspirators at their *Executions*, and another of whom owned the *Doctrine of Resistance.*

Our blessed *Saviour* cautioning the Christian World in the words of, *Beware of false Prophets*, saith, *You shall know them by their Fruits.*

And our famous *Whitaker* hath in his Controversies well resolved us that these Fruits whereby false Prophets are to be distinguished from true, are rather their *Principles, Interpretations* and *Doctrines*, than their *Lives*, it being generally observed that the Founders of *Sects* are exemplary for the austerity of their lives, and for *coming in Sheeps clothing*, as our *Saviours* words are.

What

The Preface to the Reader.

What the *Principles* of the *Non-Conformiſts* in King *James* his Reign were, I have ſhewn in this *Diſcourſe*, with a Remark on the Political Conſideration, that after the *æra* of the *Gun-powder Treaſon* induced them to give a *Scheme* thereof voluntarily to the Government, and namely, that they might thereby avoid the receiving a *Teſt* from it: and no doubt it was obvious to them that while their Principles were hid and concealed from the State, the warding off of *Faux* his *Dark Lanthorn* would not have left the Government ſecure, till it had likewiſe got the *Non-Conformiſts* dark Lanthorn from them, I mean by the publication of their *Tenets*.

Of their *Principles* ſhortly after 41, the *Scotch* Covenant was a ſufficient *Scheme*. And tho the Tenets of Presbyterians and Independents relating to their Forms of Church Government are enough known as is likewiſe the degree of their *Complicating* Principles of Sedition with the ſame, between the years 1641 and 1660: yet from that laſt year to this preſent one, they have not by the publication of any *Confeſſion* of *Faith* or *Scheme* of their Tenets, ſatisfied the Government that all their Principles are conſiſtent with the Civil *Polity* thereof, and that they have renounced thoſe former Tenets of theirs that once deſtroyed it, and particularly that intolerably ſeditious one, viz. *That if the Magiſtrate will not reform the World, they may.*

But becauſe ſeveral of their *Eccleſiaſticks* have not renounced the *Irreligionary* part of their former Principles (and which were ſo deſtructive to the Sacred Perſons of Princes and their State and Government, and of all *Humane* Society) the *Univerſity* of *Oxford* in their *Convocation July* 21ſt, *Anno* 1683. did to their great honour paſs their *Judgment* and *Decree* againſt certain particular Books of *Non-Conformiſts*, and *Jeſuites* and others, wherein thoſe Tenets and Principles were owned: and the very ſhewing of thoſe Tenets to the World by ſuch learned and loyal hands, hath been (I believe) uſeful in making many of the Loyal Lay *Non-Conformiſts* withdraw from others of them they thought therewith infected; a thing that might well be ſuppoſed naturally to happen when thoſe of them to whom the *term* of *Sober Party* was moſt due, obſerved that the publication of the *Diſſenters Sayings* and of the Cenſure of their Tenets, had not occaſioned their Leaders to publiſh other *Diſſenters Sayings*, or Tenets that impugned *Diſloyalty* and *Sedition*, and promoted obedience to Government, and what ſeveral Writers of the Church of *Rome* have been formerly obſerved to do upon the Worlds minding how much the Principles of the *Jeſuites* had ſhook the Thrones of Kings, and as particularly Father *Caron* in his *Remonſtrantia Hybernorum* hath done, and there citing 250 *Popiſh Authors* who deny the *Pope's* Power to depoſe Kings.

And no doubt but Diſſenters late *Omiſſions* in this kind, and *Commiſſions* in another, will awaken the *Magiſtracy* to require from all *Proteſtant* Recuſants ſuch an exact *Inventory* of their Tenets as hath not yet been given it: and the rather for that it is not by any *Diſſenters* denied that the Sovereign is ſo far *Cuſtos utriuſque tabulæ*, as to be allowed to require all *Religionary* Parties to give him an account of their Principles, and to live according to the Rule of them.

Thus in the *Dutch* States the Magiſtrates of every place where any *Sect* of the Heterodox is tolerated, are religiouſly careful, firſt to inform themſelves exactly of all their Tenets and Principles, and to ſee that they hold no opinion prejudicial to the Conſtitutions of their Government: and

and none doubts but that the entire Body of the Tenets or Principles of the *Diſſenters* to the *Gallican* Church, is as conſpicuous to that *Church* and *State*, and indeed to the World as can be deſired, the preſent agreement of which with the Meaſures of Loyalty I have ſhewn in this *Diſcourſe*.

Who hath there read the *Hugonots Sayings* publiſhed with any ſtain to their Loyalty, or hath ſeen any of their *Tenets* branded for *Sedition* by an *Univerſity* or *College* in *France*? But our *Proteſtant Recuſants* having had here the *liberty* by *Act* of *Parliament* to enjoy their peculiar ways of Religious Worſhip in their own Families, with the *toleration* of *four* others of the ſame perſwaſion to be preſent, before all their *Principles* and *Tenets* have been notified to the Government, is an inſtance of greater *Indulgence* ſhewn by the Government here to ſuch *Heterodox*, than (I believe) can be parallel'd in any Country whatſoever.

All dangers are naturally multiplied in the dark: and it is a diminution of our dread of the very *Jeſuites* Principles, that they are generally known: but if the Body of their Principles were as much unknown, as are thoſe of Proteſtant Recuſants, yet would the publick be more immediately concerned in having firſt an accurate account of thoſe of the latter, as being more numerous.

It may be well thought a *Bankrupt* Church whoſe Principles are *latitant*: and any mens begging from the Magiſtrate Indulgence to a *Principle* of *Sedition*, would be as ſhameful as the Inſolence of a Beggar not only *begging twenty Pound* (as our *Comœdian* ſaid) but begging a Leg or an Arm: and not like a mans asking me who ſtands in my way as I am travelling on the Road that I would not ride over him, but that he may mount into the Saddle whoſe Principles direct him to ride over me.

It was well obſerved by *Lipſius* in his Notes in *Seneca*, That *Naturæ quodam Inſtinctu ea maleficia coercent homines & puniunt quæ ſocietatem convellunt.*

But as to any Out-rages from any *Religionaries* which are either prejudicial to the Bodies of particular Perſons, or even *Convulſive* of the Bodies of States and Kingdoms (and to which the Actors might be inclined by their particular *heats*, and not the general *light* of their avowed *Principles*) I account that Complaints againſt ſuch will ſoon evaporate into Air or be buried in Earth, and with ſome alluſion to the words of, *Let the dead bury the dead*, I may ſay, let *Plots* bury *Plots*, and *Shams Shams*, and let any Seditious Proteſtants and Seditious Papiſts on the *Compenſation* of their *Crimes* forbear troubling others by calling one another *Criminals*; and the Figure of the Body of their Parties can no more be altered by the unevenneſs and exorbitance of the actings of particular Perſons, than is the rotundity of the Earth by the ruggedneſs of Rocks or protuberance of Mountains.

And that where one Papiſt goeth out of the World at the back door of Juſtice, for the Treaſon of Clipping and Coyning, twenty of the more numerous body of the Proteſtants do ſo, is not to be wondered at: but the *id ipſum* to be regarded in any reflections made on a Religion by occaſion of its *Criminals*, is its Principles: and if it could be proved that any *Cœtus* of men were allowed by the Church of *England* to aſſert the lawfulneſs of that *Treaſon*, (as both Papiſts and Presbyterians have the lawfulneſs of the *Doctrine* of *Reſiſtance*) that indeed would have the weight of a juſt *Reflection* on our *CHURCH*.

Tho

Tho ſeveral diſſolute and nominal Proteſtants may poſſibly have invented and forged as many Shams and Calumnious Accuſations againſt other Proteſtants and Papiſts, as if they had believed the Practice of *Calumny* to be lawful, yet hath any of them publiſhed in Print the *Tenet* of the lawfulneſs of it, or its being a poor *Peccadillo*? Who knoweth not that ſome particular *Divines* of the Church of *England* by the turbulence of their ſeveral diſpoſitions, have enflamed differences and diviſions in our Church and State? But who can charge them from doing this by Communication of Councils with their *Superiors*, and by inſtruction from them? Were any of them charged by *Proclamations* for doing any thing of that nature, as ſome Popiſh Recuſants were by his *Majeſty's* of *Jan.* 16. 1673. *for chiefly occaſioning the inteſtine diviſions among us*, and by his Majeſty's Proclamation of *December* 2d, 1680. *for fomenting of differences among his Loyal Proteſtant Subjects*?

But yet this *Fact* tho thus by the Government charged on ſome ill men of that Religionary perſwaſion would not have moved me to reflect with the leaſt heat on the *Order* of *Jeſuites* in this *Diſcourſe* (by whom ſo many of our *Roman* Catholicks are conducted) but for their own *Proclamations* of their *Principles* in their Books, and particularly as to the point of *Calumny*, the only Engine by which *Diviſions* could be wrought among Proteſtants; and but for their ſetting up that *Doctrine* heretofore, without leave from the Pope's *Canon* Law, and backing it with another to fright any Fools or Knaves from diſparaging or even calumniating them, and for their making uſe and application of theſe Doctrines ſince the Pope had damned them by a *Proclamation*, I mean his *Edict* of *March* 79: and but for Father *Parſons* having ſo ſcandalouſly expoſed the narrowneſs of his Soul, and the poor *Ideas* he had of Humane Nature, and even of the Character of a Gentleman by ſaying what I have in *p.* 61. cited out of his Book of *The Succeſſion*, viz. *That many Jealouſies, Accuſations and Calumniations muſt needs light on the Party that is of different Religion from the State and Prince under whom he lives.*

As there is very little in this *Diſcourſe* that reflects on any *Principles* of the *Romaniſts* that may be called *Religionary*, ſo neither have I troubled my ſelf to attacque the *Tenets* of the Society of the *Jeſuites*, and of other *Caſuiſts* condemned by this Pope, that do not *hominum ſocietatem convellere*, and it may well be ſuppoſed that I having partly grounded my Conjectures of the happy Future State of *England* on the former faſhion of *Polemical* Writing *being paſſed away*, could not be much tempted to Controverſy.

The *Jeſuites* and *Caſuiſts* may ſtill hold the 23d *Tenet* branded in the Pope's *Decree* as long as they will, without any diſturbance from my Pen, viz. *Faith in its large ſenſe only from the Evidence of the Creation, or ſome ſuch Motive is ſufficient for Juſtification*, and ſo likewiſe the 46th *Tenet* there, viz. *frequent Confeſſion and Communion even in thoſe that live as Heathens is a Mark of Predeſtination*, and many other *Tenets* there relating to *Religion*, and which the *Pope* with ſo great a Paſtoral Sollicitude hath damned *as at leaſt ſcandalous and pernicious in Practice*, and hath *prohibited* to be *defended* by any under the pain of Excommunication, *ipſo facto*.

But there are other *Tenets* by him in that *Decree* condemned, that I have in this *Diſcourſe* dilated on as *Convulſive* of Humane Society, which the *Pietas in patriam* occaſioned in me ſuch tranſports of paſſion againſt, that I wiſhed he had ſignalized with ſharper words of *Cenſure* than thoſe

beforementioned, and that I thought the *Excommunicatio Major* with the *Ceremony* of *lighted Torches* too little for, and even an ordinary *Anathema* in their case to be a Complement or a kind of *sham censuring* them as *abominable and not good*, or somewhat like the Censure *pro formâ* shot off against the *Munster* Peace: and I supposed that if he had Sentenced them to be *absolutely in themselves evil*, he would have satisfied every one that he had put the World out of their Gun-shot by his putting it out of his power to dispense with them.

However finding that *Decree* of great moment to *Christendom*, and yet by the generality of *Papists* or *Protestants* to have been not much more regarded than are the *Copies* of the *Dialogues* between *Pasquin* and *Marphorio* that come here, I have deliberately Surveyed it and done it what right I could. And by occasion hereof do here call to mind a *Remark* on the *Papacy* I met with in a *Pamphlet* of one of our *Dissenters*, viz. *That if the Pope were a good man, he might do a great deal of good.*

Tho for sometime after I had begun this *Discourse*, I was somewhat a Stranger to the great Character of the present Pope, (and so continued till reading the *Preface* of Dr. *Burnet's* very learned Book of the *Regale*, I found he there Celebrated him in these words, viz. *That he is a man of great probity, and that on his advancement to the Papacy, he conceived a very ill opinion of the whole Order of the Jesuites,*) I since found cause from the Universal Concurrence of all Impartial men about the same, to have the firmer opinion of the quiet of *England*, and do expect from the influences of such a Pope on the Loyalty and Religion of the *Roman* Catholicks of *England*, some advance of its happiness.

Tho most men may have only little *Ideas* of the *Deity* as of somewhat above the Clouds, that as a great *Cypher* only surrounds the World, yet the wiser few who have particularly observed the watchful Eye of Providence over the Critical passages, and windings and turnings in their own lifes, cannot but be sensible that in the designation of persons at stated times to be at the Helm of the Church of *Rome*, (and who are necessarily to have so great a share in the *External*, and a much greater in the *Internal* Government of the World) the great Governor of it, and *preserver of men* is no unconcerned Spectator.

It is (I think) most highly probable that at a time when the World being filled with the Jesuites *Principles* and Casuistick *distinctions*, *Vertue* it self was grown *an empty Name*, and the *Casuists Project of finishing Transgression, and making an end of Sin* in a subtle way and contrary to the plain Method intended by our *Saviour*, had in a great part of the World almost finished the most Vital part of Christian Religion, I mean *plain* and *downright* Morality, and at a *time* when some *Virtuosi* in *Italy* and elsewhere *half-witted* and *half Atheists* taking it for granted that in what hearts soever the Jesuites and Casuists Religionary Model had prevailed, the simplicity of the Gospel was extinguished, were observed to talk of *Albumazar's* fond *prediction* of the *Christian* Religion lasting but about 1460 *years*, and Criticising of the time from whence its promulgation and likewise the promulgation of those Casuistical *Tenets* bore *date*, did prophanely insinuate their *Miscreant-Conceptions* of the Christian Religion not lasting till the time assigned in the *Scripture* for Christs surrendring his *Mediatory* Kingdom to his *Father*. I say it is most highly probable that at such a time (and when the Jesuites Interest too, had so much *Prosperity* as to tempt them to think that the Mountain of their Religion *should never be moved*) that nothing less than the great

Vertue

Vertue and Courage of this *Pope* appearing by his ſaid *Decree* could ſecure Vertue it ſelf and the true *Chriſtian* Morality; and give the World occaſion to ſay with ſome *Alteration* of the *Queſtion* put to *Eſther*, viz. *Who knoweth not that he is come to* Rome's See *for ſuch a time as this is?*

The *Mountainous* heap of *Rubbiſh* in the *Jeſuites* and other *Caſuiſts Principles* (and even in the *Canon* Law) appears very ſtupendious to the World, but conſidering the Chriſtian Heroical Acts of this *Pope* (and who for his ſeverity againſt the abuſes of *Indulgences*, hath been by ſome Papiſts called the *Lutheran Pope* (as I ſaid) and for his anger againſt the Jeſuites Principles been called the *Janſeniſt Pope* by others) I think another great *Queſtion* in the Prophet *Zechary* may be here not improperly applied, *viz. Who art thou O great Mountain before* Zerubbabel?

Little did the *Jeſuites* think that when they Crowned the *Papacy* with a *double* Crown, I mean of its infallibility in *Law* and likewiſe in *Fact* (a Crown much more glorious than its *Triple* one) any Pope would ever uncrown their *Principles* and expoſe their baldneſs to the World: and little do they who fear that ever this *Pope* will occaſionally diſpenſe with any mens practiſing theſe *Principles*, think of the ſecurity they have againſt the ſame from his inflexible Virtue and perfect Antipathy to injuſtice, and which are judged to be ſo inherent in his Nature that I ſhall here occaſionally ſay that as I was ſomewhat a Stranger formerly to the Character of this *Pope*, ſo I believe ſome of the *Plot-witneſſes* were that reflected on him ſo ignominiouſly: for undoubtedly had it been underſtood by them, they would never have thought their *Credibility* could have out-lived their firſt attacquing it.

It may poſſibly be here objected by ſome Critical Inſpectors into the late Papal Tranſactions that *Alexander* the 7th (as this Pope obſerves in the beginning of his ſaid *Decree*) did firſt damn ſome of the *Jeſuites* Principles, *viz.* in the *year* 1665, and that *Guymenius* ſhortly after in that *year* appearing in *Print* as a Champion for the *Principles* ſo *damned*, the *College* of *Sorbon* ſhortly after that damned the *Work* of *Guymenius* in the 11th of *May* the ſame *year*; and that in the latter end of *June* ſo ſhortly following in the ſame *year*, the ſame Pope *Alexander* the 7th, damned that very *Sorbon* Cenſure of *Guymenius*; and that therefore 'tis poſſible the great *Scene* of *Vertue* appearing in this *Popes* ſaid *Decree* may with a ſhort turn of Apoſtolical Power receive too the Fate of *Pageantry* and preſently diſappear, and that the great *Mountain* which his *Faith* hath *removed* into the *midſt of the Sea*, may in little more than the twinkling of an Eye return to its old place.

But in *Anſwer* to which I ſhall do that right to the *Papacy* to clear the *miſtake* in the *objection*, and inform the *Reader* that tho *Alexander* the 7th did *Ex Cathedra*, damn that *Sorbon*-Cenſure as aforeſaid, yet it appears out of the *Condemnatory Bull* it ſelf, that what that Pope there did was not out of favour to *Guymenius* or the *Jeſuites* themſelves or their *Tenets*: and that to ſatisfie the World in that point he there gives the reaſon for his *damning* the *Sorboniſts* Cenſure, namely, becauſe it intermedled in Cenſuring ſome other Propoſitions or Principles of the Jeſuites that concerned the *Authority* of the *Pope*, the *Juriſdiction* of *Biſhops*, the *Office* of the *Pariſh Prieſts*, and the *Privileges* granted by *Popes*; and but for the *Sorbons complicating* which with their *Cenſure* of the other Scandalous *Principles* of the *Jeſuites*, no doubt but the *Sorbon Cenſure* had ſtood as a Rock unſhaken.

Let therefore such who fear every thing, fear that this great *Pope* will after his said Condemnatory *Decree* appear, αὐτοκατάκριτος or *Self-Condemned*, while I observe it for the honour of his *Justice* that he made that *Decree*, and for the honour of his *Prudence* that before *Nature* had caused the detestable *Principles* therein censured silently to *evaporate*, he gave the World this loud warning of them, as it likewise may be for the honour of that great *Seminary* of the *Divines* of our Church of *England*, our University of *Oxford* observed, that before the Seditious Principles and Tenets of *Jesuites* and some *Dissenters* came to be naturally exterminated out of the *English* World by fear and shame, they notified them to this Age, and to Posterity.

There is no Subject that hath since the year 1641, more employed the *English* Press than that of *Liberty of Conscience pro* and *con*: and the fiercest and sharpest of the Writings concerning it, were what passed between the *Independents* and *Presbyterians* on the occasion of *Presbytery's* great *Effort*, to make the *English* Nation by one short general turn Proselyted to its *Model*, and when it pushed for the *auspicious* fate of former great Religionary *Conversions* happening as it were *simul* and *semel*, and when *Nations* seemed to be like the *Hyena*, which having but one *Backbone* cannot turn except it turn all at once.

But the *Independents* observing the Kingdom and Presbytery frowning on one another, thought they could do nothing more popular than to take the Arguments they found in the many *Pamphlets* of the *Presbyterians* lying on every Stall for toleration under the old *Hierarchy*, and turn them upon *Presbytery*, and every one then who had fears and jealousies of the Arbitrarineſs of Presbytery, seem'd to be a well wisher to those *Books* for *Liberty of Conscience*; and the destroying of the Credit of Presbytery by Books that had so much contentious fire in them, was really an acceptable sweet-smelling *Sacrifice* to the Nation.

And after the King's *Restoration* tho some few Books were writ of that Subject (and with much more Candour than the others) yet the *Yoke* of the King's Ecclesiastical Laws was so easie to the People, as that the Writing of Books against it was not encouraged by *Popular* Applause.

The King's *Declaration* of *Indulgence* afterward appearing (and as not gained by *dint* of Pen but *ex mero motu*) was applauded by some few particular Writers among the Popish and Protestant Recusants discoursing in *Print* at their ease, of *Liberty of Conscience*.

But as if *Nature* meant that *Books* of that Subject should no more here divert the curious World, the Empire *toleration* had thereby gained, did presently labour under its own weight, and the *Non-Conformists* being jealous of that *Declaration* proving a *President* of the *Prerogatives suspending Acts of Parliament* in general, and suspecting that the Popish Recusants would have the better of that *Game*, as supposed to have many great *Court-Cards* here and abroad in the World and likely to have more, while the Protestant Recusants had not so good in their hands (tho yet they had here what amounted to the point in *Picquet*, I mean the advantage of their *Numbers*) did presently thereupon cause all the *Cards* to be thrown up: but first had in *Concert* with the *dealers* provided for the packing them to their own advantage in a new *Deal*.

In plain *English*, some Loyal Persons and firm Adherents to the Church of *England* in the *House of Commons*, thinking that Declaration illegal, (and whether justly or no, I here presume not in the least to question) endeavoured *tanquam pro aris & focis* to get that *Declaration* Cancell'd,

and

and knowing they could not effect the ſame without the help of the *Diſſenters* Party in *Parliament* engaged their help therein, by giving them hopes to carry an *Act of Parliament* for their *Indulgence*: but what a little *fore-ſight* would have made appear to them impoſſible to be gained, for many Conſiderations too *obvious* to be named.

And the natural reſult of this *Fact* (which is on all hands confeſſedly true) cannot but be the making of the former *faſhion* of Polemical writing for *liberty of Conſcience to paſs away.*

We have ſince ſeen ſome few Florid Sheets publiſhed by ſome of the Diſſenting *Clergy* on that Subject, but they have made no other Figure then that of the poor Reſemblances of *Flowers* extracted by Chimical Art out of their Aſhes: and any little ſhaking them in the *Glaſs* of *Time* muſt make them preſently fall in pieces.

I have in this *Diſcourſe* expreſsly owned my having no regret againſt any *due* or *Legal* Relaxation of the Penal Laws againſt Recuſants: but what any *due* or *legal* way may be therein, I enquire not.

The power of the King in *diſpenſing* with the *Penalties* in caſe of particular Perſons was not (that I hear of) in the leaſt Controverted in the Debates of the *Commons* about that *Declaration.* And *Fuller* in his *Church Hiſtory* relateth, that when Biſhop *Williams* was Lord-Keeper, there was a *Toleration* granted under the *Great Seal* to Mr. *John Cotton* a Famous Independent *Divine*, for the free exerciſe of his *Miniſtry* notwithſtanding his diſſenting in Ceremonies, *ſo long as done without diſturbance to the Church:* and the lawfulneſs of which particular Indulgence (I ſuppoſe) none in that Age controverted, as I think none would any thing of that kind in this.

But if this *Queſtion* of *Toleration* had not here been at the end of its Race, and if no ſuch thing had happened as the *Declaration of Indulgence*, and Diſſenters thereby manumitted from Penal Laws ſaying, *Soul take thy eaſe*, and preſently Acting the Part of *ſelo de ſe*, by effecting the Cancelling of that *Declaration*, and if the *Controverſy* were now to begin to ſtart forward, I account it would cauſe but a very ſhort fermentation among us.

For no Books need be writ to prove the *lawfulneſs* of what an *Act of Parliament* hath permitted to every private Family, and to a certain number of other perſons to participate therein with them. And if *Diſſenterſhip* would now call for more *Toleration*, its very being called on to name its *Tenets* in order to the ſecurity of the Government in granting it to more perſons to aſſemble together in enjoying it, its very naming them would (I believe) ſoon *perimere litem* in the Caſe: and ſome of its *Tenets* would perhaps appear too little, and others too great to require the formality of *Debate*.

It is even ridiculous to ſuppoſe that any *Jeſuites* and *Diſſenters* would now dare to demand *Toleration* for the Principles of the *Crown-Divinity* of each, mentioned in the *Oxford Cenſure.* None of them would now dare to be *Confeſſors* of Religionary *Principles* that would make Kings *Martyrs.*

And as I think that the *Pope* needed not crave Aid from his *Vatican*, nor the *Oxford-Convocation* from their *Bodleian* Library to confute monſtrous Tenets Condemned by either (for in this Caſe according to the words of *Tertullian adverſ. Valent. Demonſtrare ſolummodo, deſtruere eſt*) ſo I likewiſe think that both Popiſh and Proteſtant Recuſants will be aſhamed to crave Aid of *Toleration* from the Magiſtracy for *Principles* they

are aſhamed to own, or indeed for any but what they ſhall firſt own, and the rather when our *Proteſtants* ſhall recollect with what vigorous Expedition the great Owners of that *Name* in *Germany*, publiſhed their Religionary *Confeſſions*, as *Alſted* tells us in his *Chronologia teſtium veritatis*, where he makes mention of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, tendred to *Charles* the 5th, and the *States* of the Empire in the *year* 1530, and of the *Confeſſio Suevica* in the ſame *year*, and of the *Confeſſio Baſileenſis* in the next *year*, and of the *Confeſſio Helvetica* in the *year* 1556, and of all the other great Proteſtant *Confeſſions* exhibited ſeverally to the World before the *year* 1573.

Such of our *Diſſenters* therefore who have to this *year* 1684, made it their buſineſs to be *Anti-Confeſſors* by hiding many of the particularities of their *Principles*, and giving the World cauſe perhaps to ſay, *Difficilius eſt invenire quàm vincere*, and who yet aſſume the name of *Proteſtancy*, will perhaps hardly think it poſſible for them to gain *Toleration* for their further being called by that Name, without ſhewing the Title of their Principles to it.

As on the account of what I have ſaid it would be a *Perſecution* to the World, for the moſt ingenious men to trouble it with *Diſcourſes of the lawfulneſs of Toleration*, ſo it would too be to trouble it with *Diſcourſes* of the *unlawfulneſs of denying Toleration* to men who either deny their *Principles*, or deny to give an account of them: a *duty* that can plead as clear a *jus Divinum* for it ſelf as any *Form* of Church Government, and by Vertue of which *Chriſtians* are to *be ready always to give an anſwer to every man that asks them a reaſon of the hope that is in them, with meekneſs and reverence.*

There are ſome Principles to which it is by all agreed, that 'tis unlawful to give Toleration, namely, to thoſe that diſturb Civil Society; nor would it appear otherwiſe than ridiculous to the hoodwink't *ſober Party* of any *Sect*, that when the Magiſtrates reprove them in thoſe words of our Saviour, *yee worſhip yee know not what*, the Magiſtrates by tolerating them at that time ſhould give cauſe to others to tell them, *yee tolerate yee know not what*.

I have obſerved it in the Courſe of my reading, that there is one great point of *Religion* on which the *hinge* of *Loyalty* doth very much turn, that ſeveral Eminent *Papiſts* and *Non-Conformiſts*, have not dared to ſpeak their plain agreed ſenſe of, and as to which it may therefore ſeem very rational that they ſhould, and that is, *How far the Civil Laws of Princes or the Municipal Laws do bind the Conſcience*, a *Point* that the Council of *Trent* could not be brought to *Define*; and herein 'tis obvious to conſider that tho 'tis on all hands granted that in any thing contrary to the Divine Law natural and poſitive, thoſe Laws do not bind the Conſcience, and that the *jus Divinum* of the *Papacy*, *Presbytery*, or *Independency* would not be caught *with a why not*, on the holding the *Queſtion* in the *Affirmative*, that *Humane* Laws do bind the *Conſcience* in things not contrary to the *Law* Divine, yet are the *Adherents* to thoſe *Religionary* Models conſcious to themſelves, that in many particulars neceſſary to bring them into practice, there muſt be a *Sanction* of them by *Penal Municipal* Laws, and they hoping to have the Magiſtracy and its Power on their ſide, and to Act in Concert with them according to that Saying of the *Emperor* to his *Biſhop*, *Jungamus gladios*, and knowing that the Authority of the Magiſtrate to ſupport both *Religion* and *Loyalty*, and for the *Cuſtody* of both *Tables*, hath as clear a *jus Divinum* as their *Plat-forms* can have,

and

and that therefore the *Civil* Power will not let its *jure-Divinity* be *taken* too by any *with a why not* (as it would be if the *Queſtion* were held wholly in the *Negative*) they have in their *Writings* been generaly obſcure and ſhort in that point, and have hoped by their power and intereſt to keep the *World* from calling on them to explain.

But I have in my occaſional Converſe with ſome of the moſt learned of the Non-Conforming *Clergy* obſerved them in Diſcourſe to ſpeak out their minds plainly and *Categorically* enough that *Humane* Laws do not *bind* the Conſcience, and to account it an *abſurd* thing to make any *Penal* Law bind the Conſcience even in matters purely *Civil*, and wherein there is no pretence of any things enjoyned concerning the Worſhip of God, and yet where the things under *Penalties* enjoyned are of great importance to the *State*.

The men of ſomewhat *hot* rather then diſtinguiſhing heads, tho they know that *Humane* Laws are neceſſarily *Penal*, and tho they believe that *Oeconomics* do beſt ſubſiſt by their *Wives* and *Children* and *Servants*, being bound to obſerve thoſe their lawful Commands by the *Tye* of *Religion* that they intended ſhould be effectually obeyed, have not conſidered that *Politicks* would likewiſe thereby be beſt preſerved, nor learned to *diſtinguiſh* the *Penal* Laws where the Magiſtrate intended to oblige the Subject in point of *Fault*, and where only in point of the *Penalty*: but our *clear-headed* and loyal hearted *Sanderſon* who may well come under the account of *τῶν τριτομυρίων* as to thoſe *Opiners*, hath for the honour of the Church of *England's* Principles in his 8th *Lecture* (and there *de lege pœnali*) well taught us in what Caſes *Penal* Laws oblige in *Conſcience*, and ſhewed that they may ſo bind where the Legiſlator did intend to oblige the Subject *Ad culpam etiam & non ſolum ad pœnam*: and in that Caſe ſaith he, *Certum eſt eos teneri ad obſervandum id quod lege præcipitur, nec ſatisfacere officio ſi parati ſint pœnam lege conſtitutam ſubire*, and where he further ſaith, That *the mind and intention of the Legiſlator is chiefly ſeen in the Proeme of his Law*, in quo (ſaith he there) *ut acceptior ſit populo lex, ſolet Legiſlator Conſilii ſui de eâ lege ferendâ cauſas, & rationes exponere quàm ſit lex juſta, quam fuerit tollendis incommodis & abuſibus neceſſaria, quàm futura ſit Reip. utilis.*

There is a particular *Principle* of moment worthy of the Magiſtrates *Survey*, that relates to the *Gathered Churches*, and that is a *Principle* made a neceſſary ingredient in the *Conſtitution* of of thoſe Churches by a *Divine* of the ſame Authority among them, as Biſhop *Sanderſon* is in the Church of *England*, and whom I occaſionally beforementioned, and that is, Mr. *John Cotton* B. D. who in a *Pamphlet* of his printed at *London* in the *year* 1642 Entituled, *The true Conſtitution of a particular viſible Church proved by Scripture, wherein is briefly demonſtrated by Queſtions and Anſwers, what Officers, Worſhip and Government Chriſt hath ordained in his Church* (and in the *Title-page* whereof is this place of *Scripture*, viz. Jer. 50. 5. *They ſhall ask the way to* Sion *with their faces thitherward, ſaying, Come let us joyn our ſelves to the Lord in a perpetual COVENANT that ſhall not be forgotten*) in p. 1ſt, makes his firſt *Queſtion*, what is a Church? And the *Anſwer* is, *The Church is a myſtical Body whereof Chriſt is the head; the Members and Saints called out of the World and united together in one Congregation by an holy COVENANT, to Worſhip the Lord and to Ediſie one another in all his holy Ordinances.*

And in another *Book* of his printed at *London* in the *year* 1645 called, *The way of the Churches of Chriſt in New* England, his third *Propoſition* is

this,

this, viz. *For the joyning of faithful Christians into the Fellowship and Estate of a Church, we find not in Scripture that God hath done it any other way than by entring of them all together (as one man) into an holy COVENANT with himself to take the Lord (as the head of the Church) for their God and to give up themselves to him to be his Church and People: which implies their submitting of themselves to him, and one to another in his fear, and their walking in professed subjection to all his Ordinances, their cleaving one to another as fellow Members of the same Body in Brotherly Love and Holy Watchfulness unto Mutual Edification.*

He there partly props up the Obligation of this *Church Covenant* on the *Jewish* Oeconomy mentioned in the Book of *Deuteronomy* and other places of the Old Testament.

The reasonableness of *Subjects* not entring into Religionary *Covenants* without the Consent of the *Pater patriæ*, may be inferred from the old Testament, where in *Numbers c.* 30 the Parent hath a power given for the controuling of the Childrens Vows not enter'd into by his consent: but since these Principles of a new *Church Covenant* may seem to introduce a new Ecclesiastical Law without the *King's* privity and consent (a thing that if our very *Convocation* should presume to do, would bring them within a *Præmunire*,) and since the whole power of reforming and ordering of all matters *Ecclesiastical* is by the Laws in expres words *annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm* (and particularly by the 1st of *Elizabeth*) and since that it hath been said, that even without an *Act of Parliament*, a new Oath or Covenant cannot be introduced among the King's Subjects, and moreover since all the famous Religionary Confessions of the Protestant Churches abroad, assert nothing of any such *Church Covenant*, and since *Covenants* and *Associations* have lately heard so ill in the Kingdom, I think the nature and terms of this *Independent* Covenant ought to be laid as plain before the Eye of the Government as was the *Scotch* Presbyterian one.

Those words of Mr. *Cotton* of *the entring them all together as one man into an holy Covenant*, carry some thing like the same sound of *one* and *all*, and tho their thus *entring into it to take the Lord as the head of his Church for their God, and to give up themselves to him to be his Church and People*, may be a plausible beginning of this new Church Covenant *in nomine Domini*, yet the following words, of *submitting themselves to him and to one another in his fear, and their cleaving one to another as fellow Members of the same Body in Brotherly Love and Holy Watchfulness*, are words that (I think) the Magistracy ought to watch, and to see that *Dissenters* have a very sound form of words prescribed to them in this Case, if it shall think fit to have the same continued.

I have found the *Assertion* of a Church Covenant as Essential to the Form of a true *Independent* Church in many other of their *Books*, and do suppose that this Covenant being laid as Corner-stone in the building of their Churches by *Divine Right*, it must last as long as *Independency* it self: and of its lasting still, I met with an *Indication* from a Loyal and Learned *Official* of the Court-Christian, who told me that tho several of the *Dissenters* called *Presbyterians* have been easily perswaded to repair to the Divines of the Church of *England* that they were admonished to confer with, and had upon Conference with them come to Church and took the *Sacrament*, yet he thought that some of another Class of Dissenters were possessed with a Spirit of incurable Contumacy, by reason of their Principles having tied them together to one another by a *Covenant*.

And

And if it ſhall therefore appear to the Magiſtrates that they are thus *Conference-proof* and (as I may ſay) *Reaſon-proof* by vertue of their Covenant, it will then be found that no one *Member* of a gathered *Church* can turn to ours, without the whole *Hyena*-like turning, and perhaps ſome of the *Lords* the *Biſhops* may think it hereupon proper humbly to adviſe his Majeſty to *null* by a *Declaration* the Obligation of this *Covenant* as his Royal *Father* did that of the *Presbyterian* Covenant.

In the mean time the Conſideration of the Principles of *Independency* thus ſeeming to have cramp'd the *Conſciences* of its followers with a *Covenant* (that is at leaſt unneceſſary, and muſt naturally be a troubleſom impoſition to men of thought and generous Education who love to perform Moral Offices without entring into *Covenant* or giving *Bond* ſo to do) may ſerve to let men ſee how the *Paſtorage* of the Church of *England* treats them like Gentlemen, and may ſerve to awaken their Compaſſion for their deluded Country-men whom they ſee frightened by their *Teachers* into a fancy of the unlawfulneſs of a Ceremony, and yet emboldened by them into the belief and practice of a Covenant without the King's Conſent, and from which Perſons we ſhould perhaps quickly receive Alarms of *Perſecution*, if the Government ſhould impoſe any *Covenant* or *Teſt* on them in order to *Loyalty*, tho never ſo neceſſary for the publick Peace.

But the World is aweary of the *umbrage* Sedition hath found among denominations of Churches, and of judging of *Trees* by their *Shadows*, or otherwiſe than by their Fruit, that is by their Principles: and for the happineſs of the preſent State of *England*, after we have by many Religion-Traders been troubled with almoſt as many *Marks* of *true* and *falſe* Churches as there are of *Merchants Goods*, Nature ſeems to have directed the People to agree in this indeleble *Character* and *Mark* of a falſe Church, namely, one whoſe *Principles* are *Diſloyal*.

The *Genius* of *England* is ſo bent upon Loyalty in this Conjuncture, that a diſloyal Principle doth jar in the Ears of ordinary thinking men like a falſe ſtring in the Ears of a Critical *Luteniſt*, and the which he knows that Art or Nature can never tune: and upon any Churches valuing themſelves on the intrinſic worth or the weight of their *Principles* as moſt oppoſite to Falſhood, men generally now take into their hands the *Touch-ſtone* and the *Scales* of Loyalty, and do preſently ſuſpect any *Church* that refuſeth to bring its *Principles* to be touch'd and weigh'd, and they will not now allow the Reputation of a *viſible* Church to any body of Men, whoſe *Principles* relating to *Loyalty*, ſhall not firſt be made *viſible*.

Nor can it be otherwiſe thought by the impartial, than that Mens Conſciouſneſs of ſomewhat of the *Turpitude* of ſome of their *Principles*, reſtrains them from bringing them to appear in publick View, and according as *Cicero* in his *de fin. bon. & mal.* anſwers *Epicurus* (who ſaid that he would not publiſh his Opinion leſt the people might perhaps take offence at it,) *viz. Aut tu eadem iſta dic in judicio, aut ſi coronam times, dic in ſenatu. Nunquam facies. Cur; niſi quod turpis eſt Oratio.*

I who thus urge the Reaſonableneſs and Neceſſity of mens being *Confeſſors* of their *Principles* of *Loyalty*, have frankly expoſed one of mine own in p. 131. and which I ſay there that I account the great fundamental one for the quiet of the World as well as of a Man's own Conſcience, *viz. That no man is warranted by any Intention of advancing Relizion, to invade the right of the Sovereign Power that is inherent in Princes by the munici-*

pal Laws of their Countreys: and I have mention'd the ſame in p. 136. as owned by the *Non-conforming* Divines in King *James* his time.

Tho I believe as firmly as any man, that the Chriſtian Religion doth plainly forbid the *Reſiſtance* of Authority, and that his Majeſties *Royal* Power is *immediately* from God and no way depends on any previous Election or Approbation of the people, yet ſince the Sons of the Church of *England* are ſufficiently taught both that Doctrine, and likewiſe that *human* Laws in the point of their *Allegiance* do bind the *Conſcience*, and ſince other men who err in *Principles* of *Loyalty* may ſooner be brought to ſee the *Abſurdity* of their Error by the known *Laws* of the *Land*, than by Argumentations from *Scripture* which may admit of Controverſy, and ſince his *Majeſty* hath been pleaſed to expect the *Meaſures* of our Obedience from the *Laws*, and that our Engliſh *Clergy* while in the late Conjuncture they have ſo univerſally preach'd up Loyalty, have ſo *religiouſly* accorded with the Meaſures of the *Laws*, and have therein (as I may ſay) ſhewed themſelves *Apoſtolical* Paſtours, and ſince the perſons whoſe Complaints of the danger of Popery are moſt loud, do joyn therewith their Exclamations againſt *Arbitrary* or *Illegal* Power, and ſeem to joyn Iſſue in the point that they are willing that the Power that is by *Law* inherent in the *Crown* ſhould be preſerved to it, I thought it moſt uſeful in the preſent *Conjuncture* to aſſert the *Principle* in theſe *Terms* I have done: and I the rather choſe to do it, becauſe I thought that the ſecurity of the *Crown* is by ſome *Laws* well provided for, whoſe *Obligation* admits of no *Doubt*, I mean, *thoſe* whereby Men have been obliged to take the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*.

But moreover as I conſider'd it to be one great valuable *Right* inherent by Law in our Princes to ſecure the Continuance of the *Succeſſion* in their *Line*, ſo I likewiſe judged the legal Right of Princes to Succeed according to *Proximity* of *Blood*, to be unalterable, and therefore having my eye on the prevention of further Scandal to Proteſtancy from the *Excluſion*, I introduced that Principle ſo worded as aforeſaid, that by dilating thereon as I have done, I might bring the *Reader* the better prepared to my Caſuiſtical Diſcuſſion of the Oaths.

The *Reader* will find at the end of this *Diſcourſe* the *Caſuiſtical* Diſcuſſion of the Obligation to the King's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* reſulting from the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, by me promiſed in *p.* 214, and the occaſion of my writing which is likewiſe there mentioned.

It was wholly writ in the time that the *Queſtion* of the *Succeſſion* made the greateſt noiſe among us and was then by me Communicated to ſeveral of my Friends in Terms as herewith printed without any thing ſince added or diminiſhed, and both it and the *Diſcourſe* (which contains ſo many things naturally Previous to the Conſideration of that *Queſtion*) would have been long ſince publiſhed. but partly for the various Accidents of Buſineſs and Sickneſs that neceſſarily interrupted me in the Writing of the latter.

And tho perhaps the *Publication* of the former in the time of the *Seſſions* of our late *Parliaments*, might have been more ſignificant, than after the *Volly* of Loyal *Addreſſes* ſhot of manifeſting the general juſt zeal againſt the *Excluſion* (of which *Addreſſes* I yet obſerved none to mention any thing of the Obligations to Allegiance to the King's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* from the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*) it may be ſaid that the ſubſequent Births of Fate have not reſtrained the poſſibility of its uſefulneſs in future times: and tho Heaven may be propitious

propitious to our Land in the bleſſing it according to the Loyal *Style* of the *Addreſſes*, namely, in his Majeſties *Line* continuing on the *Engliſh* Throne *as long as the Sun and Moon endure*, yet many and many may be the *Conjunctures* when a ſuppoſed Heterodox Prince ſhining like the *Sun* in the Firmament of the *Engliſh* State, and regularly moving in the *Line* of the Law and his own *Religion*, may attract the dull Vapours of Fears and Jealouſies again, as another glorious *Prince* hath done, and the exhalations of which may caſt ſuch Miſts before Mens underſtanding Faculties as to hinder them from ſeeing their way in the obſervance of the *Oaths* they took: and therefore as a προφυλαχὴ or *premuniment* (as I call'd it) againſt our being future Enemies to our ſelves, and againſt poor little Mortals (as it were) ſtanding for the Office of *Conſervators of Gods glory*, while they are *loſing* their own Souls by *Perjury*, and againſt ſome Loyal *Timid* People troubling themſelves with *falling Skies* and *fears* of *Gods* not upholding his *Church* (juſt as *Galen* tells us of a Melancholy Man who by often reading it in the *Poets* how *Atlas* ſupported *Heaven* with his *Shoulders*, was often in a *Panic* fear leaſt *Atlas* ſhould faint and let *Heaven* fall on mens heads) inſtead of taking pains to uphold and maintain their *Oaths* which they ſwore to God in *Truth* and *Righteouſneſs*, it may perhaps be always of importance to our *Engliſh* World to have right *Notions* of the *Obligation* of thoſe *Oaths* left behind in it.

When I have read many of the late *Pamphlets* againſt the *Succeſſion* (the *Venom* of which was ſtolen out of *Doleman's* alias *Parſon's* Book) and have often conſidered that the Government in King *James's* time, might well be apprehenſive of the miſchief that *Book* might do with its *Poyſon*, and perhaps with its *Sting* in following Ages, I have then wondered why none was employed to *Anſwer* it throughly, a thing that I do not find was ever done, unleſs it may be ſaid that an *Anſwer* to the 1ſt *part* of it was in the *year* 1603 publiſhed by Sir *John Haward*, and that its 2d *part* hath been confuted by ſome Loyal and Learned Perſons ſince the late Conjuncture of our *Fermentation*, and in which time that Book of *Parſons* was *Reprinted*.

I am ſorry that that *Book* and ſome others of Father *Parſons* were in ſome part of King *James's* time *Anſwered* as they were by the real Characters of ſeverity that then fell on ſome innocent *Papiſts*, and who (I believe) were Abhorrers of the *Sedition* his *Books* contained, and on whom Dr. *Donne's Pſeudo-Martyr*, printed in the *year* 1610, reflects in *The Advertiſement to the Reader* ſaying, *That his continual Libels and incitatory Books have occaſioned more afflictions, and drawn more of that Blood which they call Catholick, than all our Acts of Parliament have done.*

And with a juſt reſpect to the Learning in Sir *John Haward's* Anſwer to the *firſt part* of that *Book*, and by him Dedicated to King *James*, it may yet be wiſhed that with leſs *Pomp* of Words and greater cloſeneſs of Argument referring to the Principles of internal Juſtice and natural Allegiance and the *lex terræ*, he had ſhewn the perfect *unlawfulneſs* of defeating the *Title* of *Proximity* of *Blood* in the *Caſe*, and inſtead of ſo much impugning the *Book* by *References* to the *Civil* Law, and old *Greek* and *Latin* Authors making for *Monarchy* in general, or even by the places *cited* out of the old *Teſtament* favouring *primogeniture*: and indeed I do not find among all our late *Writers* for the *Succeſſion*, that ſo much as one of them by ſo much as once quoting this Book of Sir *John Haward* (tho ſo common) hath thence brought any Aid to their Noble Cauſe.

But

But however the *Oath* of *Allegiance* having been enjoyned ſince the writing of Sir *John Haward*'s Book hath given an ordinary *Writer* the advantage of bringing the *Cauſe* of the *unlawfulneſs* of diſturbing the *Courſe* of *Succeſſion* to a quicker hearing and ſpeedier iſſue in the *Court* of Conſcience, which is the *point* I have endeavoured to carry after the end of this *Diſcourſe*, leaving it to *Candid* Men to judge of the ſincerity of my performance therein, and of my fair ſtating of the Queſtion and the deducing genuine *Propoſitions* from it ſo *ſtated*, and which ſhall yet be *reviewed* by me when I come to *Review* this *Diſcourſe*.

The truth is when I began it, I obſerved the generality of Men who writ againſt the *Excluſion-Bill* with a great deal of good *Law*, *Hiſtory* and *State-policy*, did ſhew both their Learning and their Loyalty, and did very uſefully ſet forth the dreadful Confuſions it would introduce and perpetuate in the State: and the *Illegality* and indeed *Nullity* of any *Excluſion* (tho by *Act of Parliament*) was by them likewiſe uſefully ſhewn: but yet I think it would have been ſome *ſcandal* to the preſent *Age* if it had paſſed away without tranſmitting to the next ſome inſtances of Proteſtants who had leiſure to write, writing of the *unlawfulneſs* of ſuch a *Bill* with relation to our *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*; and I was ſorry to find that when the late *Loyal* and *Learned* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had afterward appear'd as the firſt *Divine* who in *Print* aſſerted, *That the Excluſion of the Right Heir was contrary to the Law of God both Natural and Poſitive, and that ſuch Excluſion was againſt the Law of the Land alſo*, his judgment in his *Book* called the *Biſhop of* Wincheſter's *Vindication* given ſo Learnedly in the *point*, ſeemed to ſo many of our new pretenders to Loyalty and to Conformity to the Church of *England*, to be a kind of a Novelty.

But yet I obſerved that that Learned *Prelate* thought not fit there to ſtrengthen his *Aſſertion* of the *unlawfulneſs* of ſuch *Excluſion*, by the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*.

Nor did I obſerve that among all the Loyal *Writers* for the *Succeſſion*, I had met with from firſt to laſt, any one had *ſurveyed* the *Queſtion* of the unlawfulneſs of the *Excluſion* reſulting from our Obligation by the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, (tho yet ſome *few* of them hinted the thing in general and were ſtill anſwered with the *hæres viventis*) till at laſt another *Divine*, namely, Dr. *Hicks*, Vicar of *All hallows Barking* and Dean of *Worceſter*, honoured both himſelf and the *Queſtion* by taking notice of it in his *Jovian*, and in the *Preface* to a *Sermon* of his *printed* in the *year* 1684, and Entituled, *The harmony of Divinity and Law in a Diſcourſe about not reſiſting Sovereign Princes:* and he in the 3d *p.* of that *Preface* obſerves, *That ſome men did pervert the meaning of the word* Heirs *in the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, from its common and uſual acceptation to another more ſpecial, on purpoſe to elude the force and obligation of them, which otherwiſe they muſt have had upon the Conſciences of the Excluders themſelves.*

The *Doctor* had made himſelf *Maſter* of *Law* enough to *Maſter* the true notion of the point, and did in his Preface exorciſe the *Fantom* of *hæres viventis*, a *Noon-day* Spright raiſed by one who was thought a great *Conjurer*, and which had before haunted the Queſtion, and had affrighted ſo many from lodging their thoughts in it.

And tho no other of our *Divines* (that I have heard of) writ of the ſame, nor any of the *Layety* otherwiſe than ſtarting the *Notion* of it in *Print*, yet conſidering the great *weight* of his Learning and Reaſon with which in his *Jovian* and that *Preface* he directed ſo many in the *Obligation*

of

of their great *Oaths*, I will ſo far prefer his *Labours* to all that writ before of the *Succeſſion*, as to ſay of him in thoſe words of the *Apoſtle*, *He hath laboured more abundantly than they all.*

That which I have writ thereof was finiſhed ſome years before what the *Doctor* publiſhed about the ſame, as ſeveral of my friends know, to whom I gave Copies of the ſame, and with an injunction of printing it, in Caſe of my death: and I have ſince added nothing to what I writ, nor ſhall till I proceed to the *Review* of the *Diſcourſe*: but had otherwiſe for the honour of my judgment, therein concurring with ſo learned a mans, reſpectfully cited ſomewhat thereof in my *Diſcuſſion.*

No doubt but there were many loyal and judicious and learned men that in the late Conjuncture had the ſame ſenſe with the *Doctor*, concerning the *Obligation* of thoſe *Oaths*, tho they had not time to publiſh the ſame by the *Preſs*; and I have in *p.* 269 referred to what a very learned and honourable Perſon urged from the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, in his *Speech* againſt the *Excluſion-Bill* in the *Houſe of Commons*, and to which I have mentioned ſomewhat of a reply there made by Sir *W. J.* in that *Houſe*, and of the prodigious *Applauſe* that *Reply* found from many Perſons there.

But in that *Speech* of Sir *W. J.* there was another thing ſaid, and which being ſpread about the Kingdom, had the effect of *Thunder* from an *Oracle*, and kept thouſands from daring ſo much as to deliberate of the Obligations reſulting from the *Oath* of Allegiance, to oppoſe the *Excluſion.* His words I refer to for this, were to this purpoſe, viz. *It is urged alſo that we are ſworn to the King his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors. It is true we are ſo: but not obliged to any during the Kings life but to himſelf. For it were Treaſon if it were otherwiſe.*

It was in vain at that time for any *Diſcourſer* to hope by fair and gentle Principles of Reaſon to open the Wards in the Locks of Mens Conſciences, and to let in there a true *Senſe* of the *Allegiance* ſworn to the Kings *Heirs and Succeſſors*, when ſo great a *Pick-lock of the Law* had made it *Treaſon.*

Yet never was I mortified with a greater *Example* of Humane Frailty than by the Senſe of ſo great a number of knowing Perſons in that *Loyal Parliament* being ſo ſuddenly infected with the Error of that Inſinuation, from a ſingle *Demagogue* who had never been bred up to *Logic*, which yet caught the underſtandings of the Majority of the Repreſentatives of the *Commons* of *England*, in the *Trap* of a little *Sophiſm*; and when an ordinary *Leaſe* drawn by a Lawyer's *Clerk* might ſhew one that the *Leſſee* at the time of the perfecting it, actually enters into a *preſent* Obligation both in *Law*, *Equity* and *Conſcience* to pay his *Rent* to the Leſſor his Heirs and Aſſigns as it ſhall become due to each reſpectively, and which when the *Leſſor* dies or aſſigns his intereſt, is to be paid to the *Heir* and *Aſſign* then and not till then.

But as *Tully* who had as great a Veneration for the *Conſtitution* of the *Roman* Government, as I have for that of our *Engliſh* one, ſaid in his *Oration pro L. Murena*, that *Nihil eſt fallacius Ratione totâ Comitiorum*, the ſame thing may happen to our great Loyal Body of Men aſſembled while under a ferment of Paſſion; and then every mans anger influencing another, *Fallacy* it ſelf may paſs for Reaſon: and as we ſee when many Workmen are at once altogether crying, and pulling a great piece of Timber forward to them with a Rope, if that doth not hold but break, they all fall backwards together, ſo when any *Cætus* or Body of Men are

drawing with all their ſtrength to bring any matter of weight in the Government to them, if the Principle of Reaſon they uſe for that purpoſe will not hold, but proves a poor weak *Sophiſm*, they naturally fall down together.

I have in this *Diſcourſe* uſually mentioned thoſe *Parliaments* with the *prefixt* name of *Loyal*, wherein I yet thought ſo many Perſons were ſo dreadfully miſtaken in ſo great a *point*, and for which Charity (if extravagant) no *Jeſuited* Papiſts can blame me, knowing how great an *Excluſioner* of *old* their infallible *head* hath been: but which I was the rather inclined to do (as any one may gueſs by the *Current* of the *Diſcourſe*) becauſe I knew not but his *Majeſty's* calling a New Parliament at ſuch time as he ſhould think convenient for the ſame, might give many of the miſtaken Perſons ſuch an advantage of recollected thoughts as would ſhew them the Errors of their former meaſures, and render them afterwards averſe from putting at once both their own *Conſciences*, and the very words of the *Oath* of *Allegiance* on the *Rack*, and from ſuch a *ſqueezing* of Blood out of that, contrary to the *Grammatical* Senſe that might occaſion the flowing of blood through the Kingdom in after times: and the ſharpeſt expreſſion I was naturally led to uſe whereupon, fell from me without any Reproach of the Perſons erring when I ſaid in *p.* 209, viz. *Thus juſt is it for Heaven ſometimes to blind and confound good men in their Counſels, when they abandon plain Principles and Dictates of Reaſon, and when they will not do what they know, to ſuffer them not to know what they do*, &c.

I have ſomewhere read of one who writing of the *Conſtitution* of and *Rule* for the *Franciſcans*, ſaith, That for the firmer obſervance of that *Rule* Chriſt himſelf was heard in the Air, ſaying to St. *Francis*, *This Rule is mine and not thine, and I will have it obſerved*, Ad literam, ad literam, ſine gloſſâ, ſine gloſſâ: and let any men be attentive to the *voice behind them, viz.* That of *Conſcience* about the *Rule* of the obſerving of their *Oaths*, they will hear *God* there ſpeaking much to the ſame purpoſe.

Nor have I heard of the underſtandings of men of great Abilities made Spectacles of ſhame to the World through the Divine *Dereliction* in any particular point, more than in that relating to their natural *Allegiance* and their *Oath* to confirm it.

Let any one conſider ſomewhat in the *Speech* of Sir *H. V. printed* in the *year* 1662, *As what he intended to ſpeak on the Scaffold*, where having mentioned *by what ſteps he became ſatisfied with the Parliaments Cauſe he was engaged in, and did purſue the ſame, and that the Parliaments Cauſe did firſt ſhew it ſelf in the* Remonſtrance, and *Secondly, in the Solemn League and Covenant*, he addeth, *That it ſhewed it ſelf*, Thirdly, *in the more refined purſuit of it by the Commons Houſe in their Actings ſingle*, and ſaith afterward referring to my *Lord* of *Argile*, viz. *That Noble Perſon (whoſe Memory I honour) was with my ſelf at the beginning and making of the Solemn League and Covenant, the matter of which and the holy ends therein contained I fully aſſent unto, and have been as deſirous to obſerve, but the rigid way of proſecuting it and the oppreſſing uniformity that have been endeavoured by it, I never approved. This were ſufficient to vindicate me from the falſe Aſperſions and Calumnies which have been laid upon me of Jeſuitiſm and Popery*, &c. And recollect whether (tho that *Covenant* was contrary to the *Oath* of *Allegiance*) any thing yet could be more contrary to that *Covenant* than that *Houſe of Commons* acting ſingle, or any thing could

could be more contrary to the plain *literal* Sense of the *Covenant*, than that refined *pursuit of the Cause*, owned by a person of such refined and real great Abilities, and within the Prospect of Eternity: and whether the owning of the same then contrary to the *literal* Sense of the *Covenant* was a proper *Medium* for him to use then, whereby to clear himself from the aspersion of *Jesuitism*?

There was another person of great Theological Learning and strong natural parts who lived about that time, I mean Mr. *John Goodwin*, the *Divine* I before mentioned: and who in two Books of his, the one called *Redemption Redeem'd*, and the other of *The Divine Authority of the Scripture* hath signaliz'd his great Abilities: but in the very *Pamphlet* where he presumes to vindicate the very Sentence against the *Royal Martyr*, and to make the same Coherent with the *Scotch* Covenant, he in *p.* 51 saith, *Evident it is that those Words in the Covenant*, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom, *import a Condition on the Kings part, without the performance whereof the* Covenant *obligeth no man to the preservation or defence of his Person or Authority:* and yet allowing the *Words* to speak for themselves, they do not say in HIS Preservation and Defence, &c. but in THE Preservation and Defence, &c. plainly referring to the same *Preservation and Defence of Religion and Liberties* which is before *promised*, and *sworn* to in this and the preceding *Articles*, as evidently referring to the same Persons *Preservation* and *Defence* of them here who are to preserve and defend them in the former *Clauses*, and who are to preserve and defend the Kings *Majesty's* Person and Authority in *this*, namely, the *Covenanters*.

If the *Covenant* had intended to ground the *Preservation* and *Defence* in this *Clause* upon another Person or Persons as the performers, beside those to whom the same Actions are referred immediately before, it would have pointed them out distinctly: but when it expresseth no other, the plain ordinary *Grammatical* construction will attribute them to the Parties before nominated, and cannot put them on any other.

And the *Premisses* notwithstanding Mr. *Goodwin* concludes that if that his *Anti-Grammatical* Paraphrase were not the true meaning of those words beforementioned in the *Covenant*, it was unintelligible by him: and his *Words* are these, *If this be not the clear meaning and importance of them, the* Covenant *is a* Barbarian *to me, I understand not the* English *of it.*

Thus naturally is it even for the *learned* and *unstable* to *wrest* not only the *Scriptures* but even their own subscribed *Covenants*, where the words have no δυσνόητα, *to their own destruction* and the *destroying* of common *Sense*, when they recede from the common Principles of *Loyalty* and *Allegiance.*

There was likewise another Person reputed one of *first-rate* Parts and great *Learning* in the late times, who published a Book called, *The lawfulness of obeying the present Government:* and in his 11th *Page* there directs the World to make this *Enquiry*, viz. *Whether there be any Clause in any* Oath *or* Covenant *which in a fair and common sense forbids obedience to the Commands of the present Government and Authority*: and referreth particularly to the *Clause* of the *Oaths* of *Allegiance and Supremacy, in the former of which 'tis said I shall bear faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his* Heirs and Successors, *and in the latter, I shall bear faith and true Allegiance to the Kings Highness his* Heirs and Successors.

He

He there goeth on very Childiſhly to *ſell* the World a *Bargain*, by trying to *puzzle* it with *Queſtions*, viz. *If it be ſaid that in the Oath of* Allegiance, *Allegiance is ſworn to the King his* Heirs and Succeſſors, *if his Heirs be not his Succeſſors, how doth that Oath bind? Either the Word* Succeſſors (ſaith he) *muſt be ſuperfluous, or it muſt bind to* Succeſſors *as well as to* Heirs. *And if it bind not to a* Succeſſor *as well as to an* Heir, *how can it bind to an* Heir *that is not a* Succeſſor? *And if you will know the common and uſual ſenſe (which ſhould be the meaning of an Oath) of the word* Succeſſors, *you need not ſo much ask of Lawyers and Learned Perſons, as of men of ordinary knowledge, and demand of them who was the* Succeſſor *of* William *the Conqueror, and ſee whether they will not ſay* W. Rufus: *and who ſucceeded* Richard *the Third, and whether they will not ſay* Harry *the* 7th: *and yet neither of them was* Heir: *ſo in ordinary acception the word* Succeſſor *is taken for him that actually ſucceeds in the Government, and not for him that is actually excluded.*

May we not to this *Queſtioniſt* who was as I may ſay ſuch a *Mountebank* of a *Caſuiſt*, put the Queſtion of *Tertullian, Rideam vanitatem, an exprobrem cæcitatem*? And may we not properly bring in St. *Auſtin's* Caſuiſtical Deciſion as to things of this Nature, *Hæc tolerabilius vel ridentur, vel flentur*, i. e. A man is at liberty either to *laugh* at or *lament* them.

I have in *p.* 41 of this *Diſcourſe* mentioned *D' Oſſat's* Obſervation of Father *Parſon's often contradicting himſelf, and that very groſsly in his Book of the Succeſſion, as it happens to all Perſons in paſſion as able as they are who are not guided by truth and reaſon, but tranſported by intereſt and paſſion:* and I ſhall here further remark out of the ſame *Letter* of *D' Oſſat* by me there cited, that to thoſe words laſt mentioned he there adds this, viz. *I will here name two of his Contradictions. He oppoſeth to the King of* Scots *among other things to exclude him from the* Succeſſion *of* England, *That he was born out of* England *of Parents not ſubject to the Crown of* England. *He likewiſe oppoſeth to* Arabella *among other impediments, That ſhe is a Woman, and that it is not expedient for the Kingdom of* England *to have three Women, Queens ſucceſſively: and that often the Children of Kings have been excluded for being Women: and yet not withſtanding he adjudgeth the ſaid Kingdom to the* Infanta *of* Spain, *by preference even to the King of* Spain, *her Brother, as if the ſaid* Infanta *were not a Woman as well as the ſaid* Arabella.

I had almoſt forgot to obſerve how the *Author* of *The lawfulneſs of obeying the preſent Government*, that uſeth ſuch thick paint of *Equivocation* in his *ſenſe* of the word *Succeſſors*, having *puſhed* on his *Queſtion* about any *Clauſe in any Oath* or *Covenant forbidding obedience to the preſent Government and Authority*, by *adding* to it the conſideration of obeying it, *when no other Government can be had, and of the Common-wealths going to ruine*, if the preſent Government were not obeyed, and having thereby *inſinuated* that the *Obligation* of the *Oath* ceaſed, was ſo horribly *impolitick* as to prop up that *inſinuation* by a *paſſage* cited for that purpoſe out of a *Popiſh* Caſuiſt, who ſaith, *That when a thing ſworn is too difficult, or he that ſwore is by change of Abilities or Eſtate rendred leſs apt to perform: or laſtly, when the thing ſworn is an hinderance to the ſwearer from conſulting the publick good, then there is a lawful Cauſe of* DISPENSING *in the Oath.*

We have here then found a *Proteſtant* and a *Caſuiſt-would-be exalting himſelf above all that is called God* to *Diſpenſe* with *Oaths*, a thing that *Proteſtancy* abhorreth, and a thing that the *Oath* had precluded in theſe words,

words, *I do believe and in Conſcience am reſolved that neither the Pope nor any other Perſon whatſoever hath power to abſolve me of this Oath, or any part thereof.*

Thus as the *Author* hath by his interpretation of the word *Succeſſor*, qualified an *Uſurper* to have the benefit of the *Oath* of *Allegiance* to our lawful Monarch, ſo he hath bare-faced made himſelf *Succeſſor* to the *Pope*, and an *Uſurper* upon *Oaths* by *diſpenſation*.

More *inſtances* need not be given of the horror of *Heavens* withdrawing its ordinary influences from particular men of extraordinary parts, who after they have *deſpiſed Dominions* and *Dignities* and their *Oaths* to them, would be *Critical* inventors of new *Rules* concerning the *Allegiance* to Kings and the *Oaths* about the ſame, but who have thereby appeared more deſpicable than the *Pedants* who call themſelves *Criticks*, whoſe skill in the *Minutiæ* of words or trivial *Niceties* in the *learned* Languages hath yet ſecured their pride from being humbled by erring in the ſenſe of words in their *Mother* Tongue.

When I was writing the former part of the following *Diſcourſe* out of my juſt Compaſſion to my Country, as well as to the Noble *Lord* and others, who ſuffered ſo unjuſtly by *Oaths* Aſſertory in the time of the *Martyrocraſy* (as I called it) when every ſingle *Witneſs* was almoſt as conſiderable as *Ingulfus* the *Abbot* of *Crowland*, *Confeſſor* to *William* the *Conqueror* was in his time (of whom it was ſaid, that *Quos voluit humiliavit*, & *quos voluit exaltavit*;) and when if the number of Witneſſes had continued to encreaſe and ſwarm as it began, it would in time have ſcarce left any to be Judges or Jurors, and when ſome of them who were *bread-worſhippers*, were yet almoſt as much *adored* by the *Mobile* of Proteſtants as the Hoſt is by the *Papiſts*, I had thoughts to have entertained our *Engliſh* World with an account of the particularities of the uſage that *Witneſſes* in the Caſe of Treaſon find in the World abroad, and to have ſhewed how the Cuſtom and Practice of Nations and their Laws have with all the Critical *Nicety* of *Politicks* imaginable provided that ſuch Witneſſes may neither be too much diſcouraged by fears nor encouraged by hopes, and that it frequently there happened that in the diſcharge of the Office of *Witneſſing*, men were to expect ſo great an allay of trouble, and ſo much expoſed to depend on the next World for the reward of their *Veracity* in this, as to prevent in this an *allay* of truth with falſhood in their Teſtimony, and that ſometimes when *Paupers* come to be *Witneſſes* in *Criminal Cauſes*, they have not Beds of Roſes provided for them, but are put to the *Rack*, and that ordinarily the bodies of ſuch *Witneſſes* are tacked on their being found *vacillant* and *halting* in their Teſtimony, and whereby they had given *Judges* occaſion to think that ſuch Witneſſes had firſt tried the *Rack* upon their *Souls* and *Conſciences*.

But tho I thought any *Scene* of that would appear horrid to an *Engliſh* Eye, as it doth to the Eye of our *Laws*, I have yet in this *Diſcourſe* mentioned how the *Jewiſh* Law by God's *expreſs* Command took care to prevent mens *ambitus* in ſtanding for the Office of Witneſſes, by *tacking* thereunto the ſtanding *Office* of *Executioners*, and I have in my *Notions* of *infamous Witneſſes* exactly accorded with the Juſtice of our *Engliſh* Laws, our *lex terræ* being the allowed *Land-mark* for all *to go by* in matters *judicial*: and I have endeavoured by that to ſtop the Courſe of an infamous Perſon, when from an *Accuſer* he would preſently grow to be a *Witneſs* and *è Serpente factus Draco*, or as I may ſay, be always growing in Arbitrary

Accuſation, and like a *Crocodile* never come to his full *growth*; and I have not robbed him of his right of being an Informer in Caſes where the lives of Princes are concerned: and have moreover repreſented ſuch a *Malefactor* capable by his *penitence* and ſubſervience to the great influx of Providence on the ſafety of Crown'd Heads, of being thought his Countries *Benefactor* and a piece of a Founder to it, and could have gone no higher without following our *profanum vulgus* in making every Informer and *Witneſs* a *Saviour*, a word that *Cicero* was much ſcandalized at and taxed *Verres* about, becauſe he found him at *Syracuſe* written σωτῆρα, a *Saviour*, and ſaid that the *Style* of ſuch an one could not be expreſſed in one *Latin* word.

I have moreover fairly ſtated how and when, and by what *exerciſes* performed relating to *Moral Philoſophy*, an infamous Perſon may as a *Witneſs* commence *graduate* in *Credibility*.

But *Moribus antiquis ſtat Res Britannica*, and ſo I deſire it may while the World ſtands; and as I have occaſionally mentioned *Boccaline*'s Character of the beſt *Reformer*, viz. *One who leaves the World as he finds it*, ſo I have took care to be no *Propounder* or *Innovator* about new *Methods* or *Syſtemes* of Politicks in the point of *Accuſation* or *Teſtimony* which is ſo extraordinarily tender, and wherein I have found the wiſeſt and greateſt of the *Miniſters* of Princes, to whoſe Cuſtody the *depoſitum* of their Maſters Crowns and Lives was committed, to appear undetermined as to their meaſures.

And of this *D' Oſſat*'s Letter 150th, and to *Villeroy* in the *year* 1602, hath tranſmitted to the World a remarkable *inſtance*, where he ſaith, *I have received advice from* Lorrain, *that an* Engliſh *Divine called* Pitts, *having held Communication with a* French *Divine called St.* German, *about killing the King, and the ſaid St.* German *having dropped ſome words whereby another came to underſtand it, the Biſhop of* Toul *examining it cauſed the ſaid St.* German *as well as the ſaid* Pitts *to be put in Priſon, and by the Party accuſed denying the Fact, his Condition is found better than the Accuſers, who hath no way to prove what the other ſaid to him, none elſe being preſent: which proceeding whether 'twas deliberate or by neglect, tends to this, that no man hence forward to whom any one hath ſpoken of killing the King, will dare to reveal it to any one for fear of being put in Priſon, and puniſhed: for that he was willing to ſave the life of the King and preſerve the whole Kingdom: whereas in Caſes of ſuch Conſequence it ought to be free to any man to Accuſe another, not only without fearing any thing, but further with hopes of great Recompence: having a reſpect never the leſs not to believe too lightly nor to Condemn any Perſon upon the bare Affirmation of another without good Indications and Proofs. I believe that the King advertiſed of this matter will at leaſt take care of the Deliverance and Safety of him that could not endure to hear any ſpeak of murdering him.*

I am apt to think that the horror of the *Fact* of ſuch an Out-rage to the Perſons of *Kings*, ſo much aſtoniſhing the imaginations of the Loyal, and the very *Idea* of it being ſo ghaſtly as to affright them from Contemplating it, hath partly contributed to ſome Omiſſions in the Worlds providing againſt it: and it hath been ſo incident to *Writers* to mention it without thinking of its horror, that a late uſeful voluminous *Collector* we had, began the firſt *Edition* of the firſt *Part* of his *Works* with a very *inauſpicious* Sentence, telling us of King *James* his declaring his being ſo much diſinclined to *Popery*, becauſe it holds Regicide *and other groſſer Errors*: as if it were poſſible for any man of Senſe to call ſuch an execrable outragious Treaſonable practice, an *Error*, or to range it in the

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Claſs of *Errors*: or as if even any damnable *Error* or *Hereſy* either could be more *groſs* than that.

In the next Edition he a little mended the matter by ſaying, *and other groſs Errors*: but he afterward mended the *Book* to better purpoſe by cauſing that *Sentence* to be quite left out.

My intended *Review* of this *Diſcourſe* that I lately acquainted the *Reader* with, is mentioned particularly at the end of it (where I obſerve the Cuſtomarineſs of *Authors* of large *Diſcourſes* bellowing on them a ſhort *Review*) and do think that the *Corroborating* ſome of the various important *Calculations* therein, relating to matters Political, may perhaps be of publick uſe.

I ſhall not trouble my ſelf with *Corroborating* any thing of the *Plot* which hath ſo much weakened the Nation, nor with ſtrengthening any ſayings of *Witneſſes* that have weakened the Plot.

Let about 2 or 3 Lines that I think in this large *Diſcourſe* may have referred to the propping up any little matter by citing for it the *Plot-Witneſſes* in general, take their Fate to be either remembred or forgot by others as much as they are almoſt by me, and but one of whom is on the Account of Teſtimony ſo much as named, and whoſe name hath been mentioned in this *Preface*.

Nor ſhall I have occaſion to *choque* any Party (or as I may rather ſay *all* Parties) with any thing of Controverſy that may be called *Religionary*: or matters that refer not to numbers.

But the fixing of *Political* Obſervations on numbers in ſome things ſo great as I have attempted, is a Task very difficult for a perſon much Superior to me in intellectual endowments, to do ſo clearly and ſatisfactorily as the matter will bear; and is not poſſible to be done by any without the Expence of that time in conſulting *Records* and *Regiſtries* and *Offices* of *Accounts* and many particular Perſons, which I hitherto could not ſpare, but hope to be ſhortly able to do for my *Readers* ſatisfaction as well as my own: and having ſo done, I ſhall publiſh a *Review* of this *Work* by it ſelf, making ſuch *Additions* or other Alterations as to what I have here obſerved, as I ſhall ſee cauſe.

And as I have ſhewed that Reverence to the Age as not to expoſe my thoughts *Magiſterially* of matters relating to *Numbers*, but have therein either cited *Authors* of Note about the ſame, (that ſo their *Credit* may vouch for the thing aſſerted and not mine) or have fairly my ſelf *Calculated* the things, or if I have omitted either to cite *Authors*, or to make *Calculation* when I have aſſerted any thing relating to *Numbers*, I have ſtill endeavoured to keep within *Compaſs* and *Bounds* in my reckoning, and not to favour my aſſertion by exceeding them, ſo I ſhall moſt readily on occaſion acknowledge my *miſtake* in any point however, or from whomſoever ariſing: nor can any man (I think) be tempted to do other in a matter of this Nature, and wherein his miſtake amouuts not to any thing like the making of falſe Money, or the deſigned putting it off in Exchange, but only to the falſe telling of true; and which I deſire the *Reader* to *tell* after me as often as he pleaſeth, and do wiſh him if ever he hopes that men would receive the belief of matters of moment upon his Authority, that he would firſt ſatisfie them that he hath implicitly believed no man: and for which purpoſe I once writ my mind by a poor plain *Verſe* in the *Album* of a *German* on his importuning me there to write my name with ſome ſaying or other, viz.

Is nulli credat, credi qui vellet ab omni;

Meaning it, as to matters that may be reduced *ad firmam*, by *Calculation.*

I remember not that I have *cited* any *Authors* extravagant *Calculation* or *Error* without ſomewhat of a fair *Remark* on it, and do ſuppoſe any one to labour under a Diſeaſe of *Credulity* who doth otherwiſe: and do account that *Cicero* himſelf was therewith infected when as to the *Error* in a *Childiſh* Report he ſaith ſo gravely in his 2d Book *De divinatione*, *Tages quidam dicitur in agro Tarquinienſi cum terra araretur, & ſulcus altius eſſet impreſſus, extitiſſe repente & eum affatus eſſe qui arabat*, &c.

For *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoſis* to tell us this of *Tages* that Famous *Hetruvian* Sooth-ſayer, was not ſo much to be wondered at.

Our Excellent *Hiſtorian* therefore of *Harry* the 8th, when he mentions that *Harry* the 7th left in his Coffers a *Million and* 8 *hundred thouſand Pounds* Sterling *to* Harry *the 8th*, and ſuch as might be thought effectively quadruple to ſo much in this age, did but right to his own Credit by inſerting the *Clauſe* of, *if we may believe Authors.*

I have in *p.* 109 mentioned that when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the *Crown* (which was in the *year* 1558) the *Cuſtoms* made not above 36000 *l. per Annum*, and which I was induced to believe partly on the relation of ſome whoſe Anceſtors were Officers of the *Cuſtoms* in her Reign, and whoſe Papers and Accounts they now have. But I found after the *printing* of that *Sheet*, that I had made ſure of being within the *Compaſs* of *Truth* and likewiſe *Modeſty* as to my *Eſtimate*; and looking into my *Notes* out of *Cambden* about it, I found that about the *year* 1590 and after all her *Glories* of 88, her *Cuſtoms* were *farmed* but for 14 *thouſand Pounds* Sterling a year.

One would wonder that our great *Oracle* of the Law Sir *E. Coke* could err ſo groſsly by his *Credulity* and inadvertence as he did, when he tells us 2. *Inſtit.* and *de ſtatuto Judaiſmi*, that from *December* 17th, *An.* 50. *Hen.*3. till *Shrove-tide* 2. *Edv.*1. (which was about 7 *years*) the Crown had 4,20,000 *l.* 15*s.* 6*d. Sterl. de exitibus Judæorum.* And he there attempts to prove it by *Records* and refers to *Rot. patent. An.* 3. *E.* 1. *m.* 17. 26. *Middleton reddit Computa.*

But at the rate of *Silver* being now thrice in value *per Ounce* to what it was then, the Crown would have had then for thoſe 7 years from the *Jews* as Money now goeth about 1,2,60,000 *l.* and none can think that the *King* would have thought a 15*th* given by the *Commons* to have been an adequate Reward for the *expulſion* of the *Jews*, had they been ſuch beneficial Gueſts to him, as *Coke* mentioned. We may therefore naturally as to this ſay, *Credat Judæus*, &c. and Mr. *Prynn* hath in the ſecond *Part* of his *Demurrer* to the *Jews*, &c. moſt plainly ſhewn Sir *E. Coke*'s miſtake in the *Record* by him cited.

I hope to be able in my intended *Review* to give ſome ſuch further indications of the numbers of the People of *England* exceeding all the *Totals* of cautious *Calculators* I have referred to, as may be variouſly uſeful to the publick, as well as perfectly ſatisfactory to the *Curious*, among whom the *Enquiring* into the *Totals* of the *Numbers* of People in States and Kingdoms and their chief *Cities*, is of late become as much in *requeſt* as was the enquiring before of the *number* and *ſtrength* of their *Ships* of War.

I have mentioned before how ſome men of great *Name* have *publiſhed* it, that they think the People of *England* and *Wales* are but 2 *Millions*: and ſhall here take notice that a *Book* lately *printed* Entituled *Iſaaci Voſſii variarum obſervationum liber*, and *Dedicated* to his *Majeſty*, doth in *p.* 66 repreſent ſomewhat of the Judgment of that *Learned* Perſon (and who in various ſorts of *uſeful* Learning is deſervedly held not inferior to any one in *Europe*) relating to the *Numbers* of People in *Spain* and *France*, *Italy*, *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, *Denmark*, *Sweeden*, &c. and where the People in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* are repreſented to be Two *Millions*.

But had he been ſo fortunate as to ſee ſome of the Manuſcript *Diſcourſes* of Sir *W. P.* giving an account of the People of *Ireland* to be about 11 *hundred thouſand* after he had *Surveyed* that Kingdom as *Surveyor* General, and after he had critically peruſed all the *Books* relating to the *Chimney* Money and the late *Poles*, and found that of the *People* of *Ireland* who paid their *Pole-Money* in the year 1661, the *Number* was 3,60,000, I doubt not but he would have concurred in opinion with him of the *Total* of the Number of the People in *Ireland*: and I likewiſe believe that if he had ſeen ſome *late Eſtimates* of the *Numbers* of People in *Scotland*, made by inquiſitive Perſons born and bred in that Kingdom, he would have been eaſily inclined to judge the People of *Ireland* and *Scotland* to be at leaſt 2 *Millions*.

As I think that Learned Man was much ſhort in his *Eſtimate* of the Numbers of People in his Majeſties Realms, ſo I likewiſe think that he was in that of the numbers of the People in *France*, in accounting them to be but *five Millions*.

Cardinal *Pool* (I think) did very judiciouſly eſtimate *France*, to exceed us a 3d *part* in the number of People, as I have mentioned in this *Diſcourſe*: and the *Author* of *The reaſonable defence of the ſeaſonable Diſcourſe*, anſwering a *Romaniſt* who aſſerted, that *Popiſh Countries were as populous as the Reformed*, hath clearly enough ſhewn, *that* Englands *not being fully peopled is not to be attributed to the Reformation, but partly to our being drained by our Plantations*, &c. and he ſaith in *p.* 31, *If* Spain *which hath Plantations be compared with us we are much more populous, as we are alſo than* Italy *which hath none at all.* *'Tis true* France *exceeds us not having had that drain of Plantations till of late, and that ſparingly in reſpect of us; and poſſibly ſomewhat of the populouſneſs of* France *may be owing to the Reformation, as not obliging any to cælibate.*

But if the Learned *Author* of that *Reaſonable Defence* (who doth ſo well and carefully weigh the Nations there in the Balance of his Judgment) had conſidered what hath been by Sir *William Temple* remarked in his Excellent *Survey of the Conſtitutions and Intereſts of the Empire*, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France, &c. viz. *That the common People of* France *are as little conſiderable in the Government as the Children, ſo that the Nobleſs and the Souldiers may in a manner be eſteemed the Nation*, he would have agreed that tho *France* may exceed us in the *Numbers* of our *People*, it doth not in the *weight* of our *Numbers* (as I may ſay) by reaſon of the conſiderable *weight* of our *Common People* in the *Balance* of the *State*: and eſpecially if he had likewiſe conſidered what the ingenious *Author* of the *Book* called, *The power of Parliaments*, mentions in p. 162, *of the* Engliſh (*man to man*) *as allowable to be a third ſtronger than the* French: and ſo I believe generally *Northern* Nations may be allow'd to that proportion to exceed *Southern*.

And here by the way it occurring to me that the *Author* of the *Reaſonable Defence* hath in *p.* 24 took Notice of his *Roman-Catholick* Adverſaries *inſtance* of the *Treaty* of *Munſter*, as upon which *ſo many Papiſt and Proteſtant Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen have either Biſhopricks, Abbies or the like* CONFIRMED *to them by the Pope* (and to make out what he had ſaid that *none but the Author of The ſeaſonable Diſcourſe fancies the Pope cannot be tied to an agreement as well as other Governors*) and that the *Author* of *The Reaſonable Defence* hath *impugned* that inſtance by ſaying, *But if after all this there be no ſuch matter, if the Pope have been ſo far from confirming thoſe Grants as to proteſt againſt them by his Legate in the Treaty, and afterward in a particular* Bull *hath damned them to the Pitt of Hell, what ſhall we ſay to the honeſty and credit of the Author*, &c. I am glad that by my Hiſtorical *Scheme* of the *factum* of that *Peace*, I have done that which may prevent both theſe *Authors* and other Perſons from being further miſtaken therein.

Moſt certainly (as I have ſhewn) the Pope did not by any Grant CONFIRM them: but they may be truly ſaid to have *Confirmed* the *Papal* Religion, as far as the prevention of the Ruine of the *Empire* and *Emperor*, and the *Roman* Catholick *Princes* of the *Empire* and their Subjects, may be judged to have amounted to the *Confirmation* of that Religion. But that the *Emperor* and *Princes* and *States* of the *Empire* did as perfectly ſlight Pope *Innocent* the 10ths *Bull* of the *Nullity of that Treaty* cited in the *Margent* of the *Author* of *The Reaſonable Defence*, as I have mentioned the thing with Hiſtorical Truth, Arch-Biſhop *Bramhal* in p. 178, of his *juſt Vindication of the Church of* England ſpeaking of that Peace, and how thereby *freedom* of *Religion* was ſecured to Proteſtants, and *Biſhopricks* and other *Eccleſiaſtical Dignities conferred on them, and that many Lands and other Hereditaments of great value were alienated from the Church in Perpetuity, and yet the Popes* Nuntio *proteſted againſt it*, and having there in his *Margent* referred to the aforeſaid *Bull* of Pope *Innocent*, ſaith, *yet the Emperor and the Princes of* Germany *ſtand to their Contracts, aſſert the Municipal Laws and Cuſtoms of the Empire, and aſſume to themſelves to be the only Judges of their own Privileges and Neceſſities.* And moreover Sir *William Temple* in his ſaid *Survey of the Conſtitutions and Intereſts of the Empire*, writ in 1671, mentioning *The Domeſtick Intereſt of the Empire to be the limited Conſtitution of the Imperial Power, and the Balance of the ſeveral free Princes and States of the Empire among themſelves*, ſaith, *that thoſe Intereſts have raiſed no doubt ſince the Peace of* Munſter.

While the *Jeſuites* make the Pope *infallible*, and ſome *Anti-Papiſts* generally make him a meer *natural* Agent. that muſt always Act *Ad extremum virium*, I fear not to take a middle way, and to ſuppoſe him to be a rational *Animal*, and one that knows when the *Papacy* is not to exert its former Principles againſt the Power of Kings and lives of Hereticks, and for this reaſon, namely, *Quia deerant vires*, and one who will not do it for the Future in all places, *Quia deerunt vires.*

He is not to learn the reaſonableneſs of that *Gloſs* in his *Canon* Law, that *Canes propter pacem tolerantur in eccleſiâ*, and eſpecially when the Heretical *Dogs* are there the moſt numerous, nor needed he or the *Popiſh* or Proteſtant *Princes* of the *Empire* to have been minded of the *Dutch* Proverb ſo well known there, viz. *Veel Honden Zyn de' haez dcot*, i. e. *Many Dogs are the Hares death*, and that the old ſport of *hunting* down Hereticks with *Cruſado's* was hardly practicable when both *Popiſh* as well

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as *Proteſtant* Princes were weary of it, and that therefore according to the ſaying, *Difficile eſt ire venatum invitis Canibus.*

Nor was either the Pope or the Popiſh Princes of *Germany* to be taught that if ever there was to be that wild thing of a *Cruſado* againſt *Hereticks* again, better *uſe* might be made of them then by killing them: and that it would turn to better *Account* to deal with them as *Mathew Paris* tells us on the year 1250 (the time about which *Cruſado's* were moſt in *faſhion*, and when *Popes* that had a mind to raviſh the Regal Rights of Princes would take an opportunity to do it by ſending them on Fools Errands to the *Holy Land*) that the Pope dealt with the many *Pilgrims* who were *Cruce ſignati* in an Adventure for that *Land*, namely, that he very fairly ſold thoſe *croſſed Pilgrims* for *ready* Money, *as the Jews did their Doves and their Sheep in the Temple.* And if the 100,000 *Hereticks* that I mentioned out of *Bellarmine* as ſlain by one *Cruſado* had been ſold but for 20 *l.* Sterling *each*, a fond might have been thereby provided for the incommoding the *Turk* very much more than by the taking from him the *Holy Land.*

But the *Pope* and thoſe Popiſh Princes are ſufficiently ſenſible of their want of Power for any ſuch Nonſenſical Outrage: and I wiſh that our *Engliſh* Owners of the *Doctrine of Reſiſtance*, and who with *Bellarmine* have agreed in that being the Cauſe of the *Primitive* Chriſtians not attempting to ſhake the *Empire*, namely, *becauſe they had not ſtrength to do it*, were but as ſenſible as the Papacy is of their wanting *ſtrength* to do it in *England.*

No marvel therefore that the *Jupiter Capitolinus* in his *Bull* of *Nullity* did not diſcharge the old *Artillery* of the *Lightning* and *Thunder* of *Anathemas*, and the *greater Excommunications* againſt the *Emperor* and *Roman-Catholick* Crown'd Heads and Princes concerned in the *Munſter* Peace, as I have ſhewn, nor according to the *Expreſſion in the Reaſonable Defence*, *damned them to the Pitt of Hell for it.* No; both the World and the Papacy were ſo *Metamorphoſed*, and their old *faſhions* ſo far paſſed *away*, that thoſe *Popiſh* Crown'd Heads found that there was in this *Bull* only what partly reſembled that which *Ovid* tells us of in his *Metamorphoſis*, viz.

Eſt aliud levius fulmen, cui dextra Cyclopum
Sævitiæ flammæque minus, minus addidit iræ,
Tela ſecunda vocant ſuperi, &c.

But as I juſt now expreſſed my wiſhes that ſome of our *Engliſh* Owners of the *Doctrine of Reſiſtance*, were as ſenſible of their wanting ſtrength to ſubvert the *Rights* of the Monarchy in *England*, as the Pope was of his wanting it to break the Meaſures of the Crown'd Heads relating to the *Munſter* Peace, I have in this *Diſcourſe* expreſſed not only my *hopes* but *belief* that *nature* it ſelf which is thus always *Acting* to the *extremity* of its *Power*, will overpower the *Arts* by which they have been ſeduced to *Principles* for endeavouring it: and will render the *Principles* of many of our *Proteſtant* Recuſants coincident with thoſe of the *Primitive* Chriſtians, inſtead of thoſe of the Jeſuites: and that this *Storm* which the World hath brought on the *Irreligionary* part of *their* Principles as well as of the *Jeſuites* (both of which have brought ſo many diſmal *Storms* on the World) will make them come to an *Avarage*, and to ſubmit to the caſting many of their Principles over-board as well as the *Jeſuites* have been obliged ſo to do by the *Pope*, as *Maſter* of the *Veſſel* commanding the ſame.

And

And as in a *Storm* the very *Victuals* of the Mariners are often according to the *Maritime* Law caſt into the Sea to lighten the Veſſel, it may reſemblingly be expected that many of our Diſſenting Religionaries will now part with ſome of thoſe *Principles* that have in their Religion-Trade afforded them a *Subſiſtance*; and that when they ſhall conſider how this preſent Pope, notwithſtanding the *Privilege* of a *Maſter* of a *Ship*, by which he may refuſe to begin the *Jactus* by throwing out firſt his own Wares and Goods, did about a year before he threw out the *Lumber* of the *Jeſuites* and *Caſuiſts*, throw over-board a vaſt Treaſure of Papal *Indulgences*, and by which the *Ship* of the Papacy was formerly *victualled*.

It was by the Popes *Decree* of the 7th of *March* 1678, that a *Multitude of Indulgences* was *ſuppreſſed*; and the *Names* of 14 Famous *Popes* are there mentioned as having granted ſome thereof: and great numbers of others are by him quaſhed without mentioning the Popes by whom granted: and there was a particular *Clauſe* in the *Decree* that did ſhake the whole Body of *Indulgences*. And tho the *Virgin Mary* hath been by many of the *Vulgus* of Papiſts oftner pray'd to in *Storms* than the *Trinity*, and a printed Devotional *Office* called, *The Office of the immaculate Conception of the moſt holy Virgin our Lady approved by the Sovereign Pontiff* Paul *the 5th*, had been much in *vogue* in the *Papal* World, yet the Pope by his *Decree* of *February* the 17th, 78. damned that *Office* and (as I may ſay) threw it over board. And of this the *Author* of *Julian the Apoſtate* might have took notice if he had pleaſed, when in his Compariſon of *Popery* and *Paganiſm* he inſtanced in *the tranſproſing* of part of the *Pſalms* to the *Virgin Mary*, after the mode of this Office that had been ſuppreſſed about 4 *years* before.

The old ſtubbornneſs of Popes againſt the making any *Reformation* of Abuſes and Errors in their Church hath been commonly obſerved: but I believe that conſidering the great Figure *England* makes in the World, it may not be unlikely that the *briſk* Spirit of Oppoſition againſt Popery that had diſplayed it ſelf in *England* for about 8 years before the *Plot-Epoche*, and the ſharp and learned Books that were in that Conjuncture printed here againſt the Abuſes of the Church of *Rome*, might much contribute to the laudable Proceedings of this Pope in thoſe *Decrees* I have mentioned. And therefore when Nature had thus enforced the Papal Chair in ſo great a Meaſure upon Recantation, and a great deal of pretended infallibity was thrown over-board, (and that even relating to ſome Principles that might be called Religionary) it may reaſonably be thought that the ſame operation of Nature will produce among our little *Proteſtant* Recuſants a tacit renuntiation of the Irreligionary part of thoſe very Principles, that both the World and themſelves muſt needs ſee they have tranſcribed from Popery.

The *Complication* of the Principles of Irreligion that hath *joyned* the *Jeſuites* Popery with that of our former *Presbyterians* Popery, hath long been as *viſible* as the great *Iſthmus* (I ſpake of) that joyns the *Mexican* and the *Peruan* parts of the new World: and as I being to *explain* as in a *Dictionary* what I meant by *Popery*, I would not expoſe my ſelf to the Critical Religionary Controvertiſts by nicely *defining* Popery, (the *Obſervation* being no leſs than a *Rule* in the *Civil* Law, that *omnis definitio in jure Civili periculoſa eſt, parum eſt enim ut non ſubverti poſſit*) but gave the *Deſcription* of my ſenſe of it as before in this *Preface*, ſo if I were to give a *Deſcription* of our *Scotch* Presbytery as Covenanted to be here *introduced*, I would take the ſaid *Deſcription* of *Popery* and only *mutatis mutandis*,

tandis, ſay that by *Presbytery* I mean *the power of our Presbyters in impoſing Creeds and Doctrines and Rules of Divine Worſhip on men, and the Presbyters juriſdiction interloping in that of our Princes and their Laws, and the doing this by the Charter of* Jus Divinum *and as they are Chriſts pretended Vicars*, and do account that its intended *Arbitrarineſs* here in *England* juſtly appeared as *terrible* as that of Popery, and that our Conſciences being enſlaved to a *Foreign* Biſhop is not more inglorious than their being ſo to our fellow Subjects, and that a *bluſh* being *divided* among *ten thouſand* Eccleſiaſticks after they had out-raged our Laws and our Conſciences, would have here been no more ſeen by us than one at *Rome* on occaſion of any Popes there bluſhing after they had ſo done.

I have obſerved in this *Diſcourſe* how that part of Presbytery that may (tho erroneous) be called *Religionary* as practiſed in ſome *Foreign* Churches, hath here decayed and muſt ſo naturally more and more: and was glad to hear, That ſince the putting the Laws in Execution againſt Proteſtant *Recuſants*, thoſe of them who were called *Presbyterians* have, on *recollection* of thought, and after Conference had with our *Divines* forborn their former *Schiſmatical* Separation from our Churches, and that particularly in our *Metropolis* they have in all things been *ameinable* to the *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of our *Church*, except as to the ſubmitting to have their *Children* baptized with the uſe of the *Sign* of the *Croſs* there, and their *Superſtition* in not complying with which will I hope not be long *lifed*.

The gradual encreaſe of the *Chriſtenings* in ſome *Pariſhes* in the *Country* that I have ſeen Accounts of, (and in which places the *Diſſenters* formerly were very numerous) hath been to a far greater *Proportion* than the gradual Encreaſe by me remarked as to *London*, and within the ſame years. And a Learned *Divine* who is Miniſter of a Pariſh not far from *London* hath acquainted me, That the number of Communicants being there about the beginning of thoſe *years* but a 100, hath ſince ariſen to 400: and I believe that generally the numbers of Conformiſts may have much encreaſed in the Country beyond the proportion of their Encreaſe in the *City*, and may probably do ſo for ſome years.

Tho there are ſeveral Merchants and rich Traders in our *Metropolis* who are *Diſſenters*, yet I have obſerved, that *the groſs of their numbers conſiſts there of ordinary Retail-traders*: and as theſe have been naturally Sufferers there by the Cities ſo much removing *Weſtward*, and by the *Retail-trade* being ſo much gone to the other end of the *Town* (and are likely ſo to be more and more) ſo it hath been and will be natural to them to be more and more querulous: according to the ſaying of, *Omne invalidum eſt Querulum*.

And in this Caſe it will be natural to them both to ſupport their decaying Trade by Religionary Combinations, and perhaps to fancy *Religion* it ſelf *breaking* together with their *Bankrupſy*, and both for the *Conſoling* one another as *Socii doloris*, and likewiſe relieving one another thereby, to endeavour to keep Heterodox Religionary *Societies* as long and as much as they can.

But *Neceſſity*, the known Mother of *Induſtry*, muſt naturally in time cure them of their Poverty and Temptation to *Heterodoxy* thereby.

Our *Quakers* are by many thought to be a kind of a *Roma ſubterranea*, but whether *juſtly* or *no*, I enquire not: nor ſhall I give my opinion in it till the *Principles* of their *Light within* ſhall be expoſed to that *without*; many of which *Principles* have hitherto been by them kept as hid from

the World as were the *Subterraneous* Lights preſerved in the *Roman* Monuments, and as to which *Principles* they are perhaps conſcious that when they ſhall be expoſed to the Air and Light of the Sun, they will be as naturally extinguiſhed as thoſe Monumental Lights were when occaſionally brought into the open Air.

But one of their known *Tenets* being *the unlawfulneſs of Oaths*, I account they have an advantage thereby beyond the *Presbyterians* or *Independents* in their Claim to *Indulgence*, by demanding it in a *Doctrinal* point wherein there is *Dignus vindice nodus*, by reaſon of ſome *words* in the 5th of St. *Matthew* and 5th of St. *James* ſeeming *primâ facie* very *emphatically* and *vehemently* to forbid all manner of *ſwearing*, as the *Commentators* generally obſerve.

And in this *point* they are entituled to a very true and great Compaſſion becauſe, of the very falſe *Comments* ſo many *true Proteſtant would-be's* Actions have made on their great promiſſory *Oaths* beforementioned: and for that they have not out-raged their Natural *Allegiance* by *Rebellions*, as many other Diſſenters have done. If therefore to thoſe *Tea and Nay Men*, the *King* ſhould grant ſuch a *Charter* as the men of *Rippon* had from King *Athelſtan*, namely, *Quod homines ſui Ripponienſes ſint credendi per ſuum* yea *& per ſuum* nay, *in omnibus querelis & curiis licet tangentibus Freed-mortel*, &c. I ſhould not grudge it them.

And to ſpeak frankly, I know not but this their *ſullen* Principle may be ſubſervient to ſome great Birth of *Nature*, that may happen perhaps within an Age or two, when ſhame may in the more populous World have ſo far exterminated *Fraud* and *Cozenage* and the danger of *Perjury*, as that the manner of our *Oaths* Aſſertory before Tribunals may grow obſolete: a thing I account not altogether *improbable*, ſince I my ſelf obſerved that in a *Caſe* that happened before ſome of the greateſt *Peers* of the *Realm*, *Authoriſed* to *give* an *Oath* as being the Lords *Commiſſioners* of *Prizes* in the firſt *Dutch* War, it appeared that there was ſomewhat in *Nature* that had greater *weight* than an *Oath* among ſome men, namely, *Reputation*: for many *Merchants* being preſent at a *ſitting* of their *Lordſhips*, and one of them claiming a *Ship* and *lading* before them as wholly belonging to *Hamburgers*, and ſhewing himſelf ready to *ſwear* the ſame before their *Lordſhips*, one of the *Lords* asking him *if he would on his Reputation declare that no Subject of the States of* Holland *was as Proprietor therein concerned*, he refuſed to do it.

But before this *Golden* Age of Morality may come, and the bending *Leaden-rule* of *Oaths* hath been laid aſide, I expect that the Names of ſeveral of our *Religionary* Parties will be forgotten, and be as inſignificant as the word *Lollards* and *Lollardies*, and to *ſuppreſs* which every *High Sheriff* is ſtill bound to by his *Oath*, and who perhaps may think that the *Lollards* were *Papiſts* or ſome *Heterodox* People or other.

And therefore were I Maſter of never ſo much leiſure I would beſtow no part of it on the writing againſt thoſe *Religionary* Errors that have been ſo often confuted, and eſpecially when I ſee the *Circumvallations* of *Nature* ſo careſully wrought in its *Siege* againſt them, as that it cannot miſcarry; and no man having fixed his Judgment of *Natures* Courſe, need *Spur* it on, and according to the *Words* of the Great *Prophet*, *He that believeth ſhall not make haſte.*

Notwithſtanding the *ſeverity* of all our old *Laws* againſt Popiſh Recuſants, it hath been for the honour of our *Reformation*, that the Government hath notified it in the times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, that

that *no Roman-Catholick here ſuffered death for his Religion*, and notwithſtanding all the *Penal* Laws againſt *Proteſtant* Recuſants and *Recuſancy*, our pious *Princes* have without any general Relaxation or *Suſpenſion* of thoſe Laws, ſhewn ſignal favours and indulgences to many particular Perſons who appeared to the Eye of the State to be really Conſcientious and to hold no *Principles* that would create diſturbance to it.

And as I have mentioned that Mr. *Cotton* was particularly indulged, ſo I might likewiſe Aſſign many other *inſtances* of this Nature, and particularly of the known Letter of *Edward* the 6th to *Cranmer* to omit ſome *Rites* in the Conſecration of Biſhop *Hooper*, and of ſome Indulgences in Queen *Elizabeth*'s and King *James* his time, and others in King *Charles* the Firſt's, in favour of *particular* Proteſtant as well as *Popiſh* Recuſants. And to this purpoſe the *Hiſtory* of the *Life* of Mr. *Hilderſham*, one of the moſt Eminent *Divines* that *Puritaniſm* had bred, mentions that on the account of points relating to *Non-Conformity*, he was very frequently *ſuſpended ob officio & beneficio*, and very frequently reſtored to the ſame: and the ſame thing appears in the life of Mr. *Dod* an *Anteſignanus* among them: and both theſe *Divines* in their printed *Writings* aſſerted the *Principles* of their Loyalty and impugned the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance*, as likewiſe ſome others of the Puritan *Divines* did, and were therefore particularly indulged. And Mr. *Prynn* ſhewed himſelf extremely *partial* in reflecting on the Government as he did in his Seditious Book called, *The Popiſh Royal Favourite*, by not taking notice of the Relaxation of the Penal Laws made in the Caſe of particular Loyal *Puritans* and Non-Conformiſts, as well as in the Caſe of particular Loyal *Papiſts*.

But if the Government thought it ſo often neceſſary for its ſafety to revoke its *particular* Indulgences granted to *Hilderſham* and *Dod* (for the *former* being ſilenced in *June* 1590. and reſtored in *January* 1591, was again ſuſpended and ſilenced in *April* 1605, and after he was again reſtored in *January* 1608, was again ſilenced in *November* 1611, and being *June* 1625 reſtored to preaching, was in *March* 1630 again ſilenced; and the latter of them found the like viciſſitude of favours and puniſhments too tedious to be here inſerted) how can the Government be now ſecure in granting an Indulgence to other particular *Proteſtant* Recuſants more than only *durante bene placito*, or *quam diu bene ſe geſſerint*, after all the Diſ-loyalty of the *Principles* and *Practices* chargeable on ſo many of them ſince 41, and not known to have been ſince abhorred by them? But our Parliaments not knowing but only ſuſpecting ſo many of their owning their former Principle of the *Doctrine of Reſiſtance* (and who did therefore in the toleration of any Heterodox Religionaries in their own Families reſtrain them to a number only of *four* other Perſons to be preſent) ſeemed with the mixture both of tenderneſs to the Conſciences of thoſe Religionaries, and likewiſe to the publick Peace, to draw the *Copy* of that *Modus* of their limited Toleration, in ſome ſort after the great *Original* of the old Decree at *Rome* againſt the *Bacchanals*, and by which it was ordered that they ſhould not as before be obſerved at *Rome* or in *Italy*: but that *Si quis tale ſacrum ſolenne ac neceſſarium duceret, nec ſine Religione ac piaculo ſe id omittere poſſe, apud Prætorem urbanum profiteretur, prætor ſenatum conſuleret: ſi ei permiſſum eſſet, cum in ſenatu centum non minus eſſent, ita id ſacrum fieret, dum ne plus quinque ſacrificio intereſſent.*

But moſt certainly whatever *Complaiſance* with the Conſciences of any pretending *Religionaries* that Parliament intended, had they had any Proſpect

ſpect of *four* Perſons being preſent any where that held any *Principles* deſtructive of Monarchy, and that inclined them to *ſacrifice* our Princes and Laws as formerly, they would have accounted thoſe *four* too many to be tolerated. And the dreadful Out-rage the Government conflicted with, when *Venner* and the other few *Fift-Monarchy* men came out of the *Tiring houſe* of a private Religionary *Meeting* in *Coleman-ſtreet*, to *Act* the part of *Furies* as they did in our *Metropolis* (and that beyond the *wildneſs* of any mad *Bacchanal*) may well be an inſtance of *Caution* againſt *many* of a Party whoſe *Principles* are not known, being truſted together with themſelves.

Yet after all this, as once in a little Nominal *Parliament* we had in the the time of the *Uſurpation*, it was ordained, That *all Perſons that could ſpeak ſhould ſpeak the* enjoyned *words of Matrimony*, and that *all that had hands ſhould there joyn hands*, ſo I believe that in any future Conjuncture, *particular* Perſons, who by the *Loyalty* of their *Principles* and *Practices*, and by their being ready to attend our *Divines* for *inſtruction*, can make it appear, *that they have Conſciences*, will have no cauſe to complain of their being not *free*.

But by an *Accident* of Moment that hath offered it ſelf to the conſideration of our *Proteſtant* Recuſants, ſince the *Epoche* of *Plots and Rumours of Plots*, I doubt not but they will find an imminent neceſſity to make it demonſtrable to the World, that they own no Principles deſtructive of it: and that particularly the eaſie acceſs that *Witneſſes* have found to *Credibility* on their ſwearing Plots againſt *Jeſuitick* Popiſh *Recuſants*, by the *Precipice* of the Principles on which they ſtood being ſo conſpicuous to the World (and from whence the very *breath* of their Adverſaries, of how mean and deſpicable parts and fortunes ſoever, hath ſerved to throw them down headlong into ruine ſo eaſily) will be an effectual *Document* to all Recuſants who would prevent the danger from *Plot-Witneſſes*, that the very next thing to be done by them is their *bearing their Teſtimony* againſt Principles of *Dis-loyalty*.

The late Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (to the *Character* of whoſe *Loyalty* and *Learning Chriſtendom* is no ſtranger) having his thoughts on the Wing, and ready to take their Flight to that Region of Bliſs where none are admitted but Souls that part hence with a noble diſpoſition to Charity for all Humane kind, thought fit in his Proſpect of that World and in the great *Interval* of his *Preparation* for it, to ſend to the Preſs his *Book* called *His Vindication*, &c. *printed* in 1683, and in the *Concluſion* of it to tranſmit his opinion to the Age and Poſterity that ever ſince the *Reformation*, there have been *two Plots* carried on by *Papiſts* and *Diſſenters*, and that the ſame would long continue.

He had there mentioned Mr. *Baxters juſtifying the late War*, and quoted him for ſaying, that *as he durſt not repent of what he had done in the aforeſaid War, ſo he could not forbear the doing of the ſame if it were to do again in the ſame ſtate of things.* 'Tis true indeed (ſaith the Biſhop) *he tells us in the ſame place That if he were convinced he had ſinned in what he had done, he would as willingly make a publick Recantation as he would eat and drink when he is hungry and thirſty. But neither he nor any of the* Non-Conformiſts *that I have heard of, hath as yet made any ſuch publick Recantation, and therefore we may rationally and charitably enough conclude, That they are ſtill of the ſame Judgment they were then, and conſequently that their Practice will be the ſame it was then when any opportunity invites them to it*, &c. And then proceeds to ſay, *For mine own part I muſt confeſs as*

I always have been, ſo I am ſtill of opinion that ever ſince the Reformation there have been and are two Plots, *carrying on ſometimes more covertly, and ſometimes more ſecretly, the one by thoſe that call themſelves the only true Catholicks, the other by thoſe that call themſelves the only true Proteſtants, and both of them againſt the Government as it is Eſtabliſhed by Law both in Church and State: and as there always hath been, ſo there will be Plotting by both thoſe Parties until both of them be utterly ſuppreſſed: for as for making of Peace with either of them, I take it by reaſon of the perverſeneſs of the one, and peeviſhneſs of the other, and the Pride of both, a thing not to be hoped for.*

How much my poor Meaſures of *Futurity* do differ from his *Lordſhips*, in the Caſe of our Popiſh and Proteſtant Recuſants, the Current of my *Diſcourſe* ſhews: and am ſorry that he, having uſed this harſh ſounding word of *Plots*, deſcribed not his *Idea* of the *particulars* thereof relating to the time to come, and that he innodated in this his *Cenſure* (as it were) the *Body* of the *two* Religionary *Parties*, without any exception of the *Loyal* in both.

But I have obſerved it in a printed *Letter* of this Reverend *Prelate* to the *Earl* of *Angleſy*, of the Date of *July* the 4th, 1672. where having ſpoke of *the keeping out of Popery now it ſeems to be flowing in upon us* (as his words are) that he ſaith, *You know what I was for in the late Seſſions of Parliament, I mean* (*not a Comprehenſion*) *but a Coalition or Incorporation of the Presbyterian Party into the Church as it is by Law Eſtabliſhed; and I am ſtill of the ſame opinion, that it is the one only effectual expedient to hinder the Growth of Popery and to ſecure both Parties: and I am very confident that there are no Presbyterians in the World* (*the* Scotch *only excepted*) *that would not conform to all that is required by our Church, eſpecially in ſuch a Conjuncture of time as this is.*

My *Scope* by quoting this *Letter* is to ſhew that about 10 *years* ago, the *Biſhop* was not of opinion that Nature had condemned the *Presbyterians* to eternal *Plotting* againſt the *State*, but that a *Coalition* between that Party here and our Church, would then naturally happen: and as to which I have ſhewn how far he was fortunate in that his Conjecture, by the late great advance of thoſe called *Presbyterians* toward *Conformity*, and that therefore his *Opinion* varying in 83 from what it was in 72, as to the *Presbyterians*, it might (had he lived longer to have writ again) *vary* perhaps as to the Papiſts being *Plotters* with a *Continuando*, and he might have *recanted* that opinion as much as he would have had Mr. *Baxter* recanted his. And I would from that his *Letter* ſhew, that we have the leſs reaſon to be mortified with the fear of the continuance of theſe 2 *Plots*, or to be tempted to uncharitable thoughts of the whole Body of the *Papiſts* upon this *Biſhops* opinion, as delivered in what I have cited out of *his Vindication*, becauſe one expreſſion of it includes ſo much of Humane Frailty and Error, *viz.* his Lordſhips ſaying, *That he was ALWAIS of opinion, that ſince the Reformation theſe two Plots were and would be, till both the Parties were utterly diſabled and ſuppreſſed*; for when he writ the ſaid *Letter*, his *Opinion* appeared otherwiſe.

And there is another *uſe* I would make of this Pious and Learned *Prelates* having given ſuch an *Alarm* to the World concerning the *Plots* of theſe Heterodox Religionaries in future time, and of his having made them *as to Diſloyalty* to be in a manner *damnati antequam nati*, and that is this: namely, That the only ſubſtantial thing that could give weight to this *Cenſure* of theſe *two* Parties being their *Principles*, and that the great allowance

of this Biſhops *Opinion* as *Oracular* by ſo many, being likely to throw ſo much laſting *Odium* on the *Principles* of *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant* Recuſants as Hoſtile to Church and State (whereby any diſloyal *Practices* charged on them by their Adverſaries, tho perhaps very unjuſtly, will naturally be the ſooner and more eaſily believed, as I before hinted) it may hence appear neceſſary for men to go, or run, and even fly from *Principles* of Diſloyalty as ſoon, and as faſt, and as far as they can.

But as I have here *obſerved* it to be the *Intereſt* of our *Heterodox* Religionaries to diſclaim all Principles that I called *Convulſive* of *Civil* Society, and the Concern of every *Country* to have thoſe *Principles* notified (and as fairly and particularly delineated and deſcribed as are the *Beds* of *Sands* and *ſhoaly* places and rocky *Bars* of its *Harbours* and *Sea-Coaſts* by *Hydrographers*) ſo I ſhall likewiſe obſerve that the ſharp Execution of any of the *Penal* Laws hath not to the *Factious* among the Proteſtant *Recuſants* appear'd ſo afflictive as the *publication* of the *Principles* and printed *Sayings* of their *Paſtors* ſince 41, and the which ſeemed to be like the *Doom* of the Prieſts in *Malachy*, namely, to have the *Dung of their Solemn Feaſts ſpread in their Faces*: nor could they call ſuch uſage of their *Tenets, any Tryal of cruel mocking*, nor the Publiſhers any of *The Mockers that ſhould be in the laſt times*, ſince their very *Sayings* and *Tenets* have been plainly and briefly publiſhed in their *Authors* own words and without Additaments.

As to the Papal *Tenet* in the *Canon* Law, dilated on in the following *Diſcourſe*, I have there in *p.* 181. ſufficiently ſhewed my Averſion to contribute any grief or trouble to *Loyal* Papiſts by the notifying the ſame in the hot time of the late *Fermentation*, and while ſome factious *Anti-Papiſts* were ſo buſy in ſenſeleſs *Narratives* to load a great Body of them with the guilt of its Practice; and when I had any inclination to ſhew my ſelf unchriſtianly or ungenerouſly diſpoſed, as to the Perſons or Religion of *Roman* Catholicks, I might with the expence of an hour or two's time have eaſily gratified ſuch a corrupt Humour, by deſcanting on this *Tenet*, among the *Pamphleteers* and *Sheet-Authors* whoſe feet were accounted *beautiful* by the *Mobile*, for any dirt their hands threw at the *Papiſts*, before the *Epoche* of the *Declaration*, after the *Oxford* Parliament. And after the reſtoring of the *Engliſh* Genius, or as I may ſay, of the *Engliſh underſtanding* to it ſelf, that thereby happened, I account that the Notification of any *Tenet* chargeable on the *Papacy* or *Presbytery* referring to the Meaſures of Loyalty, or preſervation of the Rights of Civil Society, could bring no damage in the leaſt to any Recuſants Perſon whatever it might to his Erroneous *Principle*. And I having accounted it a kind of *nauſeous* ſuperfluity to confute at large any one of the old *Religionary* Controverſies between our Church and that of *Rome*, was willing thus to reſerve the *diſcuſſion* of this *Irreligionary* Tenet (how proper ſoever to be known) till ſome *healing* Conjuncture of time; and when I might hope by diſcuſſing the ſame and thereby effectually ſatisfying any Conſiderate *Excluders*, that I was no Papiſt, to beſpeak their Approach with more Candour to my great *Caſuiſtical* point *diſcuſſed*.

I have ſufficiently ſhewn in this *Preface* how much it imports our Security and Loyalty, to have the *Fantome* of the *Judicial* Law exorciſed out of mens underſtandings, and am aſhamed to think that *Chriſtians* do yet no more know the certain time of the Burial of that Body of *Moſes*'s Laws, than the *Jews* do the place where his deceaſed natural Body was laid. I know that ſome of the old *Schoolmen* have told us that that *Law*

was

was given only to the *Jews*: but when ſo many Popiſh *Univerſities* and *Caſuiſts* told our *Harry* the 8th, That his *Marriage* was againſt the *Law* of God, the World wanted teaching in this point: and the *Tutelar* Angels even of Proteſtant Countries are ſtill in effect put to it to contend with the *Devil* about *the Body of* Moſes *his Law*: and if any one hath a deſire to ſee the dreadful impreſſions that that Law hath ſo lately made abroad in the World and here in *England*, and that have much defaced our Loyalty and Religion, I ſhall refer him to Dr. *Hicks* his printed *Sermon* called *Peculium Dei*, where he hath given us very Learned Remarks, *That many unſound Judaiſing Chriſtians have ſtill dreamed that the* Moſaic Code *was yet in force, and that* Caroloſtadius *and* Caſtellio *about the time of the Reformation aſſerted the Doctrine of the validity and indiſpenſable Obligation of the* leges forenſes *of the* Jews: *and that many, tho they did not aſſert the validity of the whole* Moſaic Code, *have yet aſſerted the indiſpenſable obligation of ſome particular Laws in it, to the great ſcandal of the Proteſtant name, and particularly that againſt Idolatrous Perſons and Places the* Moſaic *Laws are ſtill in force: and that for want of diſtinguiſhing in the Decalogue and the Laws which follow after it, many men have run into many groſs unfortunate Errors*; and he hath there referred to the *Ancient* and *Modern Sabbatarians, the Writers againſt Uſury, the Modern Iconocloſts, the ſtrict Divine Right of Tithes, and Tithes of Tithes, or Tenths to the Pope as the Chriſtians high Prieſt*, and to the *Aſſertors of the unlawfulneſs of the Supreme Magiſtrates pardoning Murder which God made unpardonable among the* Jews: and *to* Baronius *and* Bellarmine *arguing thence for the Popes Supremacy*: and *to Pope* Adrian *the 6th moving the Princes of* Germany, *to cut of* Luther *and his followers, becauſe God caſt* Corah *and his Company down to Hell, and commanded that thoſe who would not obey the Prieſt ſhould be put to death*: and *to the Promoters and Abettors of the Solemn* League *and* Covenant, *which ſome have equalled to the* Covenant *of Grace, and were wont to expreſs themſelves about it in the Text and Phraſes of the old Teſtament, which concerned the making, breaking, or renewing of that Political Covenant which God made with the People, and afterwards with his Vice-Roys the Kings of the* Jews: and *to the ſpecious popular Arguments uſed by the former and later Rebels in Great* Britain, *for Depoſing and Murthering Kings*, and *to the Speech delivered at a Conference concerning the Power of Parliament which is nothing but* Doleman *aliàs* Parſon's *Title to the Crown tranſproſed.*

And under this head we might refer to the *Covenant* mention'd among the *Independent* Churches.

Mr. *Burroughs* one of the beſt of our late *Independents*, quoting *Deut.* 13. 6. *If thy Brother, the Son of thy Mother*, &c. *Chap.* 5. of his *Irenicum* ſaith, *Let not any put of this Scripture ſaying, this is in the Old Teſtament, for we find the ſame* thing, almoſt the *ſame words uſed in a Prophecy of the times of the Goſpel.* Zech. 13. 3. He ſaith indeed *that by thoſe words in* Deut. *the meaning is not that his Father or Mother ſhould preſently run a Knife into him, but that they ſhould be the means to bring him to condign puniſhment even the taking away his life.*

Calvin likewiſe in giving his ſenſe of that *place* of *Zechary* foreſaw the *Odium* of having any killed without going to the *Judge*, and there ſaith, *Multò hoc durius eſt, propriis manibus filium interficere, quam ſi ad Judicem deferrent.* But here Mr. *Burroughs* and *Calvin* have Categorically enough aſſerted what the *Judges* duty is in the Caſe, and I have ſaid what *Calvin* effected by going to the *Judge* about *Servetus.*

Gundiſſalvus

Gundiſſalvus doth not determine the lawfulneſs of burning an Heretical City without going to the *Judge*; and the lawfulneſs of Proteſtant Princes judging the Perſons or Cities of Idolaters to be deſtroyed by the pretended Obligation of the *Moſaic* Law, is chargeable on the *Anti-Papiſts* I have mentioned: and I believe there are few of our *Presbyterian* or *Independent* Enthuſiaſts, but who think it as lawful to burn *Rome* as to roaſt an Egg.

But the Church of *England* abhorreth this *flammeum & ſulphureum evangelium*: and Dr. *Hicks* in the *Preface* to his *Jovian*, taking notice of the Reaſons *which the Papiſts urge for putting Heretick, and the ſcotiſing Presbyterians for putting Popiſh Princes to death*, ſaith thereupon, *I deſire Mr. J. to tell me, Whether he thinks in his Conſcience, the Biſhops of the Church of* England *could argue ſo falſly upon the Principles of the Jewiſh* Theocracy *to the like proceedings in Chriſtian States?* And ſaith, *if this way of arguing be true, then the Queen* (meaning Queen *Elizaleth*) *was bound to burn many Popiſh Towns in her Kingdom and ſmite the Inhabitants with the Sword*, &c.

I have therefore thought it Eſſential to the advancement and preſervation of *Loyalty*, to endeavour to have the *Papal* and *Presbyterian* Error as to the *Jewiſh* Laws exterminated.

And the ſetling of this point is the more important to the Meaſures of *Loyalty*, becauſe the ſame *Chapter* in *Deuteronomy*, viz. the 13*th*, that hath been the Popes *Palladium* for his power of firing Heretical Cities, hath likewiſe been made uſe of by our deluded *Excluders*, as theirs to recur to in a practice ſo ſcandalous to Loyalty and to the Proteſtant Religion, and which hath too much appeared in the many Factious *Pamphlets* for the *Excluſion*; and as I hinted that that *Chapter* of *Deuteronomy* was impiouſly applied in a former *Conjuncture*, for putting the Queen of *Scots* to death, ſo the pretended lawfulneſs of the *Excluſion* by arguing from the greater to the leſs, was by the deluded generally inferred from that *Chapter*: and the place I juſt now referred too in the *Preface* of *Jovian*, mentions, Mr. *J's* arguing from *Deut.* 13. 6. *If thy Brother, the Son of thy Mother*, &c. in citing of which (ſaith the *Dr.*) it is evident on whom our Author did reflect.

The very *expoſing* the *abſurdity* of the Papal power of deſtroying Heretical Perſons and Cities on the account of the *Moſaic* Law, will (I believe) as by *Conſent* of the *ſober* of all *Parties* much help to exterminate the aforeſaid Error, which hath coſt the *Papacy* ſo dear, and naturally tempted ſo many *Calviniſts* to own the ſame Error, partly by way of *retaliation*, and not altogether through defect of Judgment: and I doubt not but if the *Papacy* were now to begin to claim the *allowance* of exerciſing the Juriſdiction over all *Chriſtians* in the World as the *High Prieſt* did over all proſelyted to the *Jewiſh* Religion (and as appears by not only the *Inhabitants* of *Paleſtine*, but others of the moſt remote Countries, and particularly by the *Æthiopian* in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles* owning ſubjection to the *Jewiſh* Prieſthood) it would ſtop at the Conqueſt of that *Oecumenical* Power, and *Tenths* of the *Levites* thereby, without demanding the *Power* to deſtroy Hereticks Towns, and to exterminate the Perſons of Hereticks by *Cruſado's*, as other *dependencies* on it. But the Papacy hath long ago paſſed that bloody *Rubicon* of the *Judicial* Law, and cannot in *Honour* or *Politicks* go back: nor will any Pope expreſsly renounce the Power of compelling Princes to *exterminate* their Heretical Subjects, tho yet the *Faſhion* of the *exerciſe* of this *Power* be thus as I

have

have ſhewed, *tacitly* paſſed *away*, and as a thing neceſſarily *impracticable* in the more populous World.

And no *Jeſuited* Papiſt dares *diſclaim* this Power in the *Pope's* behalf or impugn the ſame; however it was a thing that the Pope could not but foreſee, that his *quaſhing* the *Jeſuites* Power to kill men by *retail*, would render the *Jeſuites* averſe from writing for his Power to kill Hereticks by *whole-ſale* and by *Cruſado's*, or for the power to fire Heretical Cities, if there were occaſion to have any ſuch power aſſerted in behalf of the *Papacy*, as I believe there neither is nor ever will be. But partly according to my *Conjecture* of the *Reſult* of the *Fermentation* about the *Regale* in *France*, I ſuppoſe that tho the Papacy will no more be brought to *diſclaim* its pretended Monarchy over other parts of the World *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, than the Dukes of *Savoy* will the *Title* of their being Kings of *Cyprus*, yet it will be neither able or ſtudious to proſecute its *Claim* of ſuch power by diſordering the World as formerly.

All the perſonal Vertue and Probity of any Popes will never incline them to pronounce againſt their *Juriſdiction*, however they may thereby, and by want of ſtrength to execute it, be kept from the old injurious *ampliating* it; and on this ſlippery *Precipice* the *Papacy* ſtill remains, and from whence through the natural Jealouſie of *Crown'd* Heads and *States* in the point of *Power*, it will probably fall down to its tame *principium unitatis*, and its *Patriarchal* Figure, and in time to nothing.

But by many of the Anti-papal Sects, and ſuch as call themſelves *The only true Proteſtants*, ſtill owning the Obligation of the *Jewiſh* forinſec *Laws*, a Neceſſity is by God and Nature put on the *Proteſtants* of the Church of *England* to Combat ſuch pretended *Obligations* by dint of Reaſon, and thereby to ſupport the *Rights* of their *Princes* without *Condition* and *Reſerve*, and which no Jeſuited Papiſts or Proteſtants either can or will do.

Nor is it ſafe for *other* Papiſts to own Principles that touch the Pope's imaginary Monarchal Power. For *Power* how *fantaſtick* ſoever, would ſeem a ſerious thing and will endure no *raillery*, and the honeſt Father *Caron* whom I have mentioned as citing 250 Popiſh *Authors* who denied the *Pope's* Power to *depoſe* Princes, doth tell us, that the Pope's *Nuntio* and 4 *Popes* condemned his Doctrine, and the *Inquiſitors* damned his *Book*, and his *Superiours* his *Soul*, I mean, they very *fairly* excommunicated him for it.

There is another thing that may render the knowledge of this Papal *Tenet* worthy of the entertaining our Curioſity, tho we are paſt its danger; and that is what occurs to me that I lately mentioned in a Diſcourſe I had with an intelligent Perſon of the Church of *England*, who ſaying to me that there was one *part* of the barbarous Out-rage of the *Gun-powder Treaſon*, which was very ſcandalous to Humane Nature, and which he thought could not be pretendedly legitimated by any Papal *Principles*, namely that part of the Out-rage, that related to the deſigned deſtruction of ſo many Magnificent Piles of Building, and of the adjacent City of *Weſtminſter*, and the lifes of thouſands of Men, Women, and Children with one Cruel Fatal Blow, I gave him an account of the *Tenet* in the *Canon* Law, grounded on the 13th of *Deuteronomy*, ſo fairly and fully diſcuſſed in the following *Diſcourſe*, and whereby I ſatisfied him about the *Principle* that pretended to legitimate that part of the *Out-rage*: and do aſſure any man that as arbitrary as the *Papacy* ever was, it yet was ſo juſt as to inflict no kind of puniſhment on *Perſons* or *Communities* that was not in its *Sanctions* intimated and for what Crimes.

I have in this *Diſcourſe* render'd ſome of our late *Fift-Monarchy* men *Principled* for all Villany imaginable, and juſtly Convicted and Executed for a deſign to fire our *Metropolis*, and in which deſign they had ſubtilly contrived to have backed their Out-rage with the terror of Armed Forces, nothing of which appeared in the *Caſe* of the two poor *French* Papiſts charged with the *Odium* of the Fact, and beyond which leaſt of numbers it is not in this *Diſcourſe* extended; and as to thoſe two Perſons, there being then open *War* between the *Engliſh* and *French*, it may be ſaid, that the *Religion* of *Popery* might be out of the *Caſe* of any thing done by ſuch as were *juſti hoſtes*, as the Laws term them, however I yet think that none concerned in the Government of that Nation, would then be ſo barbarous as to deſign us ſuch an Out-rage.

Moreover I have in this *Diſcourſe* ſaid, that I will not charge the *allowance* of this *Tenet* on the generality of Papiſts either at home or abroad, and *that no un-jeſuited Papiſt nor perhaps ſome* ſober Party *in that* Order *would think the worſe of me for calling the* Decretum *of the Popes Canon Law, by reaſon of its empowring him thus to burn Cities*, horrendum Decretum.

And becauſe my knowing of this Papal *Tenet*, as founded on the *Judicial* Law, made me, after the beginning of this *Diſcourſe*, to ſurmize, that more Papiſts might poſſibly be concerned in this Out-rage than really were, and ſo in my balancing the actings of ſome Loyal Proteſtant Recuſants in *Ireland*, with ſome Diſ-loyal ones of ſome Popiſh Recuſants there and here, I mentioned the Out-rage on the *Metropolis* as done by Papiſts, (*i. e.* by *Papiſts*, and not by *Proteſtants*, and as Sir *W. Raleigh* mentioned that *Harry* the 4th *was murdered by the Papiſts*, that is not by the *Huguenots*) I yet thought my ſelf bound in Chriſtianity and Moral Juſtice to ſhew my ſelf ſo far from being in the leaſt miſled by the ſcandalous and incoherent *Narratives* that reflected on a great body of the Papiſts, as concerned in ſuch a horrid Fact, and particularly by that whoſe *Author* in a *Plot* with *Bookſellers* had ſtole his *Fire* of *London* out of old printed *Examinations* before a *Committee* of *Parliament*, that I have ſhewn the *ridiculouſneſs* of the *palmare argumentum* of the *Populace*, and cryed up as ſo unanſwerable, to prove that very many Papiſts deſignedly fired the City, and which *Argument* I have not met with expoſed to contempt by any other Perſon, and which had ſo far happened to work on the underſtanding of an ingenious man who employed himſelf in writing the *Hiſtory* of *England*, ſince the King's Reſtoration, that he had been likely, but for my ſhewing him the Childiſhneſs of his Error, to have ſent it to Poſterity with a *Crown*, inſtead of a *Fools Cap* on its head.

And tho I have rendred the ſame *Tenet* of firing Heretical Cities, that is in the Pope's Canon Law founded on *Deuteronomy*, chargeable on our late *Presbyterians*, I have exempted the Perſons of ſuch our Proteſtant *Recuſants*, from any guilt of an Out-rage againſt our *Metropolis* as *Idolatrous*: for whatever their *Principles* are, there is yet another ſort of *Idolatry* prevalent among them as all Religionaries (and which I have referred to) namely *Covetouſneſs*, that would ſecure them from firing their own Neſts.

But here while I am troubling my ſelf to do right to *Papiſts* and *Presbyterians*, I cannot without all the *horror* and *deteſtation* imaginable call to mind how a vile traiterous Subject of his *Majeſties*, who preſumed to call himſelf *the Proteſtant Joyner*, was ſo far tranſported with Madneſs and Fury, as to the ſcandal of Religion and Loyalty and common Senſe, with

with the guilt of that Fire to reproach his *Prince*, whose Reign had so long signalized it self, with such a Father-like tenderness for all his Subjects. And yet in the TRYAL of that *Monster* of *Calumny*, his slandering his Prince thus with so much desperate and ridiculous Malice was in *proof*. And ridiculous it may well be called: for what could be more remote from the least shadow of possibility, than a Prince of such Eminent Wisdom and known great Abilities, firing *his* own *Chamber*, and destroying his Revenue, and vastly impoverishing the People, and thereby weakening himself in the *Flagrancy* of *War* between *England* and *France*, and the *States* of *Holland*? It is absolute dotage and *Bedlam*-madness to imagine, that any one interested in the Government of *England*, and its being a *Kingdom*, could be in the least a well wisher to such an Out-rage. The very *Fift-Monarchy* men, who designed it, were abject *Paupers*, and the two *French-men* were no better.

But Justice found out that *Shimei*, who thus outragiously slandered the *Lord's Annointed*: and may all such his incorrigible *Enemies* be *cloathed* with *shame*; and let them see that tho Heaven doth not think fit always to *hide* Princes *from the scourge of the Tongues* of men of *Belial*, yet at the same time it sheweth some tender regard of the *honour* of Crown'd heads, by abandoning the dis-loyal to reproach them with impossibilities.

It was observed by the late *Bishop* of *Winchester* in his printed *Sermon* before the *King* on the 5th of *November*, p. 18. That *the Doctrines among the Dissenters that tend to Sedition and Rebellion, seem to be derived and borrowed from the Church of* Rome: but his *Lordship* in the same *Page*, having before spoke of those *Doctrines*, said, That *if they are believed and practised they must necessarily produce Confusion among us.*

Yet having a regard to the Piety and Peaceableness of some *Dissenters*, and considering how long many of them had been trained up to *Principles* of *Loyalty* before they went off from the Church of *England*, we may reasonably have the better hopes of their not being able to believe the *Doctrine of Resistance* and *Principles* convulsive of *Civil Society*.

But we have of late found cause to judge, that that *Doctrine*, and those Principles have been believed and practised by others of them, and with such *Artifice* to amuse and divert the *incautelous* Loyal from the *apprehension* thereof, as was practised by several of the *Papists* a little before the *Gun-powder Treason*: for as at the end of the Papists *Supplication to the King and the States of the Parliament* in the *year* 1604, they undertake *that as to the Loyalty of their Priests, they shall readily take their Corporal Oaths for continuing their true Allegiance to his Majesty or the State, or in Case that be not thought assurance enough, that they shall give in sufficient Sureties, one or more, who shall stand bound life for life for the performance of the said Allegiance; and further, that if any of their number be not able to put in such Security, that then they will all joyn in such supplication to the Pope for recalling such Priests out of the Land* (and thus by the *Offer* of *Security* attempted to lull the *State* in a secure sleep and dream of their Loyalty) so have many of our *Protestant would-be's* by the publication of their NO PROTESTANT PLOT, so lately before their plotted Out-rage, done what was *tantamount* to keep our *Country* from being awake to observe the *March* of their *Principles*, till it should be surprized with the suddenness of *Sampson's* Alarm when it came to be said, *The true Protestants are upon thee*, I mean those who falsly call themselves so.

I know no true Son of the Church of *England* owning a greater propenſion to afford favour to Heterodox Religionaries, in points *denominable* by *Religion*, than what my natural temper and habitual inclination prompt me to. And tho ſome men are apt to have a ſharper regret againſt others for differing from them in *judgment*, than for a material *injury*, I am naturally ſo far from ſuch an humour, as to be more pleaſed with, and to think my ſelf better diverted by the Converſation of the Learned, whoſe *Sentiments* differ from mine in moſt points *Philoſophical* and in many *Theological*, than by theirs who perfectly agree in *opining* with me therein: and do fancy to my ſelf that I have the fortune hereby for my humour to accord with that of the generality of men of the gayeſt temper in the Age, how different ſoever their Religions are; and do ſuppoſe, that if ſuch a *captious* fiery Bigot as Biſhop *Bonner* were now living, the ingenious *Maimbourg* would ſcorn to keep him Company.

But the *preſent* State of *Chriſtendom* making *Loyalty* a *Vertue of Neceſſity* here in *England*, (as I have ſhewn in this *Diſcourſe*) I would abhor the Converſation of any *Diſſenter* I thought Diſloyal, as of a Perſon not only *wicked* but *ſtupid*: and *on this Rock* (as I may ſay) of *Loyalty* being likely ſo long to continue Eſſential to our continuing a Nation, have I built my *Conjecture* of the *future* happy *State* of *England*.

It is a poſſible thing that the ſerenity of its Future State may be for ſome little time over-caſt by Clouds of Diſcontent, if the *Balance* of *Trade* ſhould long continue to be againſt us, and that then forlorn *Paupers* inſtead of fearing *Popery* would for a while fear nothing at all: for *Neſcit plebs jejuna timere*. But I have cited the *Obſervator* on the *Bills* of *Mortality* for accounting not above *one* in 4000 to have ſtarved; and I having in *p.* 185 cited the *Author* of *Britannia languens*, for ſaying, that *he heard of no new improving Manufacture in* England *but that of Periwigs*, did give my Judgment, that the *Ebb* of our *Trade* hath been at the loweſt point, *and that Nature will neceſſarily haſten its improvement*: and having obſerved in *p.* 66, that *after a long Age of Luxury a contrary humour reigns as long in the World again*, I have ſaid that *of that contrary humour I think we now ſee the Tide coming in*, and have aſſigned *one* late *Woollen* Manufacture, by which *England* hath gained *double* as much as for 76 *years*, it lately did by the *Balance* of *Trade*.

But if any one of our *true Proteſtant* Plotters ſhould be ſuppoſed ever to inveigle any of the poorer *Mobile* to fly out into tumultuous Diſorder or Commotion, any ſuch Commotion making an *Exception* from my general *Rule* of *England*'s neceſſary future *pacific* State, would both certainly *firmare regulam*, and make the *Odium* of the Loyal *Populace* ſo keen againſt all *Principles* and *Doctrines* of *Reſiſtance*, as to *exterminate* the ſame from our Soyl for ever, and to deter men as much from daring to propagate the ſame in *England*, as in thoſe two moſt Famous *Receptacles* of Heterodox Religionaries, I mean *Amſterdam* and *Conſtantinople*.

Any one who will accord with me how neceſſary it was for the confounding of *Dis-loyalty*, that I ſhould point out the fatal time when our *Trade* was confounded, *viz.* in *January* 1648: and any *Reader* of this *Diſcourſe* will find the obvious way mentioned, how a Child of *ten* years of Age may know when the *Balance* of *Trade* is againſt us, and how long it hath been ſo, tho not to what proportion: and ſo whether I have been too *ſanguine* in my fancy by predicting in effect that it will be for us, and long ſo continue, time will ſhew. But if I am out in my Meaſures as to that *point*, I am ſure the *Divines* of the Church of *England* will gain *Cento*

per

per Cento thereby, as to the *point* of their abſolute uſefulneſs, and neceſſary encouragement under a Prince of what reſolution ſoever; and upon a wanton *ſuppoſition* that they had all withdrawn themſelves to the remoteſt parts of the Earth, it would be any *Princes* intereſt to invite them back again at any rate, and that for their perſiſting in the *preaching up* of *Loyalty* as they have done for ſeveral years, and thereby ſo much helped to preſerve us from weltring in one anothers blood.

It is excellently obſerved by *Lucius Antiſtius Conſtans* in his *De jure Eccleſiaſticorum, that the* CLERGY *is neceſſary to conſole us with the World to come, as to the hardſhips daily occurring to us in this, as well as to direct us in our Courſe to that World.* And if contrary to my expectation, Heaven ſhould think fit to puniſh the paſt *Rebellions* and preſent *murmurings* of ſo many of our Land, by any future diminution of our Trade (and when we ſhould be enforced to work the harder for the neceſſary ſupport of our Families and of the Government) 10000 *Preachers* of *Loyalty* will be an uſeful Treaſure both to the Prince and People.

Fuller in his *Church-Hiſtory* mentions, that in the *year* 1619, *It was complained of that the Grantees of Papiſts forfeitures generally favoured them by Compoſitions for light Sums.* But the famous *Book* of *The Right and Juriſdiction of the Prelate and the Prince*, printed A. D. 1617. ſaith in the *Epiſtle* Dedicatory to the *Engliſh Catholicks, You have this long time ſuffered as violent and furious a Perſecution as ever the* Jews *did under an* Antiochus, *or the Primitive Chriſtians did under a* Nero, Domitian, Dioclesian, Maximinian *or* Julian, *and yet you ſee no end of this fury*, &c.

I would ask any Loyal *Roman* Catholick, if a *Clergy* that could *conſole* ſuch *Lachrymiſts* and preach *Loyalty* to them, was not then neceſſary? And I am ſure he will ſay it was; for that the Doctrine *preacked* by the *Author* of that *Book* appeareth thus in the *Contents* of the *Chapters* after the end of that *Epiſtle*, viz. *Regal Power proceeds immediately from the Peoples Election and Donation*, &c. *By the Spiritual Power which Chriſt gave the Pope in his Predeceſſor St.* Peter, *he may diſpoſe of Temporal Things, and even of Kingdoms for the good of the Church:* and the many *Republican* and Seditious *Aſſertions* in that *Book* are ſuch, that any Aſſerters thereof would in the judgment of our *Loyal* Populace, be thought to merit what the *Jews* or Primitive *Chriſtians* ſuffered as aforeſaid. And that no man dares now partly ſo *fear* of the Popular diſpleaſure and being thought abſurd, ſay, that the *Engliſh* Monarchy is otherwiſe than from *God* and not from *Mens* Election, juſt as *for fear of the People*, the chief *Prieſts* and *Scribes* and *Elders* durſt not ſay that *the baptiſm of John* was not *from Heaven* but *of men*, is moſt eminently to be attributed to the late Loyal Sermons made expreſsly of *Loyalty* by the *Divines* of the Church of *England*.

But that I may draw toward an end of this long *INTRODUCTION* or *PREFACE* (wherein yet if I have happened to acquaint any *Reader* with any valuable *point* of *Truth*, it will be the ſame thing to him as the *payment* of a *Bill* of Exchange in the *Portico* or in the *Houſe*) I am neceſſarily to ſay that by the *inadvertence* of an *Amanuenſis* employed in writing ſomewhat of this *Diſcourſe* for the *Preſs*, there happened to be ſeveral miſtakes of words and names; and one of them I ſhall mention here, and not truſt to its being regarded among the *Errata*, viz. that whereas 'tis ſaid in *p.* 39, that *Creſwel* a *Jeſuite* writ for King *James* his *Succeſſion* when *Parſons* writ againſt it, it ſhould have been ſaid that *Chriſton* a *Jeſuite* then did ſo: and ſo the latter part of the Volume of

the *Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm* relates it: and any indifferent man would think that *Chriſton* writ not in earneſt, and that his *Book* appeared not on the *Stage* of the World, but only to *go off* it, ſince ſo neceſſary a *Counter-poyſon* to *Parſons* his Book, could never yet be heard of in any Library.

Some little Omiſſions and Errors about Letters and Pointing, eaſily appearing by their groſsneſs, are not put into the *Errata*: and ſome the *Reader* will find amended with the *Pen*.

Moreover I am to Apologize for the careleſsneſs of the *Style*, and to acquaint the *Reader*, that the *Rule* of any ones writing in any thing that is called a *Letter*, being the way of the ſame Perſons *ſpeaking*, I do thereby juſtify the freedom I have taken in not poliſhing any *Notions*, or delivering them out with the care employed on curious *Pictures* (and that require twice or thrice *fitting*) and in uſing that *colouring* of words, and ſuch bold careleſs *Touches* as are to be uſed in the *finiſhing up* any piece at *once*, and which the Nature of Diſcourſe neceſſarily implies, and in ſometimes uſing *ſignificant* expreſſions in this or the other Language for any thing, as I do in my common Converſation with thoſe who underſtand thoſe Languages; and by the ſame Rule I have exempted my ſelf from the trouble of that nice weighing of things as well as of words, that a Profeſſed *Hiſtory* or *Diſcourſe*, otherwiſe then in the way of a *Letter*, would have required, and the ſame excuſe may ſerve for the Style of this *Preface*.

If the *Date* of this *Diſcourſe* had not at the writing of the *firſt* Sheet been there inſerted, a later one had been aſſigned it: but I thought it not *tanti* on the occaſion thereof to have that Sheet reprinted.

I hope to be able in my *Review* to gratifie the *Readers* Curioſity with ſomewhat more of ſatisfaction as to the *Monaſtic* Revenue, and which in *p.* 92 I mentioned as not adequate to the maintenance of 50000 *Regulars* by my not conſidering how plentifully it was ſupported by *Oblations* of *various* kinds, and other ways not neceſſary to be here enumerated.

In *p.* 1. I ſay, I think it was St. *Auſtin* who ſaid, *Credo quia impoſſibile eſt*: and have ſince thought it was *Tertullian*. I care not who ſaid it, as long as I did not.

I have in *p.* 13 mentioned the *Order* of *Jeſuites* as invented by the Pope in the year 1540, wherein I had reſpect to the time of its *Confirmation* from the *Papacy* and not of its founding by *Ignatius*.

There are other omiſſions and faults in the *Preſs* that the *Reader* is referred to the *Errata* for, without his conſulting which, I am not accountable for them.

I am farther to ſay that there is one thing in this *Preface* that I need not *apologize* for, and wherein I have done an Act of common Juſtice, namely, in Celebrating the Heroical Vertue and Morality of this preſent *Pope*, that were ſignalized as I have mentioned.

Almighty God can make the *Chair* of *Peſtilence* convey *health* to the World, and can preſerve any Perſon in it from its mortal Contagion.

But the truth is, I was the more concerned to do the Pope the right I have done, becauſe I obſerved, that after that *Credit* of the *Popiſh Plot* began to die, that depended on the Credit of the *Witneſſes*, ſeveral Perſons attempted to put new *Life* into it, by their renewed impotent *Calumnies* caſt on the *Character* of the *Pope*, and as appeared by a bound 8° *printed* in the *year* 1683, called *The Devils Patriarch, or a full and impartial Account of the Notorious Life of this preſent Pope of* Rome, Innocent *the* 11th, &c. *Written by an EMINENT* Pen to *revive the remembrance of the*

almoſt

a moſt forgotten PLOT *againſt the life of his Sacred Majeſty and the Proteſtant Religion.*

What *AUTHOR* was meant by that *EMINENT PEN*, I know not in the leaſt. The *Preface* to the *Reader* concludes with the Letters of *T. O.* The vain *Author* having throughout his *Book* ridiculouſly accuſed the Pope of immorality and *ſcandal*, and of being *a friend to Indulgences, and of favouring the looſe Principles of the Jeſuites, and of contriving the* Popiſh Plot *and carrying it* on in concert *with the Jeſuites*, concludes by ſaying in p. 133, *This Pope had great hopes of re-entry into* England *by his hopeful Plot: hereupon* Cottington's *bones were brought to be buried here*, &c.

It was high time then for People to be weary of the *Martyrocracy* when the *Plot* came to be ſtatuminated by *Cottington*'s bones, and the pretended *immorality* of ſo great an *Example* of ſevere Vertue as this *Pope*, and when the belief of the *Teſtimony* againſt ſome men as Popiſh *Ruffians* was endeavoured to be ſupported by the Childiſh Artifice of making a *Ruffian* of the Pope himſelf.

But indeed long before the *Edition* of that trifling *Book*, many things had occurred ſo far to ſhake the teſtimony of the *Witneſſes*, as that it grew generally the *Concordant* voice of the *Populace*, that on a ſuppoſal of ſeveral of the ſame Perſons being again alive to be tryed on the Teſtimony of the ſame *Witneſſes* before the ſame Judges, it would not have prejudiced a hair of the heads that were deſtroyed by it, and particularly in the unfortunate Lord *Stafford*'s Caſe.

I have in two or three places of this *Diſcourſe*, ſpeaking of the *Papal* Hierarchy, called it *Holy Church*, its old known *term*, and by which I meant no reflection of ſcorn: nor would I laugh at any *Principle* of *Religion* found among any *Heterodox* Religionaries that the dying groans of the holy *Jeſus* purchaſed them a liberty to profeſs.

But 'tis no *Raillery* to ſay, that the Artifices of any diſ-loyal *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant* Recuſants, that have ſo long made *Templum Domini*, uſurp on the *Lord* of the *Temple* and his *Vice Gerents*, that is, *Kings* and *Princes*, will ſupport no Church: and that as it hath been obſerved of ſome Free *Stones*, that when they are laid in a Building in that proper poſture which they had naturally in their *Quarries*, they grow very hard and durable (and if that be changed, they moulder away in a ſhort time) a long duration may likewiſe be predicted to the *Arts* and *Principles* of reaſon applied to ſupport a Church as they lay in the *Quarry* of *Nature*, and where the God of *Nature* laid them for the ſupport of Princes and their People, and *è contrà*. In fine, therefore ſince the Principles of the Church of *England* are thus laid in it as they were in that *Quarry*, none need fear that they will be defaced by time, or that a lawful Prince of any Religion here will accoſt it otherwiſe than with thoſe words of the *Royal* Pſalmiſt, *viz. Peace be within thy Walls, and Proſperity within thy Palaces.*

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Devon, Jan. 27. 1680.

My Lord,

AS to the *Candour* of the *Engliſh* Nation that was formerly ſo very extraordinary, and the *whiteneſs* and *ſweetneſs* of the *temper* of the *People* of *England* that did adde to the repreſenting it a *Land flowing with Milk and Honey*, and to the making it like the *Galaxy* to have one brightneſs from thouſands of fixt *Stars* placed ſo *high* by *Nature*, that they could not ſuffer the leaſt *Eclipſe* by the ſhaddow of the whole *Earth*; we may well ſince the Publiſhing of the horrid *Affidavit* of the *Infamous* Perſon, and ſo many *valuing* themſelves as the beſt of Men upon their believing what was ſworn by the worſt, lament the *temporary* decay of ſo great a part of the Glory of the *Engliſh* good Nature.

And they who knew your Lordſhip, (and conſequently knew you to be a ſteadfaſt approver of the *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of the *Church* of *England*) have reaſon more particularly to be ſenſible of what concern'd you in that calumnious *Affidavit*, becauſe the wretch preſumed therein to faſten on your Lordſhip the *Sanbenito* of a *Court of* Rome-*Papiſt*, and to repreſent you as a favourer of *Popery* or the *Papal* Uſurpations that were in *Harry* the 8th's time hence exterminated, and as an endeavorer to *ſtifle* the *Evidence* about the *Plot* notify'd by the Government for the *recalling* that kind of *Popery*.

Altho I know no Chriſtian more tenderly inclined then your Lordſhip to ſhew all Chriſtian *Indulgence* to the *Perſons* of *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant* Recuſants, and have ſometimes obſerved your Lordſhip while you were wiſhing that none of the *New* Articles of *Faith* in the *Tridentine* Creed were by any believed, yet out of *tenderneſs* to the *Perſons* of *Devout* and *Loyal* Papiſts, with great reaſon to wiſh likewiſe that no *Odium* might come to ſuch from the *Name* of *POPERY* for their Profeſſion of ſuch *Tenets* as are held by the *Greek* and other *Churches* who yearly *Curſe* the *Pope*, and are ſo *Curs'd* by him; yet none need doubt but that your Lordſhip will as much as any man account it the *opus diei* by all due means to oppoſe all *plotted* Deſigns whatſoever to retrive the *Papal* Power of Uſurping over the *Crown*, or *Conſcience*. My Lord, there are ſome among us who would uſurp on and appropriate to themſelves the *Name* and *Thing* of *Proteſtancy*, and would be thought *the only true Proteſtants*, and would be *Monopoliſts* of all the *heat* and *light* againſt *Popery*. But as I ſhall make bold to come in for my *ſhare* with them, ſo I ſhall yet acquaint your Lordſhip, that if I may in any part of this *Letter* to you ſeem with any exceſs of Paſſion to reflect on *Po-*

pery,

pery, I ſhall before I take leave of you afford you ſuch a *Patriotly* and *Gentlemanly* reaſon of my warmth againſt it, (as I think) hath not by others been given, nor particularly by ſome Pedantick *Anti-Papiſts*, who render their Converſation *nauſeous* by their eternal *talking* of nothing but *Popery*, and while they are neglectful of all the due means to prevent its growth.

Theſe things being therefore *premiſed*, I ſhall in *deſpite* of the *Affidavit*, ſay that I will be the laſt man in *England* who ſhall believe that my Lord Privy Seal can be ſuch a Court of Rome-Papiſt. I think it was St. *Auguſtine*, who meaning well in a pang of Zeal, cry'd out on one occaſion, *Credo quia impoſſibile eſt:* But I ſhall both as to the truth of any depoſing or impoſing Doctrine, and of your Lordſhips believing it, ground my disbelief on the *impoſſibility* of either. When I hear men ſay, they look upon it as an exerting of a miraculous Power Divine that the Globe of the Earth hangs in the Air without falling, I interrupt not their thoughts of devotion, but know that the Earth which is ballanced by its own weight, cannot fall but it muſt fall into Heaven, *Cœlum undique ſurſum:* And ſhould any one tell me of your Lordſhips falling into any groſs erroneous doctrinal opinions, I who have long obſerved the conſtant tendency of your underſtanding toward the Center of truth, cannot apprehend any danger of your falling from it. So likewiſe when I hear men impute it to the Divine Benignity that they were not made Flies or Toads, I diſturb not the Piety of their thoughts, but know that it was not poſſible to make me, that is to ſay, endued as I am with a Rational Soul, to have been a Fly or a Toad; which Creatures by their very Natures are devoyd thereof. And thus tho ſometimes ſome Proteſtant may turn ſuch a Papiſt who hath an underſtanding ſway'd by ſecular Intereſts and ſenſual Appetites; yet in the condition of that excellent manly underſtanding of your Lordſhips, which has ſo abſolute a Soveraignty over all brutiſh inclinations, whereby you and all others whom Heaven hath favour'd with ſuch Endowments, do as much tranſcend degenerate Mankind as they do Beaſts, the Errors of ſuch Doctrines will be too groſs for you to be able to ſwallow.

Nor is it more poſſible for your Lordſhip to believe ſuch *Popery* acceptable after you have ſurveyed the ſeveral parts of it with your penetrating Judgment, unwearied diligence, and the incomparable Candor worthy of a lover of truth, and indeed worthy of your ſelf, then it was poſſible for Sir *Francis Drake* after he had ſailed round the Earth, to believe the Opinions of St. *Auguſtine* and *Lactantius* who deny'd its rotundity. To celebrate your Lordſhips accurate knowledge of, and conſtant Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion among the happy few that have the honour of your retired converſe, were to gild Gold, and to fear the poſſibility of its appearing upon any *Enquiry* that you are not of that Religion, is to think or fear that Gold can be deſtroyed.

I have upon my occaſional debates with ſome Perſons that would make you a *Papiſt* whether you will or no, call'd to mind ſome diſcourſe I had with you long ſince, concerning your Birth and Education, and thereupon conſidering the cloſeneſs of your Education in the Proteſtant Religion, have as much wondered at thinking how it was poſſible for any Principles of ſuch Popery to get into your Mind, as at Wild Beaſts getting into Iſlands. While I conſider how the firſt thoughts of Childhood ripening into Youth, are like the *firſt Occupants* claiming and generally keeping poſſeſſion during life, I am apt when I hear of any man's owning *any Brutiſh or Savage Tenets*, to think of the *Egg* of ſuch a *Crocodile*, and from what *Animal* it came. And he that

ſhall

ſhall look back on your Lordſhips beginning, will find you deſcended of Noble and Renowned Parents, both by Father and Mother, who likewiſe were eſteemed (as I may ſay) *Noble Bereans* for ſearching into the Scripture, and thereupon owning the Proteſtant Faith: In a word of a whole Family of Confeſſors, if Sir *John Perrot Lord Deputy of Ireland*, your Great Grandfather, your Grandfather *Anneſley* an Eminent Commander at Sea, and a principal Undertaker in *Munſter* in the Reign of that bleſſed Queen *Elizabeth*, that great Stateſman *Francis Lord Mount Norris and Viſcount of Valentia* a Faithful Servant to the Crown in many great Employments, and among the reſt, Principal Secretary of State, Vice-Treaſurer, and Treaſurer at Wars in *Ireland* to two great Kings of Famous Memory, King *James*, and King *Charles* the Firſt, and the Family of the *Phillipſes* of *Picton* Caſtle in *Pembrokeſhire*, out of which your Mother came, have their juſt reſpect allow'd them. Your Lordſhip being born in *Dublin* received there your Name in Baptiſme at the Nomination of your Noble Sponſor *Arthur* Lord *Chicheſter*, who had been *Deputy* of *Ireland* Eleven Years, and for whoſe Name the *Proteſtants* of that Kingdom have ſtill a great Veneration.

I remember you further acquainted me, that at your age of Ten Years the Scene of your Education was removed to *England*, and that afterward you ſpent Four Years in *Magdalen-College* in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where you enjoyed the Learned Converſation of Dr. *Frewen* then Preſident of that College, and ſince that *Archbiſhop* of *York*, and of Dr. *Hammond*, and from whom and other Perſons of that Univerſity, many have been made acquainted that your Lordſhip was then an Ornament of that place, and an Eminent Proficient in all Academical Learning, and that you there performed Exerciſe for your Degree with the general applauſe of that place. And there where you came to that great Mart of Knowledge with ſo great a ſtock of Natural Reaſon, and improved the ſame with ſo much Logick, and converſed ſo many Years with the great Champions of the Church of *England*, I am ſure (if I may without affectation uſe a *School Term*) your Lordſhip could have no *Motus primo primus* to approve any *Papal* impoſition upon *Reaſon*. I remember that you told me, That your Father tranſplanted you thence to the Society of *Lincolns-Inn*, where with unwearied ſteps your diligence it ſeems overcame the craggy aſcent of the Study of the Common Law of *England*: But where the pleaſant height of it Compenſated your pain in the way, and gave you not the *Landſcap* of one *Valley*, but the *Proſpect* of all the Land of the People of *England* beneath it, fenced in with the encloſure of *Property*; of men, (according to the *Scripture* expreſſions) ſitting under their Vines and Fig-Trees, and none making them afraid, where the Paſtures are *cloth'd* with *Flocks*, and the *Valleys covered with Corn that they ſhout for joy, and ſing, where our Oxen are ſtrong to labour*, and *no breaking in, nor going out, and no complaining in our ſtreets*; and of a Numerous brave Nation not capable of being enſlaved by any Wills or Paſſions but their own.

And ſure where you learn'd the Science of this Noble Law, that is, a Law of Liberty, your ſelf and your Brethren in that Honourable Society muſt needs eccho back that great *exclamation* of the *Peers* of *England*, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari*, and not endure the ſervitude of the Law of the Pope, or which is all one, his will.

Yet moreover ſuch was *my Lord Mount Norris* his Zeal that you might by all means imaginable be confirmed in your averſion againſt the Papal Uſurpations and Arbitrary Government, that he then ſent you to Foreign Parts, that you might ſee thoſe *Monſters* you had here but read of, which occaſioned

occaſioned your travelling into *France*, *Savoy*, and many Parts of *Italy*. I have been told that your Father the Lord *Mount-Norris* his Commands and his Concerns both Domeſtick and Publick call'd you from *Rome* to *England* toward the Year 1640. when ſeveral Parliamentary Addreſſes and Remonſtrances againſt *the Papiſts*, and encreaſe of their Power and Numbers had been made. The *Thunder* of the *Parliament* had then at that time ſo cleared the Air of *England* from the *infection* of Popery, that I ſuppoſe none will think you could be then tainted with it. And the *Civil Wars* of *England* afterwards breaking out, when both Parties appealed to God for the deciſion of their Cauſe by the Sword, and conteſted with each other in Publick Declarations, about which of them was the greater enemy to Popery, it had not only been very *impolitick*, but extreamly *ridiculous* for any man at that time, by being a *fautor* of the *Papal* Uſurpations, to expoſe himſelf to the fencing with two enraged Multitudes, which would have produced the ſame effect as would a *Jeſuit's* Preaching a *Poſtilling* Sermon here againſt the Yearly burning of the *Pope* to the *Populace* employed in that *Solemnity*.

My Lord, I find my ſelf her engulfed in writing a long Letter; and the truth is, having a great concern for your Lordſhip's Honour, I am willing to take pains to ſatisfie my ſelf exactly by thus tracing your Lordſhip's ſteps on the Stage of the World, that I may ſatisfie others ſo about your being as averſe as any one can be from ſupporting any Papal Power to invade the rights of *Conſcience*, or thoſe of *Princes*. The *Roman Hiſtorian* ſpeaking of *Nero*, ſaith, *Tyrannum hunc per quatuordecem annos paſſus eſt terrarum orbis.* And it may truly be ſaid, That *England formerly has endured* the *Popes Tyranny*, and the Artifices of its Favourers for ſome Ages: But the *Patience* of *Man* has bounds, and the Propagators of ſuch Uſurpation who *had* ſo long maintain'd *a ſeparate Soveraignty here*, the which *is* like an *Animal* living within *an Animal*, did find that as the leſſer creature is evacuated by the greater, or deſtroyed therein, or doth elſe deſtroy the greater *Animal*, it was ſo held to be in the caſe of ſuch *Power* among us, and as no doubt it always will be by your Lordſhip.

When your Travels were ended, and you had with the help of the Education your Father gave you, ſaved him by your knowledge of the *Lex terræ* from falling as a prey to Arbitrary Power, and thereby ſhewed your ſelf both a good Son and great Patriot, the firſt Scene of publick Employment wherein your Lordſhip appeared with Eminency, was as *Governour* of *Ulſter* by Authority under the Great Seal of *England*; a Charge of difficulty, when the Forces from *Scotland* under the Command of *Major General Munro* had ſo long ruled abſolutely there, that the *Engliſh* Intereſt had ſuffered a great eclipſe and diminution. How you managed Affairs during your Government there, and how by your Councils the moſt pernitious and potent *Rebel Owen Roe O Neil* was oppoſed, and his deſign to ſwallow up that Province and the Province of *Connaught* diſappointed, and the Proteſtant Intereſt in both united and encouraged, and under your Conduct and Command the Titular Popiſh Archbiſhop of *Tuam* taken, and by the ſeiſure of his Cabinet and Papers, the *Popiſh* deſign upon *Ireland* diſcovered and broken, in due time I doubt not you will more particularly inform the World. From that Service your Lordſhip was upon the ill ſucceſs of thoſe Commiſſioners who were firſt ſent to the then *Marqueſs* of *Ormond*, employed to make the *Capitulation* with the ſaid Marqueſs then *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, for the Surrender of the City of *Dublin*, and all other Garriſons under his Command, into the

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Parliaments hands for ſecuring them from the *Iriſh Rebels*, who had inveſted and ſtreightned the ſame: Which happy work was effectually accompliſhed by the Articles made with the ſaid Marqueſs already publiſhed to the World, And ſo the Proteſtants Intereſt in that Kingdom made entire, and ſo conſiderable that they daily gained ground of the *Confederate Rebels*, till at length they were wholly ſubdued and vanquiſhed. After thoſe Articles concluded, and reception of the ſaid City and Garriſons, your Lordſhip was called back into *England*, where being a Member of the *Houſe of Commons*, you ſhewed your ſelf no leſs uſeful to this Kingdom; And have ſince in Parliament and Council, and other great Imployments in both Kingdoms ſhewed your ſelf an Eminent Inſtrument both in his Majeſties happy Reſtoration, who entirely truſted you with the Management thereof, and in other great Affairs of State and Government to general ſatisfaction, being never by thoſe that knew you ſo much as ſuſpected for Evil Council, or want of Zeal and Faithfulneſs to your King or Countrey, but every day gaining more the Love and Eſteem of Proteſtants and Patriots, as you had incurred the implacable hatred of the Popiſh and Arbitrary Factions. I cannot here but obſerve, That a little before the Kings Reſtoration, the ſpirit of the people univerſally ſhewing its reſentments ſo ſtrong and vehement againſt *Lambert* and his *Committee* of *Safety*, and againſt all the propounders of projects of Government, that nothing but his Majeſties return to the Throne of his Anceſtors could quiet the people, and your Lordſhip then as *Preſident* of the *Council* by your great Wiſdom Contributing highly to the diſpatch of many arduous and intricate Affairs requiſite to make that great Revolution without *bloudſhed*, when things near their *Center* were moving ſo faſt, it may well be reckon'd among *impoſſible* things, that your Lordſhip ſhould now eſpouſe the *Papal* intereſt, when the Vogue, the Humour, the Senſe, and Reaſon, and Spirit of the People are bent againſt it, with as keen and ſtrong and general an *antipathy* as can be *imagined*. And when I conſider that great real power you had in the Kingdom at that time, teſtify'd not ſo much by your *ſigning* all the great Commiſſions then for *Military* and *Civil* Employments, as by both the King, and the beſt and wiſeſt of the people in the Three Kingdoms putting themſelves in your hands, and having their eyes chiefly upon you as to the management of the *Political* part of that mighty concern, I cannot but thinking of your Lordſhip whom thus the *King* and *Kingdom delighted to honour*, apply to you theſe words in *Valerius Maximus*, where he ſpeaks of *Agrippa Menenius*, whom the *Senate* and *People* choſe *Arbitrator* of their *differences*, and to compoſe matters between them, *Quantus ſcilicet eſſe debuit arbiter publicæ ſalutis*: Yet as great as this Man was, he could have no *Funeral*, unleſs the people had by a *pole* given the ſixth part of a penny to defray his Funeral Charges: But your Lordſhips caſe in one particular ſeems harder then his, for they who unjuſtly go to take away your good Name, and to make a Papiſt of you, go about to bury you alive.

Had your Lordſhip after the King's Reſtoration aſpired after the power of a *chief Miniſter*, or ſuffered any ſuch to be committed to you, you muſt have took it with the concomitance of univerſal envy, that hath always in *England* been fatal to ſuch power, *England* having always thought ſuch power fatal to it. 'Tis the *power* it ſelf of ſuch a *Miniſter* that is look't on as a popular Nuſance; and 'tis impoſſible for ſuch a great Man by raiſing his power only to what he thinks a moderate height, to keep it ſecure and laſting. For tho a Steeple be built with firm Stone, great Art, and but with a moderate height, yet are there Clouds charged with Lightning and Thunder, and moving in the Ayr ſometimes not higher than the top of ſuch a Steeple, and the *Pyramid* or ſharpneſs of ſuch a Steeple then (as I may ſay) tapping or broaching ſuch a

Cloud that comes that way, is inſtantly Burnt and Thundered down; And the Multitude of the *Primier Miniſtres* adorers, who are always pleaſing or troubling him with their ſacrifices, do all with ſudden confuſion leave him when he begins thus to fall, as if Thunder-ſtruck from Heaven.

We find in *Ruſhworth*, that *June* the 13th. 4 *Caroli*, it was ordered upon the Queſtion, *That the exceſſive power* of the Duke of *Buckingham, is the cauſe of the Evils and Dangers to the King and Kingdom.* And we may well ſuppoſe, that if a Parliament doth ſtill as one man ſet themſelves againſt a Monopoliſt but of one little pedling commodity, that they will look on a *Chief Miniſter* as one that would, or in effect doth monopolize the Beams of the Sun, I mean the Kings Eye, and as one that alone hath the Kings Ear, and as one that is the great foreſtaller of the Court-market of preferments.

And happy it is for a *Chief Miniſter*, that the way of Parliamentary Impeachment hath been in ſuch antient uſage, for that rids the people of the outrage of that Miniſter, and that Miniſter of the outrage of the people. Our Stories ſpeak How barbarouſly Cruel the brutiſh Rabble was to Dr. *Lamb*, called the Duke's *Conjurer*, and the reaſon why the people hate thoſe they call Conjurers ſo much is, becauſe, they think ſuch have a power to hurt their Children or Cattel; and the ſame reaſon makes them hate one that they look on as a Kings *Conjurer*, who they think can hurt their Property, and one who on occaſion can raiſe up Domeſtick and Foraign Devils to moleſt them, and eſpecially if he cannot lay thoſe Devils when he has raiſed them, and who can if he will put the People to charge, and to the danger of ſtarving to *feed* his *familiar ſpirits*. When once the people find by any mans power, the fence of the Law begun to be broken down, they will go in at the gap, and 'tis nothing but the Law that ſecures a chief *Miniſter*, and them againſt one another. St. *Auſtin* therefore doth rationally in his *De Civitate Dei*, charge *the miſerable condition of the Romans on the contempt and breach of their Laws*; and ſaith he, people were promiſcuouſly put to death, not by Judgment of Magiſtrates, but by Tumults, *Neq; enim Legibus & ordine poteſtatum, ſed turbis animorumq; Conflictibus Nobiles ignobileſq; necabantur.*

Your Lordſhip therefore when you had been a *repairer of the breaches of the Nation*, and of the Law therein, and (in the Scripture expreſſion) *a reſtorer of paths to dwell in*, as eaſily and unconcern'd gave up the great *depoſitum* of power the King and Kingdom entruſted you with, as ever you reſtored the leaſt to a private perſon, and have ever ſince among the Councellors of your Prince both endeavoured to make your Country ſafe, by giving Counſel againſt any Neighbour Nations being too powerful, and to make your ſelf ſecure by your not graſping more power than you ſaw in the hands of each of your honourable Colleagues, as well knowing that any ſingle *Miniſter* that ſhall here ſet up to be a Diſpenſer of the Soveraign Power, had need either ſtill wear a Coat of Male and an Iron Breſt-plate, or bind the whole Kingdom to the Peace. Your Lordſhip can hardly look into antient *Hiſtory* without meeting Examples of the *People* like the *Leviathan* playing in the Ocean of their power, and *ſpouting* out their cenſures both with *fury* and *wantonneſs*, when they are dooming the great. You know the *Lacedemonians* did reprimand their *Lycurgus* becauſe he went with his head ſtooping, the *Thebans* accuſed their *Paniculus* for his much ſpitting, and the *Athenians Simonides* becauſe he ſpoke too loud, the *Carthaginians Hannibal* becauſe he went looſe in his garments, the *Romans Scipio* becauſe he did ſnore in his ſleep, the *Uticenſes Cato* for his eating with both Jawes, the *Syllani Julius Cæſar* for wearing his girdle careleſsly, the *Romans* were angry with *Pompey* for ſcratching himſelf but with one finger, and likewiſe for wearing a garter wrought with Silver and Gold on one leg, ſaying that he wore ſuch a Diadem

about

about his foot as Kings do on their heads, though yet it ſeems the only cauſe of his wearing it was to hide a Sore place there. And in theſe above-mentioned caſes we are not to think that thoſe *Ancient* and *wiſe* people who thought the reſt of the world barbarous, could cenſure thoſe perſons ſo barbarouſly for thoſe ſenſleſs reaſons, but out of a hatred to the perſons Cenſured, were reſolved to ſtrike at the firſt thing they met, how innocent ſoever in it ſelf, in perſons they thought they had reaſon to repreſent odious.

A late Great Man, who in a Public *Speech* in *Parliament* render'd the Engliſh tongue as having the Monopoly of the term *good Nature*, found that they had not *engroſt* the thing when they imagined that his *Miniſtry* Monopolized much of the Regal power. And another eminent perſon, afterward a Miniſter to His Majeſty, Suffered as a favourer of the *French*, at whoſe impriſonment I have heard that the *Louure* rang with as much joy and triumph as if they had carried the point in a great fight at Land or Sea; and he likewiſe ſuffered obloquy as if concern'd in the infamous murder of Sr. *Edmond Godfrey*, from which he was certainly as free as from having killed *Julius Cæſar*: And how far the embroider'd garter about his leg, made him like *Pompey*, Envyed, I know not; But as I ſaid 'tis a chief Miniſters power the people of England ſtrike at, who may not be unfitly reſembled to *Alexanders Bucephalus*, that would let none but *Alexander* ride him, nor could *Alexander* himſelfe do it till by holding him againſt the Sun he kept him from being frighted with the ſight of his Shadow. And when one Subject ſeems to be the repreſentative Shadow of the body of the whole people, the Sight of him frights them ſo as to make them uneaſie to be ruled, And therefore I think his Majeſty did rationally provide for the public Security when he ſignified His pleaſure in a Speech in a late Parliament about not Ruling us by a ſingle *Miniſtry*.

I ſhould not wonder if your Lordſhip were called a *Papiſt* if you had been the poſſeſſor of any ſuch power, that name being now the angrieſt the people can throw at any one, as it was before the late Warres, when *Archbiſhop Laud* who had writ ſo well, and ſo much againſt the *Papiſts*, fell under the weight of that name, But really by the power of that *chief Miniſtry* he had in the *State* of *England* after the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*. And at that time the currant definitions of a *Papiſt*, and of one who enjoyed *Arbitrary Power* were the ſame, And the things made conve[illegible]ble, or Devils dancing in the ſame Circle. And ſo likewiſe the *Vouge* at this time obtains among the *populace* who cannot ſee through the hard words and things in *definitions*, and if you ask them *what is a Papiſt*, they will tell you he is one that is for *Arbitrary Power*, and asking them *what is one that is for Arbitrary Power*, they will ſay a *Papiſt*. And in caſes where the people do not think fit to begin with Execution, Common Fame goes for *proof* againſt ſuch a *Miniſter*, and the political whiſpers of other Great Men who inſpire them, goe for *demonſtrations*, and they think knocking down *Arbitrary Power* with Arbitrary proof is a good *baculinum argumentum ad hominem*, or rather a *Monſter* of power, for as ſuch they look on one of the People, who is ſo by the head higher then themſelves. I know none to have obſerved the conſtitution and cuſtomes of the Government of *Venice* better then your Lordſhip, and there any one that is but *Arbitrarily affected* (as our term is here, *Popiſhly affected*) is taken *volly* before he comes to the ground, or at furtheſt, at his firſt rebound, and his head made a Tennis Ball before he comes to be bandi'd among the people, I mean he is firſt *Sumonarily* diſpatcht, or made away, and his plenary proceſs is diſpatcht or made up afterward. Your Lordſhip hath in the courſe of your travels been there in perſon, but my eyes have only beheld it as a traveller in Mapps and Authors: one of whom, namely *Boccaline* in his

Raggnagli

Raggnagli di Parnaſſe Speaking of *Venice* ſaith that the *dreadful Tribunal of the Councel of ten, and the Supream Magiſtracy of the State-Inquiſition, could with three ballotting balls eaſily bury alive any Cæſar or Pompey who began to diſcover himſelf in that well governed State.* And according to the Lawes of that Country any aſpirer of the firſt rate ſo ſunk by the ſhot of the ballotting balls, may be ſaid to be kill'd very fairly, though there was no more Citation in the caſe then in that of the *Martyrdom of Sir Edmond Godfrey*, who yet according to the principles of the *Canon Law* was likewiſe killed very fairly. I here allude to the *Style* of the *brothers of the blade*, who when ſworn at a Tryal about one murthered in a *Duel*, uſually depoſe that *he was killed very fairly*, And indeed I have by a Neighbour of mine, who is a Civilian, been ſhewn it in a Civil Law Book called the *Second Tome of the Common Opinions in folio, Book 9. p. 462.* Printed at *Lions*, that *Rebellis impunè occidi poſſit, & tunc demum probari & declarari quod erat rebellis*: And the Canoniſts do as I am informed by him all agree, that *valet argumentum à crimine læſæ Majeſtatis ſeu rebellionis ad hereſim*, and with good reaſon according to the *Popiſh hypotheſis*, for that, he that is a *heretic*, is a *Rebell* or *Traytor* to the *Pope*, and therefore a *Heretic* by that Law may be deſtroyed before his Proceſs is made. But the Kings of *England*, like thoſe of *Iſrael*, are *merciful Kings*, and in the Laws of *England*, *Juſtice and Mercy* are ſtill ſaluting each other, and with as much kindneſs as they can poſſibly ſhew without embracing each other to death, and the meaneſt Commoners Life in *England* becomes not a *forfeit* to the Law, but after a Tryal by his equals; and in this, our Law agrees with that gentleneſs and equity inculcated by *Grotius de Jure Belli & Pacis*, Book 3. Chap. 14. *Temperamentum circa captos*, §. 3. where he ſaith, *Cato Cenſorius (narrante Plutarcho,) ſi quis ſervus Capital admiſiſſe videretur, de eo ſupplicium non ſumebat, niſi poſtquam damnatus eſſet etiam Conſervorum judicio. Quicum conferenda verba, Job.* 31. 13.

I muſt confeſs I was very much ſhock'd with one expreſſion uſed in a long Speech by one of the managers of the Houſe of Commons in the Trial of the *Earl of Strafford*, wherein the ſaying That Beaſts of Prey are to have no Law, was applyed to the Earl. I am ſure that Wolfs and Boars are Beaſts of the Forreſt, as well as Harts and Hinds, and in the Kings Forreſts where they are in his protection, they are to have *Law*, and ſo likewiſe Foxes. To this Metaphor of *hunting of men* in Parliament, there is an alluſion in the printed Letter of Mr. *Alured* in *Ruſhworths Collections*, 4°. *Caroli*, where 'tis ſaid, *That Sir* Edward Cooke *in the Houſe proteſted, that the Author and cauſe of all their miſeries was the Duke of* Buckingham, *which was entertain'd and anſwered with a cheerful acclamation of the Houſe, as when one good Hound recovers the ſcent, the reſt come in with a full cry: So they purſued it, and every one came on home and layed the blame where they thought the fault was.* But yet by this ſaying of *Alured*, it ſeems they thought they were to give him *Law*; and 'tis a brutiſh thing to ſuppoſe that wild predatory Beaſts have in the Kings Forreſts more protection, and more exemption from being arbitrarily hunted down, than his Liege people to whom he is ſworn, have in the whole Realm in general, and in his Courts of Juſtice in particular. That time ſeemed not ſo much καιρὸς νόμων as ὅπλων: But your Lordſhips knowledg in the Laws of the Land and in the Laws of Nations is ſo univerſal and profound, that you can come to no Court in the World, but will either find *Law* there or bring it: and your great knowledg of the Parliamentary Tranſactions in all paſt Ages, cannot but ſecure you againſt any apprehenſions of not finding Law. For it hath been rarely ſeen, that a Houſe of Commons has gone to hunt any man down tho with the Law, that was not a *Nimrod a Mighty hunter* of our Laws themſelves; and never was the Houſe

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of Peers thought a Court of Rigor and Cruelty, and as the *Tribunal of Caſſius* was for its dire ſeverity called *Scopulus Reorum*. In the end of the famous Tryal of the Earl of *Strafford*, the Houſe of Commons foreſaw that the Lords would acquit him, and therefore they broke up the Judicial proſecution againſt him, and proceeded by Bill of Attainder, and ſhortly after broke in pieces on his Grave the Rule and Standard of Treaſon they proceeded by, as Heralds break their Staffs at the Funerals of Illuſtrious Perſons, and caſt them into their Tombes. Had I been one of that Lords Judges, I ſhould have conſented that after he had been hunted ſo long by the Proſecution for Treaſon, and was not Judicially convicted of it, he ſhould have had the priviledg of *a Hart-Royal proclaimed*, of which *Manwood* in his *Forreſt Law* ſpeaking, ſaith, *That if the King doth hunt a Stag he is called a Hart-Royal, and that if he doth hunt a Hart in the Forreſt, which by chacing is driven out, and the King gives him over, as either being weary, or for that he cannot recover him, then becauſe ſuch a Hart hath ſhewn the King paſtime, and is alſo* Cervus eximius, *and that therefore the King would have him preſerved, he cauſeth Proclamation to be made in the adjacent Villages, that none ſhall kill, hunt, hurt, or chace him, and hinder him from his return to the Forreſt, and ever after ſuch a Hart is called a Hart-Royal proclaimed.* But I think that an *eximious man* impeacht in Parliament and there acquitted, will need no Herald to proclaim his worth, nor his deſerving to be reſtored *in integrum* to the Royal Protection and Favour, when that *his own works have praiſed him in the gates*, that is, in the Juriſdiction where they were ſo ſtrictly ſcann'd. My Lord, if any could prove your Lordſhip to be a Papiſt, he need not call that *accumulative Treaſon in you*, nor need he go about by torturing the Law to make it confeſs many Felonies to be one Treaſon, many Rapes to be one falſe coining: But *Popery* in you would be plain down-right, palpable and rank Treaſon by vertue of the Statute of 23 of *Elizabeth*, Ch. 1. which makes it High Treaſon for any perſon in the Dominions of the Crown of *England* to be withdrawn from the Religion then eſtabliſhed, to the Romiſh Religion. That your Lordſhip hath been bred a Proteſtant, and been ſo (as it were) *ex traduce*, there needs no other evidence then the contents of this Letter, and that you have not been withdrawn to the Romiſh Religion, you have declared by the *Series* of your *actings* againſt it, that ſhew your Mind beyond the power of *words*: and 'tis by the help of that great Wiſdom God has given you, that our *Engliſh* World expects that a way may be found how to make it more clearly appear to the eye of the Law when any others have been or are withdrawn to the Romiſh Religion, a thing perhaps at preſent of ſomewhat difficult proof: For without ſuppoſing that the Pope can or will give them diſpenſations to take all Oaths and Teſts that can be deviſed, doth not a reſerving ſome fantaſtic ſenſe to themſelves, make nonſenſe of all Oaths, and that one word Equivocation make them proof againſt all other words? Doth not that with them ſanctify, or at leaſt juſtify all other words they can uſe? May they not on theſe terms ſafely ſwear there is neither God, nor Man, nor Hell, nor Devil, that is meaning, *not in a Mathematical point, or in Utopia, and that they ſaw not ſuch a Man ſuch a day, that is, not with the eyes of a Whale?* And have not the late dying Speeches of ſome of theſe *Impoſtors*, and particularly Father *Irelands*, ſhewn us, that in the points of mental reſervation and equivocation they perſevere in the impudent owning of that which would unhinge the World, and turn humane Society into a diſſolute multitude? And do we not believe many to be Papiſts, who we know have taken the Oaths and Teſts? Hath not a Papiſt ſome Years ſince writ of the lawfulneſs of the taking of the Oath of Supremacy? I ſpeak not this, my Lord, to derogate from the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors that appointed theſe diſcrimi-

nations, and do think that when we have uſed all the lawful means we can, to know who among us are Papiſts as certainly as we do what is Popery, and to keep Papiſts from hurting us and themſelves, we ought to acquieſce in the Reſults of the Providence of God. But what all thoſe means are, tho I know not, yet I am apt to believe that your Lordſhips comprehenſive knowledg of men and things, and of the true intereſt of the Kingdom hath qualified you to tell your Royal Maſter and His Houſes of Parliament: nor do I believe that the difficulty of either finding out ſuch means and making practicable things be practiſed will blunt, but rather whet the edg of your Induſtry in this caſe, as being of *Quintilians* mind who Judged that there was *Turpitude* in deſpairing of any thing that could be done. I think his words are *Turpiter deſperatur quicquid fieri poteſt.* 'Tis certainly the intereſt of the King and Kingdom that the numbers of the *Papiſts* here, and eſpecially of thoſe withdrawn from Proteſtancy to the Church of *Rome* ſhould be known, in the caſe of which Apoſtates, tho it be impoſſible without ſeizing on the Papers and Archives of one certain Prieſt to ſee the Original Acts of their Recantation of Proteſtancy, yet is it moſt certain and on all hands confeſſedly true, that Eminent Overt-Acts of abhorrency of Proteſtantiſme are alwayes required at the admitting one who was of that Religion into the boſome of the *Roman* Catholic Church: which any one will be convinced of who reads the *Letter of Cardinal D'Oſſat* to *Villeroy* of the 20*th* of *Octob.* 1603. from *Rome*, where he gives his Opinion againſt the Queen of *England* being made Godmother at the Baptiſm of Madam. That *Cardinal* who had incomparable skill in the Canon Law, and the knowledg of all the Cuſtoms of the Papal See, and who had lived at *Rome* above 20 Years, ſaith in that Letter, *I account it my duty to write to you freely that that cannot be done without very great Scandal to good Catholicks, nor without the extream diſpleaſure and offence of the Pope. You preſuppoſe that the Queen of* England *is a Catholic: but Here we know the contrary, tho ſome believe that ſhe is not of the worſer ſort of Heretics, and that ſhe has ſome inclination to the Catholic Religion. And I will tell you moreover, that tho ſhe were in her heart of the Catholic Apoſtolic and Roman Religion as much as the Pope himſelf, ſo it is that ſhe having been bred up in Hereſie and outwardly perſiſting in it as ſhe doth, ſhe cannot according to the Canons be held for a Catholic in public acts of Religion, till ſhe hath firſt both* viva voce *and by writing under her hand abjured all Hereſie, and made profeſſion of the Catholic Faith.* Nor was it ever known, that in the caſe of any Proteſtants Apoſtacy to the Church of *Rome*, any Pope ever diſpenſed with thoſe Canons, and therefore it may well hence be inferr'd, That if evidence juſt ſo much as the Law requires as to ſuch Apoſtacy be given, that no *ſuperpondium* or proof of overt-acts more then neceſſary ought to be expected, for that overt Acts almoſt impoſſible to be proved, may yet neceſſarily be preſumed: but this by the way. And therefore now further, my Lord, if *fas eſt ab hoſte doceri* be adviſeable in the caſe, as ſtrict Circumſtances may be required in the converſion of Papiſts to our Church, as are in the withdrawing of any from our Church to theirs. Indeed if I were a Member of Parliament, and any one there ſhould be ſo happy as to invent a way, and propound it whereby the preſent Lay-Papiſts in *England* might let us have a Moral Certainty that they neither conſented to nor concealed the late Plot, and likewiſe that they did really deteſt all thoſe deſperate Popiſh Principles that are fundamentally deſtructive to the Safety of the King and Kingdom, and that they would harbour no Prieſts born in the Kings Dominions, nor ſend any of their Children to be bred in Forrain Seminaries; and on the contrary, that on occaſion they would diſcover to a Magiſtrate any ſuch Prieſt, or one who ſent his Children to ſuch Seminary, and likewiſe any one that owned any of

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thoſe Pernitious Principles that ſtrike at the heart of the Civil Government, and that they would preſently give his Majeſty an accompt of all their own Names, Places of abode, and Numbers of their Families, and that they would not live in nor come to the Court, nor into any of our Cities or great Towns, without leave obtain'd purſuant to the Statute of the 35th. of *Elizabeth*, Ch. 2. (wherein 'tis Enacted under ſeveral Penalties, That they ſhall not remove above Five miles from their dwellings, and to give in their Names to the Conſtables, Headborough, and Miniſter &c.) and that the people might be delivered not only from any danger by them, but any fears that might fall on a wiſe man, either of their power or numbers encreaſing. I ſhould joyfully entertain ſuch an invention; But what way of that kind is practicable, I am altogether ignorant; But do ſuppoſe that the preſent Lawes, Oaths, and Teſts, ought to continue till with the Conſent of His Majeſty and Lords and Commons in Parliament we are further ſecured.

I know that we ought to be much more vigilant over *Engliſh Papiſts*, then over any Forrainers, for that 'tis a kind of a *Rule* that *Angli nil modicum in Religione poſſunt*, and therefore that no *Popiſh Prieſt* who is a Subject to *England* can with the public ſafety live here. Your Lordſhip hath I think as comprehenſive a knowledg of the affairs of *Ireland*, as any man can have, and therefore I ſhall here tell you that a Gentleman of *Ireland* told me that in the times of the uſurpt powers 'twas in the *Act of Settlement for Ireland* by the Parliament declared, that it was not their intent after almoſt a National Rebellion to extirpate the whole *Iriſh Nation*, but that after an exception of certain perſons as to Life and Eſtate, the Act orders ſome *Iriſh* to be baniſh'd the Kingdom, and other *Iriſh* to be tranſplanted to ſome part of *Ireland*, allowing them ſuch proportion of Land and Eſtate there as they ſhould have had of their own elſewhere in *Ireland* if they had not been removed. What effect that Tranſplantation had I know not, but I ſuppoſe it eaſier to remove a handful of men from one corner of the Land to another, then 'twas to remove almoſt a Nation: And do ſuppoſe there are ſome *Papiſts* in England as innocent of this late Plot, as there were ſome in *Ireland* of that Rebellion. The *Dean of Canterbury* doth in his incomparable Sermon before the Houſe of Commons on the *5th.* of *November* 1678 *acknowledg the Piety and Charity of ſeveral perſons who lived and dyed in the Roman Communion, as Eraſmus, Father Paul, Thuanus, and many others who had in truth more goodneſs then the Principles of that Religion do either incline men to or allow of.* And ſo I think my ſelf bound in juſtice to Judge in that manner of ſome *Papiſts* of my acquaintance. Thus the *Epicureans* of old tho their Principle of making happineſs conſiſt in pleaſure was deteſtable, gained this point, that many of their Sect were honeſt men: And ſo much *Tully* acknowledged to be true, but with a *Salva* to his exception againſt their Doctrine. Speaking of *Epicurus and his Followers*, *L. 2. De Finibus Boni & Mali*: he ſaith, *Ac mihi quidem videtur quod ipſe vir bonus fuit, & multi Epicurei fuerunt & hodie ſunt, & in amicitiis fideles, & in omni vita conſtantes & graves, nec voluptate, ſed officio conſilia moderantes.* It ſeems to me that *Epicurus* was a good man; and many of his Sect have been and are faithful in their friendſhips, and conſtant and ſerious men in every condition of life: and managing the conduct of their lifes by duty and not pleaſure. But then ſaith he, *hoc videtur major vis honeſtatis, minor voluptatis:* and afterwards he ſaith, *atque ut cæteri exiſtimantur dicere melius quam facere, ſic hi mihi videntur melius facere quam dicere:* As much as if he had ſaid, No thanks to their Principles, but their honeſt inclinations, the force of honeſty ſhew'd it ſelf more Predominant in them, then that of pleaſure: and as other mens Principles are accounted better then their Practiſes, theſe mens Practiſes are better then their Principles.

It is I think Gods ſtanding Miracle in the world, (who is able to make a diviſion between the formal and the vital Act, namely, to make fire not burn) to keep ſome men from undoing themſelves and Mankind by the genuine conſequences of the Opinions they profeſs in matters of Religion: And thus it is happy for the World, that *Caliginoſa nocte premit Deus nepotes diſcurſus*: And he can by an Omnipotent eaſineſs when he pleaſeth, Divert a mans underſtanding from ſeeing any firſt-born conſequence from his opinion, as well as a more remote one. Moreover, the Divine Power doth in the Government of the World interpoſe it ſelf ſometimes between profeſſed Notions or Principles themſelves, and mans intellectual faculties. Good men ſometimes do not believe even the exiſtence of that and of ſome other divine Attributes, where the things to be believed are to be ſeen by the light of Nature; And bad men habituated to lying ſometimes do at laſt believe the lyes and ſhamms themſelves made, though yet for the moſt part it happens (what is perfectly worthy of the Divine Power and goodneſs) when men are with Candor and purity of mind ſeeking after Truth, that Heaven does ſo influence their underſtandings, as that they are not by falſe lights artificial ſeduced to believe any thing againſt the light of Nature, nor given up by *weak* arguments to *ſtrong* deluſions. Theſe things conſidered, I think that that great *Divine* of our Age, the *Lord Biſhop of Lincoln*, hath with a Noble modeſty and charity in the Title of his unanſwered and unanſwerable Book againſt Popery, expreſt the Principles of that Religion *when really believed* to be pernicious.

And having ſaid all this, I need not trouble your Lordſhip or my ſelf much further about finding a way to prevent the *Papiſts* from troubling us, but do ſuppoſe that the *Papiſts* themſelves are moſt concerned to labour in ſuch an invention. And inſtead of their being led by any helliſh Principles to deſtroy any City of Courſe by Siniſter means, That is by burning it, they may, if they pleaſe, in their Devotion, addreſs to Heaven for that favour to its old choſen People on Earth mentioned in *Pſalm.* 107. *v.* 7. *And he led them forth by the right way, that they might go to a City of Habitation.* I ſuppoſe, that after ſo eminent a Perſon as the Lord High *Chancellor of England* in his *Speech* at the Condemnation of the *Lord Stafford*, made that *great interogation, Does any man now begin to doubt how* London *came to be burnt?* and after the *Vote* of the laſt *Parliament the laſt day of their Sitting* in theſe words, *viz. Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the City of London was burnt in the Year* 1666 *by the Papiſts, deſigning thereby to introduce Arbitrary Power and Popery into this Kingdom*, they will not think it ſtrange that they ſhould not be permitted to live in any of our Cities again, till they have ſhew'd how orderly they can live in one of their own: And therefore I think we may without breach of Civility, or at leaſt violation of juſtice, apply to them ſome part of the words which I find quoted by *Dr. Bramhall Lord Biſhop of Derry* in his juſt vindication *of the Church of England*, out of *Gerſ. part.* 4. *Ser. de pace & unit. Græc.* as the *farewell Speech* to the Biſhop of *Rome*, when the *Græcian* and all other Eaſtern Churches parted from him, whom they acknowledged only as a *Patriarch*, Namely, *We acknowledg your Power, we cannot ſatisfie your Covetouſneſs, live by your ſelves.*

How it is in the caſe of the People of *Switzerland*, *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* living apart by themſelves in ſeveral *Cantons*, cannot be unknown to your Lordſhip: Nor that the *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts* when they there made their League at firſt joyntly to maintain their Liberties againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, then agreed upon this alſo, That if any of the Natives living in the *Cantons* of either ſide ſhould change their Religion, that then they ſhould be permitted reſpectively to ſell their goods and tranſplant themſelves to the

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Canton whose Religion they embraced. But I shall tell your Lordship, That of late the *Popish Canton Switz* did break this agreement, and would not suffer some of their Native Inhabitants to partake of this freedom, and did confiscate the goods of some Families that changed their Religion, and at the instigation of the *Fryars* and *Jesuits* they condemned some of them to death, and others to the *Gallyes* which was the cause of a Commotion among them.

The Gentleman of *Ireland* who discourst somewhat to me of the *Transplantation* of the *Irish Papists*, told me, it was into the *Province* of *Connaught*, and I think into the In-land parts of that Countrey, for to have trusted them to live in Maritine Towns there, whereby they might have let in an invading *Popish* or other Forrainer, were to have trusted them with *the power of the Keys* of the Kingdom: And he further told me, That the transplantation was managed with much satisfactory tenderness to those *Papists*, and that as to *English* and *Irish*, it had partly the nature of a bargain that gave content on both sides, and secured them against each other after all the mutual exasperations that had passed, and when 'twas fresh in the memory of both *English* and *Irish*, that 'twas the promiscuous and scatter'd dwelling of the *English* among the *Irish* before the Rebellion that tempted the *Irish* to butcher them, and made the *English* Sheep for the Slaughter; and when it was not likewise forgot, that in former Wars the partition or distinction of the *English Pale* did secure the *English* inhabiting within its district.

I askt the Gentleman if they were not stinted to a certain number of *Priests*, and care taken that none of them should be *Jesuits*, and that the chief Governour of the Countrey should know their Names, and whether any *Priests* Natives of that Country were allow'd them? as to which enquiries he did not fully satisfie me: but I supposed, that since all Religions have a Priest-hood, that somewhat of that kind was allowed them, and that since the Order of the *Jesuits* was invented in the Year 1540. by the *Pope* as a Poysonous *Stumm* to put a new fermentation into the Romish Ecclesiastical Rites and Discipline, which were almost dead with age; and like *vina vetustate edentula*, and quite dispirited with the Thunder of the Doctrine of *Luther*, and the lightning of Learning and Knowledg then flying through the World; and that that Order of the *Jesuits* was (as it were) a *Court* erected to begin with execution, and to confute gainsayers by cutting their Throats, No *Jesuits* were permitted to officiate among those transplanted *Papists*, and considering that the *Priests* Natives of *Ireland* were the known fomenters of that Rebellion, that both *English* and *Irish* might rather consent to some Secular *Priests* bred in *Holland* or *France*, being employed in the New *Irish* Colony, and who had no knowledg of the *Intrigues* of the several Interests in that Country, and would not by kindred or relation to any of the great Families there perhaps be tempted into Factions.

I have heard from that Gentleman of *Mr. Peter Walsh* a *Fryar* in *Ireland* and of his endeavours in the Art of *Cicuration* of some of the Romish Clergy & Layety who there were Wolfes (and that without Sheeps cloathing) and reclaiming them to Principles and Practices consistent with civil society, and what proficiency his Disciples have made therein, I being a stranger to that Kingdom know not; but according to that saying, *bonus est quem Nero odit*, have the better opinion of him for those endeavours of his having been *Crown'd* with the *Popes* Excommunications.

It was a noble saying, I have heard of one of the House of Peers this last Parliament, *I hate not the persons of any Papists, but I am an enemy to Popery*: In like manner I should be glad that all the *Mercy* were shewn them that were not *Cruelty* to the Public; but they are to excuse any one that will not forget

that when they begun the laſt outragious Rebellion in *Ireland* (which no words need or can aggravate) they enjoy'd there equal Priviledges with the *Engliſh*, if not greater, the Lawyers were *Iriſh*, moſt of the Judges *Iriſh*, and the Major part of the Parliament *Iriſh*, and in all diſputes between *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, the *Iriſh* were ſure of the Favour; and any one would be inexcuſable to this Kingdom, who forgot that *King James's* unparalel'd kindneſs to his Popiſh Subjects in ſuſpending the execution of Penal Laws againſt them, in ſparing their purſes, in remitting the arrears of what they owed *Queen Elizabeth* for pecuniary penalties, nay giving into their hands what money of theirs as his due was in the Exchequer, was but the Prologue to their intended Tragedy on the Fifth of *November*. And what provocations they had to be ill wiſhers to the Life and Crown of the laſt King, as appeared by the detection forementioned preſented to His Majeſty by *Arch-Biſhop Laud*, and a Charge given againſt them in Print by the Reverend *Dr. Peter Du Moulin*, which he offer'd to make good; and *ad quod non fuit reſponſum*, let any one Judg who further does look on the Parliaments Addreſſes in *Ruſhworths Collections*. And unleſs ſome of them had loved ingratitude for ingratitudes ſake, they would never have enter'd into that Conſpiracy againſt his now Majeſty, whoſe Life is the delight of all Mankind but theirs: And yet ſince according to that expreſſion, that God is not the God of the *Jews* only, but alſo of the *Gentiles*, ſo it being true, that the King is King of the *Papiſts* as well as *Proteſtants*, King of the *Iriſh* as well as of the *Engliſh*, and a common Father to them all, it may be worthy of His Royal goodneſs and a God-like thing in him to diſtribute to them all the Kindneſs that would not undo themſelves and others, as the Divine bounty diſpenſeth itſelf to the Sinful, yet with reſpect to the Government of the World. And as the love of an Indulgent Father may be meaſured more by the kindneſs he would ſhew an obſtinate ſon, (were he qualified to receive it) then by what he doth, who tryes all methods to reclaim him, by his Will Diſinherits him, and goes down to the ſhades below without revoking ſuch a Will, and yet in his life-time with the tendereſt bowels and ſofteſt language he was conſtantly bemoaning that Sons being not a Subject fit or capable to participate in the Eſtate equally with his Brethren; Thus too may the love of the *Pater Patriæ*, and of the Country it ſelf be demonſtrated to theſe our obſtinate Brethren, more by the Favour we do not afford them, then by what we do, having often ſeen the truth of what *Solomon* ſaith, that the *proſperity of fools deſtroys them.*

But, as I ſaid before, I would be glad that the *Papiſts* themſelves would try to find out what way of ſecurity the Wiſdom of His Majeſty and His great Councel may acquieſce in, ſo that any bitter way may not be preſcribed to them by public Authority, as perhaps this of Tranſplantation or ſome other may ſeem, and that perſons of innocent Tempers and Principles may not be carryed off, with thoſe of noxious ones, as all ſtrong purging Phiſic diſpoſeſſeth the body of ſome good Humours as well as bad: and I therefore wiſh, that they may rather ſatisfie His Majeſty that they have tranſplanted into their minds ſome ſuch Principles as are to be found not only in Proteſtant but Heathen Authors to incline men to be *Gods* and not *Devils* to one another, (and thoſe Principles growing in the Soil of Nature when tranſplanted into the mind of a Chriſtian, are much more generous and improved, like the Vines on the *Rhine* tranſplanted into the *Fortunate Iſlands*) and whereby a *Proteſtant* King may Sit ſecurely in His Throne, and His *Proteſtant* Subjects ſleep ſecurely in their houſes, and walk ſecurely in the Streets without fear of the fate of *Sir Edmond Godfrey* and *Mr. Arnold*, purſuing them upon a declaratory ſentence that they are *Hereticks*, by a ſhabby *Conſult* of a few ignorant *Prieſts*

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in a blind *Cabaret*, without citing them to ſhew cauſe why they ſhould not be knock't on the head by Villains who account themſelves the Popes *Sheriffs*, and at the worſt that happens to them his *Martyrs*, a fate of Proteſtants worſe then they ſuffered in the *Dog-days* of *Queen Maryes Reign*, (that *Canicula Perſecutionis* as *Tertullian*'s phraſe is) for then they were not murder'd, but after a Tryal for their Lives and Liberty granted to recant at ſtake. Methinks when they conſider the Popes *Decree* made at *Rome* the ſecond of *March* 1679. *condemning ſome Opinions of the Jeſuits and other Caſuiſts*, (the which in Latin and Engliſh was printed for *Richard Chiſwell* at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in *St. Pauls* Church-Yard 1679.) and ſee thereby that the *Augean Stable* of the *Caſuiſts* being ſo full of Filth that it could hold no more, the Pope to avoid the ſcandal of the World, and danger to thoſe Souls who by the practice of thoſe Opinions were not at that time ſent to the place from whence there is no Redemption, (though yet as the excellent Author of the Preface to that decree here printed judiciouſly obſerves, That the Pope treats thoſe Opinions very gently and mercifully, and indeed doth not declare them ill in themſelves, or ſuch a Nuſance to ſouls that he could not diſpence with) and when they likewiſe conſider that moſt of thoſe Opinions if not all were *Rules* allow'd by *Jeſuits* or other *Caſuiſts* for *Confeſſors* and *Penitents* to go by in the ſecuring of the great concern of Eternity till that time, and that *Guymenius* with the approbation and permiſſion of his Superiors in the year 1665. favours moſt if not all of thoſe Opinions with a colourable gloſs out of Councels, Fathers, School-men and Divines, and endeavours to throw off the *Odium* from the *Jeſuits* for them, upon the whole *Roman Church*, they ſhould now be ſo awaken'd as throughly to examine both thoſe and other points in that Religion, ſuppoſing that ſome future Pope may declare the Souls left in the lurch that hold ſome other Opinions recommended to them by their Spiritual guides, without their having obtained a papal diſpenſation to hold them.

My Lord, though I believe your Lordſhip to have ever had as keen an Antipathy againſt *Caballing* with any *Papiſts* as good old *Jacob* ſhewed he had againſt that with *Simeon and Levy*, of which he ſaid, *O my ſoul come not thou into their ſecret, unto their aſſembly, mine honour be not thou united*, yet their neceſſary applications to your Lordſhip in your adminiſtration of the *Privy Seal* and their voluntary recourſe to the hoſpitality of your noble and conſtant Table, where any one in the habit of a Gentleman is allowed to be your Gueſt, giving you opportunities of diſcourſing ſometimes with *Papiſts*, I ſuppoſe your advice to them to conſult with one another in peace how to ſatisfie His Majeſty, that all bloody Conſults being by them abandon'd, he himſelf may enjoy the *Kings peace*, and we his Subjects enjoy that *Peace of the King* which his very Wild Beaſts in the Forreſt enjoy, (as I ſaid before) and where any of the Inhabitants if they have lights in their Windows that may affright the Kings Deer are lyable to puniſhment by the Forreſt law, and *that we being delivered from the hands of our Enemies, may ſerve God without fear in holineſs and righteouſneſs all the dayes of our Lives*, and not be in danger of being in the Kings High-way knock't on the head like *Weaſels* or *Polecats* by *baſe Ruffians* not worthy to *feed the Dogs of our Flocks*; I ſay I ſuppoſe your Lordſhips advice backt with thoſe reaſons againſt Popery that you alwayes carry ready told, may eſpecially at this time when the *ecce duo gladii* or *two Votes* of the Houſe of Commons in the laſt *two Parliaments* cannot be forgot by any of them, occaſion their offering that to the conſideration of His Majeſty and his great Councel, that may render the Kingdom ſafe from any hoſtility of their Principles or Practiſes. Your Lordſhip hath one advantage in giving advice beyond moſt men I know, and perhaps no

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man is Maſter of that advantage more then your Lordſhip, and that is your advice to any of Mankind, is the advice of a friend; for both by your natural temper, and a habit that can pleaſ the preſcription of ſixty years for its continuance in your Soul, and a ſharpe edge of Wit and Reaſon to juſtifie your claim to it, ſo it is, that you are in a conſtant readineſs to ſhew your ſelf a friend to every Member of that great Body, wiſhing his happineſs as your own, extending the arm of your beneficence as far as it can reach, to the remoteſt object without hurting your ſelf by the ſtraining it, with a pitying Eye and a tender Hand, and forgiving Heart, guiding unhappy men out of the very Labyrinths they had brought themſelves into by injuring you, accounting your mercy to be juſtice to Humane Nature, adorning greatneſs both in your ſelf and others with goodneſs, in the caſe of the injur'd poor and weak making oft the great and the mighty aſham'd of their oppreſſion by your reaſon (and alwayes with Language as ſoft as the yoke they intended was hard) when you could not make them afraid of it by your power, and bluſhing your ſelf for the degeneration of Mans Nature, when you ſaw any that ſhame could not divert from the turpitude of injuring their brethren of mankind, and by your compaſſion alleviating that burthen of the miſerable that they had ſunk under but by your Fellowſhip in their grief, and never diſpenſing either the Kings reproof or your own to offenders without moderation, and reſpect to the frail ſtate of Humanity, and without that mixture of benign advice that gave the *Malheurevs* a plank after the Shipwrack of their Fame, and very often running the hazard of drowning your ſelf by helping to ſave thoſe that were ſinking in the Favour of the King and Court, and when their fate was ſuch that all the reſt of the herd avoided them as a wounded Deer. In a word they that know your Lordſhip know that by arguments hard to be anſwered and a ſoftneſs of words and Temper almoſt inimitable you have Proſelyted ſeveral *Papiſts* out of their pernicious Principles, and have taught them goodneſs by your example, and by your having that happy inclination that *Hillel* a Famous Jewiſh *Doctor* who lived a little before our *Saviours Incarnation* ſo well adviſed, Namely *Be of the Diſciples of* Aaron, *who loved Peace, and followed Peace, and who loved Men, and brought them near to the Law.*

Your Lordſhip by your being ſo well vers'd in our Statute Laws and Hiſtories is able to acquaint them with the Juſtice of our Anceſtors in the making of many freſh additional capital Laws (for ſanguinary they ought not to be called ſince juſt) againſt *Papiſts* upon the detection of ſeveral freſh horrid Treaſons, & particularly thoſe againſt *Queen Elizabeth* and *King James*, and that our Anceſtors then having a great and violent indignation againſt Popery and Papiſts made Laws with the dread of the *Ultimum ſupplicium* therein, and further the anger of Man could not go. But it cannot ſcape your Lordſhips obſervation that the violence of Paſſion not being capable of laſting long in its higheſt rage how juſt ſoever and eſpecially in the breſt of an Engliſh Man and a Proteſtant, thoſe hot Statutes made only (as I may ſay) a *hizzing* like a little fire thrown into Water, and as to their Execution went out preſently. Nor have I ever heard of any one that apoſtatiz'd from the Church of *England* to that of *Rome* who was as thoſe Statutes ordain puniſht as a Traytor, merely for ſo doing. And indeed ſince no Stratagems are to be uſed twice and eſpecially ſuch as did not ſucceed once, I am highly pleaſed that on the Diſcovery of the late deteſtable Plot there was ſo great a calmneſs in the minds, ſo general a ſmoothneſs in the brows of the people, ſuch an univerſal Spirit of Patience forbearance and meekneſs every where viſible in their Faces, even greater then that which ſhone in the Minds and Faces of the *Londoners* when with compoſed looks they ſaw their City newly made aſhes, and had ſmelt

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the *Incendiaries* almoſt as ſoon as the Fire, that none can imagine but who as eye witneſſes obſerved; And even on the fifth of *November* enſuing the Diſcovery of the Plot, the two excellent *Preachers* deſired to preach before the Houſe of Lords, and the Houſe of Commons on that day when both an *Old* and a *New* Plot were ſtaring the Nation in the Face, happen'd to be with the Peaceable *Genius* of the *Chriſtian Religion* and of the People in that *Conjuncture* inſpired in the choice of that ſame part of *Scripture* that was their *Text* and contain'd the calm yet ſevere reproof given by the *Founder* of Chriſtianity to ſome of his Diſciples that would have been Commiſſion'd to call for Fire from Heaven to conſume the inhoſpitable *Samaritans*, in one of which Sermons, namely that of the *Dean of Canterbury*'s, 'tis for the Honour of our Nation and Religion by him obſerved *p.* 31. of the Sermon, that *after the Treaſon of this day, nay at this very time ſince the Diſcovery of ſo barbarous a deſign, and the higheſt provocation in the World by the Treacherous murder of one of His Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace a very good man and a moſt excellent Magiſtrate who had been active in the Diſcovery of this Plot, I ſay after all this and notwithſtanding the continued and inſupportable inſolence of their carriage and behaviour, even upon this occaſion, no violence, nay not ſo much as any incivility that I have heard of has been offer'd to any of them.* Thus for the words of this good and learned man.

He that loves not his Brother whom he hath ſeen, how can he love God whom he hath not ſeen? And the Religion that prompts them to deſtroy our bodies that they ſee, makes them fearleſs in the damming of our Souls that they have not ſeen, and even without giving us a minutes warning to make up our accounts with God, and that too perhaps for *extravagant* lenity ſhew'd to ſome incorrigibles among them, which was poor *Godfreys* caſe. But the calm temper of the Proteſtants to them upon the Diſcovery of the Plot not breathing out any Cruelty or new Severity againſt their Bodies or Souls ſhall alwayes endear to me the Proteſtant Religion.

And though thoſe two great Votes of the Houſe of Commons may ſeem ſevere to the *Papiſts*, yet are they *warning pieces* only if they pleaſe, and not *murdring* ones, and like the Arrows of *Jonathan* to *warn David* and not to hurt him; And indeed only to warn them not to kill *David*, and not to hurt themſelves, and in effect a reaſonable requeſt or petition of two Parliaments to them only to make much of themſelves, and like the lenity that accompanied the Divine threatning of *moriendo morieris* reſtrain'd to their eating of one tree, ſo that no Flaming Swords need fence up their way from the Tree of *Life* unleſs they pleaſe.

But though the Spirit of the people hath not on the occaſion of the late Plot ſhew'd its angry reſentments againſt the perſons of the *Papiſts* by any outrage or rudeneſs, and though our Parliaments have not on that occaſion as thoſe in the times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* made the Anger of the Statute Book to ſwell with many Acts of Parliament againſt them, they are not to infer that therefore the anger of the people diffuſive or repreſentative is over, but rather the contrary, from its not having appeared violent. And indeed as that heat of the body that is acquired not by an approach to a blazing fire, but gradually by gentle exerciſe of the parts is moſt laſting and moſt agreeable to its conſtitution, ſo is it with that heat of popular anger that is the Reſult of the exerciſe of mens mindes and of ſeveral laboured intenſe thoughts moſt durable and ſalutiferous to the body of the Kingdom. It hath been obſerved by a Man of no Vulgar intellectual Tallents *Mr. Philip Nye* (a Man indeed of great Sagacity in his Generation) as I find it in his Book called *Beams of former Light* viz. *We know that in near a hundred years the Reformation gained little upon Popery and Superſtition more then was gotten by*

the first assault, nay it decay'd and Popery grew under it so fast as at last we were almost returned into the same condition that we were reformed from, and this (he sayes) may be the cause why the first Reformation prospered no better, there were the like severe, impositions and Laws made upon occasion of difference among the Protestants and then advantages were taken thereby, and many put out of the Muster-Role for Nonconformity who were of greatest courage and most faithful Resolution against Popery and Superstition the then common Enemy. The silencing and ejection of Ministers in Queen Elizabeths dayes, *reformation being newly begun and the Enemies to it many, the friends and those that faithfully engaged few, was looked on by the godly prudent of that age as very unseasonable, yea tho their crimes had deserved it, because of the scarcity of Preachers at that time. There is nothing more frequent in our Suffering Brethrens writings that were then published against the Hierarchy then a bemoaning the great loss to the cause and people of God thereby. I will mention but one, considering the season* (saith *Mr.* Parker) *though we were worthy, yet should we least be deprived now when Popery riseth like the swellings of Jordan, yea maketh invasion like an Armed man, when there are wanting many on the other side in many Parishes to stand up in the gap against it.*

Doth not the Canon Law it self spare depriving for greater faults when there is penuria sacerdotum & quando utilitas ecclesiæ exigit. Thus far Mr. *Nye*, who whether he has assigned *non causam pro causâ* or no, as to the Vigorous encreasing of Popery after the Reformation, I shall not say, and shall forbear even with the tendereſt and gentlest hand to touch the sore place of the differences among Protestants till we are secured against the Rough hands of any *Esaws touching Gods Annointed.* Nor shall I now debate of which perswasion among Protestants should strike Sail to the others, till we have put off the Fire-ship that hath grappled us, but shall here say that I think one cause why the Protestant Religion hath not since its first assaults against Popery gained ground of it proportionably was what is necessarily incident to humane Nature, and even in the most generous, and particularly English Spirits after a great overflowing of passion to find in themselves the lowest ebb to succeed the highest tide, and our boyling blood to be the more dispirited afterward by reason of its former heat, and for us instantly to fall asleep when our spirits are taken off from the wrack that passion extended them on, and to try to recruit our spirits again by the passion of *Pitty* or *Shame* which we had wasted by that of *Anger*, like men that after one excess refresh themselves by another. And as the great expenses of War which is the passion of *Anger* raging in the body of a whole Nation, Necessarily at last end in a peace that continues till mens plenty blow them up into War again, so doth the spending and wasting the Treasure of our Spirits by *Anger* necessitate us into a quiet, that lasts till being thereby recruited we are again capable to take Fire from a fresh provocation and to trouble our selves and others; But as men grow older and wiser they grow abler to moderate their passion of *Anger*, and make it like Fire, not a bad Master but good Servant to themselves and the Public, not a Fire that acts as natural agents *ad extremum virium* and so as anger acts and *rests in the bosom of fools* (who are so far natural agents only as not guided by reason) but as in the Breasts of the Wise, where reason rests and makes all passions as its Messengers and Ministers, not unresembling what is said of the most *High that he makes his Ministers a flame of Fire*, and so by *God-like* men who love others like themselves, their passion of *Anger* is made like a *Guardian Angel to themselves and others*: and by thus according to that precept being *angry and sinning not*, the fire of *Anger* in the Protestants here against Popery having long been light and restless, is at last got to its proper *Element* where it doth not *Levitate* and where it hath no *burning* but only a

purifying

purifying quality, and thus the *hatred* of the Engliſh Proteſtants againſt Popery may be ſaid to be as the Scripture expreſſion is, *a perfect hatred*, being now come to its height and proper *Element*, which perfect *Hatred* to Popery, may always conſiſt with a *perfect love* to Papiſts, and cinge not a hair of their heads more then a *Lambent Fire*.

My Lord, I account that we do but Juſtice to the Perſons of many of our Roman-Catholick Acquaintance in pronouncing of them, that they have no *PLOT* but to get to Heaven, and to follow the laſt *Dictates* of their *Practical* underſtandings as to the *Mind* of *God* reveal'd in the *Scripture*.

I ſhall tell your Lordſhip, that I entertaining my thoughts ſometimes with the great *pacificatory* ones of our *Divines*, have obſerv'd things there ſaid with *ſharpneſs* enough againſt the *Errors* of *Papiſts*, and yet with great *ſweetneſs* as to the *perſons* erring, and not only *exempting* theſe from *odium* in their holding Problematick *Tenets* contrary to ours, but aſſerting their juſt liberty ſo to do.

And becauſe one of our *Church of England-Divines* who hath writ at that rate, hath done it with a graceful mixture of *wit* and frankneſs, I ſhall here entertain your Lordſhip with ſome of his paſſages about it.

I intend here to refer you to an excellent *Sermon* of Dr. *Ingelo*'s, Preached at S. *Paul*'s, and Printed *A.* 1659. and where in *p.* 129. he ſaith, *I am afraid that* Chriſtian Religion *will not recover for a good while, that honour which is loſt by the* uncharitableneſs *of the* preſent *Age. God grant that we may return ſpeedily to the* ſincerity *of the* Proteſtant *Principles. We know not what the Chriſtian Religion is but by the Scriptures, and by them we may know, for there it is* plainly *and* fully *ſet down. In things doubtful, if every Chriſtian may not interpret for himſelf; how ſhall we juſtifie the* Proteſtants Separation *from the* Roman *Church, not to have been a* Schiſm, *and, as the Papiſts ſay, an* Apoſtacy *from the true Church?* They *interpret* one *way, and* we another. *And was not the* rigid *impoſition of their* interpretations as infallible, *one of thoſe* good *reaſons for which we departed from them? But when we read theſe Scriptures*, They ſhall kill you, and think they do God ſervice, *and*, By zeal I perſecuted the Church, *and*, They have a zeal, but not according to knowledge; *we may perceive that* hot zeal *may be accompanied with* groſs ignorance, *and* great cruelty. *Some that* mean well, *perhaps, may do* ſhrowd miſchief, *and through* impotence of Spirit, Inconſiderateneſs, ill Nature, narrowneſs of Soul, want of Experience, and converſe with wiſe Men, *&c. may throw* fire-brands *into the Houſe of God.*

It is a ſtrange device of pleaſing God, to ſacrifice *his* Friends *to him, when as he* deſireth *not the death of his* Enemies. *But thoſe which kill them ſay*, O, but they are in errour. *Really it may be ſo, for it is a very hard matter for ſuch* fallible *creatures as we are, not to* erre *in ſome things*, &c. *But theſe are* unmerciful guides, *which kill* plain-hearted Paſſengers, *becauſe they have miſſed the way, when as it is likely that they*, poor men, *could not help it.* I, but they will not go into the way when they are bidden. *Well, but will they do it, when you have killed them? If they were out of the way, you have made them for ever coming into it again. Since the* wanderer *did not hearken to you, it may be that he knew nothing to the contrary, but that you were as* ignorant *of the way, as himſelf.* No, you had a Book of it, wherein it was fairly mapp'd forth. *That is, the* Bible; *and he had it too.* But you underſtand it better then he did. *I cannot tell that. However, are you* infallible *alſo? If you be not, you may be out of the way your ſelf, and if it ſhould chance to prove ſo, you would be loath to be cudgell'd into it again.*

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If you will glorify *God, do as he doth.* What is that? He declares his will, teacheth us his Truth, engageth us with a thouſand mercies, to do our duty; and notwithſtanding we continue our diſobedience, he awaits our repentance with a God-like patience. *Wilt thou go and do likewiſe?* No, becauſe they receive not Jeſus Chriſt, I will call for fire from Heaven upon them. *Poor man! thou art of a* hot *ſpirit, and wouldeſt thou have it increaſed with* flames *from* above? *that fire* enlightens, warms, *and ſo* melts, *but doth not* burn *and* fry *men for their Salvation. Take heed what* thou *doſt to others*, &c.

The common *ſtyle* in ſo many mens Writings of *Religionary* Controverſie is not more vexatious then that I have now entertain'd you with of this learned Writer is charming. And indeed as *turbid* as this *interval* of time is while Moral offices are calling upon us in our ſeveral Stations by all due means to withſtand *Papal* Uſurpations (and which men of ſenſe generally mean by *Popery*) yet as to the *Tenets* of *Tranſubſtantiation* and *Purgatory* and others of that Nature, however ſo much *diſguſted* by the *bulk* of the Nation, ſuch *bulky* and voluminous *Controverſial* writing of them, as was long ago in uſe, is nauſeous to the age, and the time ſpent in reading Matters *Pro* and *Con* writ of ſuch Subjects would now be judged as the diverting Men from regular action in oppoſing any *Papal* Uſurpations.

Who is at all concerned about *extenſion* or *diviſibility* being the *formalis ratio* of *quantity*, or at there being *demonſtration* on either *ſide*, that both the *one* and the *other* is ſo? But 'tis one man's *extending* his Confines on thoſe of another man's Eſtate, or his *dividing* a *quota* of it from him, that naturally makes Controverſie ſo hot and loud. When a man by pretending to *illuminate* another about the *next* World *ſtands in his light* in this, and when a handful of men would graſp all the Dignities of this World becauſe of their expectance of monopolizing thoſe of the next (and which indeed ſhould rather allay their Ambition in this according to that Saying,---*Si tam certa manet gloria quid properas?*) here the *hinge* of the *Controverſie* turns ſo angrily between ſo many *Proteſtants* and ſo many *Papiſts*; tho yet I muſt here acknowledge, that as I know *Proteſtants* enow, who neither repine at *God's* or his *Vice-gerent's* choice of their *Inſtruments*, ſo I do *Papiſts* whoſe *Moderation is known to all men*, and who are far from affecting any exceſſive *overbalance* of *Power* in the Services of their Prince.

And were I for my Life to give our Roman-Catholick fellow-Subjects the beſt advice I could for their own Preſervation, it ſhould be their uſing all means poſſible to convince the world, that they affected nothing of ſuch a Paramount *Power*, and aimed at no ſuch thing. *Aufer ut uterque ſecurius dormiat*, was ſaid by the *Stoick* to him that was taking away his Riches in the Night. I am ſure I ſhall never repine at it, if ever there ſhould be a *due* or *legal* relaxation of any Penalties that may ſeem ſanguinary in making their Purſes bleed, but ſhall be content with its being out of the Power of ſuch among them who affect a *growth* of their *intereſts* under the *Pope* as a *fifth Monarch*, to render others of them liable to Envy who only endeavour their *growing* in *Grace* under the *Pope* as their chief *Spiritual* Paſtor. And tho perhaps to adviſe any *hot-Spurs* among them to part with *Power*, may ſeem *durus ſermo*, as much as cutting off a Right hand that has long offended themſelves and others; yet if it ſhall appear that by that means they will ſecure all the *Hands* and *Hearts* of Proteſtants thereby for their defence, they will gain more then *Cent per Cent* in the Exchange: as thoſe who in our *Saviour's* time *forſook Houſes and Lands for him*, did according to his promiſe gain a Thouſand Fold by it in this life, by the Houſes and Lands of all other Chriſtians then being at their ſervice. It is chiefly by the abrenunciation, the *ſtudy'd* and *labour'd* declining of *Power*, that the *Jews* almoſt

moſt in all Countreys Chriſtian and Pagan are welcom Gueſts, tho yet by their frugal living they Generally under-ſel the Natives every where. Mankind hath ſuch a ſharp regret againſt Plotting the Ruine of any company of men who are harmleſs and uſeful to the World, and in whom nothing but a Tame Humble quiet innocence appears, that on the contrary they ſtudy to be their Protectors, to be their Guards, their Watchmen, and men thinking God to be like themſelves, they think ſuch people are Heavens care too. Therefore in the 88th. *Advertiſement* of *Boccalin's Ragguagli, the Sheep ſending their Embaſſadours to* Apollo, *deſiring that they may be allowed to have ſharp Teeth and long horns, and not ſeem abandon'd by that Divine Charity that hath given offenſive as well as defenſive arms to hurtful animals, by whom they often Suffered, and ſometimes by their very Shepherds who in Sheering them would cut their Skins,* Apollo *told them, that no Beaſts were ſo much the Favorites of him and of men as they, for that whereas others with great anxiety were forced in the Night, the time of reſt and ſleep, to ſeek their Food, that they could not do with ſafety in the day, Men the Lords of the Earth bought at dear rates paſture grounds for Sheep, and that tho men did make Nets, feed Dogs and lay ſnares for hurtful Beaſts, they employed Shepherds and Dogs to guard Sheep, and that no Shepherds could deal ill with their Flocks without being chiefly cruel to themſelves, and that therefore their ſecurity lay in not being able to fright their Shepherds.*

Thus every one is naturally abhorr'd who attacks a Naked man, and from ſuch a one *Lions* themſelves either through fear or generoſity have made their Retreat. The *holy Writ* affords us a memorable Inſtance of the Divine diſpleaſure, in the 38*th* of *Ezekiels* Propheſie againſt *Gog* and *Magog*, who are there branded as the Invaders of a defenſleſs City, 'Tis there mention'd in v. 10*th* and 11*th*. *Thus ſaith the Lord God, it ſhall alſo come to paſs, that at the ſame time ſhall things come into thy mind, and thou ſhalt think an evil thought;* and v. 11*th*. *And thou ſhalt ſay, I will go up to the Land of unwalled Villages, I will go to them that are at reſt, that dwell ſafely, all of them dwelling without walls, and having neither Bars nor Gates;* and in v. 12*th*, *to take a ſpoil and to take a prey, to turn thy hand upon the deſolate places, that are now inhabited, and upon the people that are gather'd out of the Nations which have gotten Cattel and goods that dwell in the MIDST (or navel) of the land.* But it then follows, v. 14. *Therefore Son of man Prophecy and ſay unto* Gog, *Thus ſaith the Lord God, in that day when my people of* Iſrael *dwells ſafely, ſhalt thou not know it?* that is, thou ſhalt know it to thy ſorrow and by thy bitter experience of my wrath, what it is to diſturb my harmleſs and quiet people in the World. The Comparing of the following 16*th* and 18*th* v. ſhew this to be the meaning of v. 14*th*. And I believe if any of the people of *Gog* and *Magog* were allowed by the Law to live apart by themſelves, they might in any defenceleſs City be as ſecure from danger or fear of the *Proteſtant Iſrael* as they pleaſed.

It hath been well obſerved by a great Enquirer into *humane Nature*, That a reſtleſs deſire of *power* after *power* that ceaſeth only in death, is a general inclination of all mankind; and the cauſe of this is not alwaies that a man hopes for a more intenſive delight then he has already attained to, or that he cannot be content with a moderate *power*, but becauſe he cannot aſſure the *power* and means to live well which he hath preſent without the acquiſition of more: And from hence it is that Kings whoſe *power* is greateſt, turn their endeavours to the Aſſuring it at home by Laws, or abroad by Warrs. But as much as it is the inclination of the unthinking or brutiſh part of Mankind, that *power* ſhould be like the *Crocodile* alwaies growing, the ſoberer few do know, that *power* will deſtroy it ſelf if it ſhall be ſtill aſcending and hath not a Center wherein to reſt and be quiet, juſt as fire would periſh in nature and deſtroy it

ſelf, if there were not an Element allow'd it wherein to leave burning: And that therefore *Auguſtus* wiſely deſigned a *Law de cohibendis imperii finibus*, And that the experience of Antient and Modern times hath taught the teachable part of mankind, That great Empires have ſunk under their weight, and have loſt the length of their *power* by the widening it; and that Kings whoſe power is greateſt (as was ſaid) ſometimes turn their endeavours to the Aſſureing it at home by Laws, which by giving it ſome bound are like letters about the edges of our coyn, *Decus & tutamen* to it, the which makes it ſo Sacred, that 'twould be both Treaſonable and Ridiculous to clip it, and that as the Bees by their King have given the world an inſtance in Nature of Kingly power, ſo they have likewiſe another of Kings governing by the power of Laws. 'Tis a common obſervation, That tho Bees are little angry fighting Creatures upon occaſion, and leave their ſtings in the wounds they make, *Rex tamen apum ſine aculeo eſt*, the King of the Bees is without any ſting, and the curious work of the Hive goes on with a great deal of *Geometry*, and idle Drones are thence as it were *legally* expel'd who would there invade property. Nor need the *King* of the Bees (ſay the Naturaliſts) have a ſting, for the whole Hive defends and guards him, as thinking that they are all to periſh if their King be deſtroyed.

And this would be the caſe of the Papiſts, if they would be content ſo to part with the ſting of their *Power* that it could not hurt either King or Kingdom, and might not come to loſe it ſelf by ſo doing, they would have the *Poſſe* of every County to defend them, they would have the Laws and the whole *Hive* of *Engliſh* men to guard them, the very Anger of the Proteſtants would be a defenſive *Wall of Fire* round about them. 'Tis true, that wild *Animals* are by their conſtant fears of danger habituated to more cunning then Tame ones of the ſame ſpecies, but all their little cunning renders them not ſo ſafe as the great wiſdom & protection of the Law doth the other; and ranging and out-lying Deer thrive not ſo well as thoſe that are in the Forreſts. And here it falls in my way to obſerve, that the Kings cautioning by the *Law* of the *Forreſts*, that the Maſtiffs ſhall have the *Power* took from them of hurting the Deer, may well inſinuate into us the reaſon and equity of all our Laws that hinder its being in the power of a man to be a *Wolf* to another, and of the *Power* inherent by the Law of Nature in all Soveraign Princes to reſtrain any undue Power of Subjects from violating the Public peace. As the Law of God and Nature command both *Juſtice* and *Mercy* to be ſhewn to *Beaſts*, ſo doth the Law of *England* provide that any mans perſon and Eſtate ſhould be ſeized into the Kings hands in caſe of ſome wild cruelty to his Beaſts; for he would appear in the eye of the Law an *Idiot* or a *Lunatic*, that ſhould put his Horſes or Aſſes to the Sword.

That which I mention'd of the Laws providing that the Maſtiffs of any Inhabitants in Forreſts ſhall not have Power to hurt the Deer, is called by the Forreſt Law, *Lawing of Maſtiffs*, or the *Expeditating them*, that is, the three Claws of their Fore-foot to the Skin are to be cut off; and thus they are to be *law'd* every three years for the preſerving the Kings Game, and the peace of his wild Beaſts. The Regarders of the Forreſt are to make a *TRIENNIAL* enquiry about it & *tunc fiat per viſum & teſtimonium legalium hominum & non aliter*, that is not Arbitrarily, there muſt be legal Judgment upon legal Teſtimony, and no *Dog law'd* without Judicial proceeding. This *Forreſt Law* made in the time of our Popiſh Anceſtors, did ſuppoſe; that the Kings Game could not be preſerved, nor the Peace of his Wild Beaſts, by the Dogs being then either *exorciſed*, or their lapping a little holy water, or any *expedient* (as I may ſay) without *expeditation*, which did *ipſo facto* deſtroy their Power of deſtroying the Kings Game and the Peace of his wild

wild Beasts; and therefore that's the only *valuable Garranty* we can have from those who without *Law* and against *Law* would hunt down the King himself and his Tame Subjects, that the *excrescence* of their power should be *hambled* or *expeditated*: but the *modus* of this I do again say ought by them to be tendered to the Consideration of his Majesty and the *Triennial* Regardors of the Kingdom. I am sure 'tis worthy the consideration of us *English*, what the Learned *Frenchman Monsieur Bodin* tells us in his Book *de Republica Lib. 5. Cap. 6. Una est tenuium adversus potentiores securitatis ratio, ut scilicet si nocere velint non possent, cum nocendi voluntas ambitiosis hominibus & imperandi cupidis nunquam sit defutura.*

And now *my Lord* to give your Lordship a *home Instance* of Jealousie taking Fire in some meerly from the *power* of another to do them hurt, I will instance in your self at this conjuncture of time. The nature of *Jealousie* renders it to be a troublesom *weed* and yet such an one that growes in the Richest Soil of Love, my meaning is, that 'tis a *fear* of Love not being mutual when one doth *love* intensely with desire of being so *loved*. *My Lord*, in the picture of your mind that I have already drawn in this Letter, I have only done you a little right, and not at all favour'd you, and 'tis but Justice to you to acknowledge that the Protestant part of your Country hath a singular love for you, with a desire of being so loved by you; and 'tis in this *Critical* conjuncture of time that your *power* makes them *fear* the love not to be *mutual*. Your Lordship knows, that *fear* in people is an *aversion* with an opinion of hurt from any object, and they soon *hate* those things or persons for which they have *aversion*: and *fear* of hurt by *power* disposeth men naturally to *anticipate*, and not to stay for the *first blow*, or else to crave aid from *Society* and from others especially whose concern may be the same or greater then theirs, and who are their representatives, and to wish ill to those who make them sleep in armour, or to *stand* in the posture of *Gladiators* with their weapons pointing, and their eyes fixed on another, and to be still in *procinctu*, and all those passions sprung from the Root of Jealousie, as far as they exceed the bounds of reason, are degrees of *madness*. And tho mans life be a constant *motion*, and for the most part in both a Rugged way and near Precipices, yet during that *madness* men are still by their own Scorpions scourging it to make it *move* faster then the regular and intended pace of Nature, and injuring themselves with their passions, are content too to wound another through their own sides. And thus *my Lord* give me leave to tell you, That 'tis a kind of a *Complement* from people to a great good man of whose *power* and of whom they are *jealous*, when that it may be said of them, that they are occasionally faln *mad* for *love* of him.

One part of your Power, namely that wherein you are a Conduit-Pipe to convey the grants of Honour and profit from your *Royal Master*, the *Fountain* of Honour, 'tis possible for you to quit, and that with pleasure too, that you may have time to quench your great *thirst* after knowledge in that great collection of waters into which so many Streams of learning have met from all ages and Nations, I mean your vast and choice Library. And I may well suppose that your Lordship hath now that sense of *Greatness* and of *power* by publick Employment, that *Cardinal Granvel* expressed at his retirement from the same, *That a great Man is like a great River, where many sorts of Creatures are still quenching their thirst, but are likewise still muddying and troubling the Stream.* Your Lordship knows who said, that *actio est conversatio cum stultis, lectio cum sapientibus.* In the Scene of the busie World you are *necessarily* troubled with the affaires of *men* whose being born was *unnecessary* to the world, and there you are usually put to play at hard games well with ill gamesters, the jest that fortune playing in humane affaires commonly puts

on

on the wiſe to ſpoil their buſie ſport: there you are ſometimes deafen'd with Complaints of *Mimick Apes* and *grave Aſſes*, of *airy* fools and *formal* fops one againſt another: but in your *noble Library* you have the advantage of the *ſtill Muſick* of the Tomb, you have the *weight* of many dead Authors *making* no *noiſe*, you have *Socinus* and *Calvin* ſtanding quietly by each other, and ſome Authors content with the duſt of your Library who thought one Chriſtian world not enough to trouble; 'tis there you will avoid any trouble by *Authors* of *gilded outſides* intruding, nor be moleſted as now by *nonſenſe* in *fine clothes*. You cannot now quietly enquire after the fountain of *Nile* for the noiſe of its *Cataracts*, nor appeaſe your *thirſt* after knowledge otherwiſe then *tanquam canis ad Nilum* for fear of the *Crocodiles* of the World devouring you, nor have a view of the *tree* of *knowledge* without a *Serpent* of envy circled about it, nor have *time* to look on the pieces painted for *eternity*, nor to mind the *Eclipſes* in the *Heavens* while you are preventing your own being *eclipſed* in the *Earth*.

But *my Lord*, there is another kind of *power inherent in* you, and that you cannot part with, ſuch a power as *King Charles the firſt* in his *Eikon Baſil.* affixes to the Character of his *favorite*, when he ſayes, *he looked on the Earl of* Strafford *as a Gentleman whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid then aſhamed to employ him in the greateſt affaires of State.* Your very *Reputation* for *power* is *power*, for that engageth thoſe to adhere to you, who want protection. Your *Succeſs* in your paſt conduct of publick affaires is *power*, for it makes men promiſe to themſelves good fortune while they follow you. Your eloquence that faſtens mens ears to your lips is *power*. Your great knowledge in the *Law* whereby you poſſeſs that Engine by which you can be only attacked, and whereby you have that faſtneſs, where one a-breſt can keep down a Multitude, is *power*. Your *affability* and *good Nature* that endear you to ſo many, is *power*, and makes the *hearts* of men to be your *Pyramids*. And all theſe ſorts of *power* in you, which make every party wiſh you to be *theirs*, make up ſo bright a beauty in your mind, as may well cauſe *jealouſie* in that party that by *loving* you, think they have Right to be again beloved by you; I mean the Engliſh Proteſtants, who court you, and to whom you have ſo long engaged your ſelf, and eſpecially when they ſhall find their *Rivals* boaſt of the *kindneſs* you have for them; and that too at ſuch a time as this, when the Proteſtants ſeem to have the concern of one that is playing his laſt ſtake, and which only can make him fetch back all he has loſt; a *time*, when any one who pretends to a cold harmleſs neutrality, doth really intend an exulcerated hatred; *a time*, wherein he that *is not with us is againſt us*, however it may have hapned, that in ſome *lazy* conjunctures when Papiſts and Proteſtants were half aſleep both here and in the Neighbouring Continent, that then *he that was not againſt us was with us*; *a time*, *cum non de terminis ſed de totâ poſſeſſione agitur*; *A time*, wherein as in that of the tempeſt that happen'd to the Ship that carried *Jona* among the heathen Mariners, we ſee almoſt all, namely the *Papiſts calling on their God*, and the *Church of England likewiſe*, and the *diſſenters in the ſeveral perſuaſions on theirs*, with this difference, that no man is now *aſleep*, but all in it are *waking*, ſome at work to ſave the Ship, and others to bore holes in it, as if they were concerned to have it caſt away as being not *owners* in it, and as if they had ſecured their own merchandize in it which they purchaſed by the money they took up at *Bottomry* from *Rome* or its agents, and knew how to ſecure themſelves in the *Cock-boat*.

We have had dull and lazy conjunctures of time heretofore, inſomuch that many years ago a *Divine* ſeemed to begin a *Sermon* on the *Gun-powder Treaſon day before* a great Academick audience, as it were *yawning* and in his

ſleep

ſleep with theſe words, *Conſpiracies if not prevented, are rather dangerous then otherwiſe*: And thus the ingenious *Comedy* tells us of a *Hero*, that as he was in the height of his *paſſion* with the greateſt zeal *making Love*, inſtantly dropt down into a deep ſleep; but 'tis no time for *yawning* when the Earth begins to *yawn* under us. And tho times have been heretofore influencing the Proteſtant cauſe like the *Sun* in *March* that could only raiſe the *vapors* of Popery in the body of the Nation and not diſſipate them, 'tis now ſuppoſed to be otherwiſe, and as I have heard that the *Earl of Hallifax* in his *Speech* in the houſe of Lords having ſpoken of his hatred to Popery, excellently well added ſomewhat to this effect, *And we may now exterminate it if we will.* And therefore with that now, I think the *ecce nunc tempus acceptabile feſtina & ſalware*, may be applyed to the Kingdom. And if as the *School-men* tell us, *Angels* may *dance* upon the *point* of a Needle, we may imagine many both good and bad ones dancing on *this point of time*; 'tis on *this* moment the Nations eternity depends. Every one now is as good a *Conjurer* as *Friar Bacon*, and can make a Brazen head ſay time is; by which words I believe the learned *Roger Bacon* meant only, that in the veſſel of Braſs wherein the exquiſite chymical preparations for the birth of gold were laboured, the nick of opportunity was to be watched under pain of the loſs of all the fire and Materials, and art and labour, according to that of *Petrus Bongus. Ibi eſt operis perfectio aut annihilatio, quoniam ipſa die immò horâ, oriuntur elementa ſimplicia depurata quæ egent ſtatim compoſitione, antequam volent abigne*, as I find him cited by *Brown* for it in his *vulgar errors*, where he further ſaith, *Now letting ſlip this critical opportunity, he miſſed the intended Treaſure, which had he obtained, he might have made out the tradition of making a brazen wall about* England, *that is, the moſt powerful defence and ſtrongeſt fortification which Gold could have effected.*

My Lord, my opinion was askt in a letter from a very honeſt Gentleman and much your Lordſhips Servant, Whether you ſhould not do your ſelf and your Religion a greatdeal of Right, by printing in this *juncture* ſome of the excellent and large diſcourſes you have formerly writ againſt Popery? and the ſubſtance of the anſwer I gave him was to this effect, That tho I would not diſwade your Lordſhips now publiſhing any thing relating to the tenets of that pretended Religion that might import Proteſtants to underſtand more cleerly then they did, in which way they have been advantaged by the Biſhop of *Lincoln's* Book againſt Popery, yet that I thought the great bulk of Popery could no more be deſtroyed by notions and arguments, then a *capital Ship* could be *ſunk* with *bullets*, for that ſuppoſing they did all light between *wind and water*, the Papiſts have thouſands of Plugs ready to be clapt in there, and thouſands of men in that great veſſel ready to apply them, and tho I thought there was a *time* for writing of Books, it was when there was a time for reading them, that is, when people *had time* to read them, but that now the moſt curious works of *Whiteakers*, and *Jewels*, and *Rainoldſes*, would be no more regarded, then *attempts* of ſhewing the *longitude* would be to Navigators while under the attack of a Fire-ſhip as I ſaid, or while they were making their way through the body of an Enemies Fleet. I know that 'tis ſaid to be an old *Sybilline Prophecy*, that *Antichriſt ſhall be deſtroyed by paper* viz. *Antichriſtum lino periturum*, but alas, that way is now as inſignificant in the caſe, as to think that the dominion of the Sea can be built up by *Seldens Mare Clauſum*, or deſtroyed by *Grotius* his *Mare Liberum*, or any way but by *thundring Legions* in powerful fleets.

Indeed our paper-pellets that the preſs ſince its licence hath ſhot againſt Popery, I mean the innumerable little *ſheet-pamphlets* that have come out againſt it may find time to be read, and to give us diverſion, but the Papiſts looking on their Church as a great *Firſt-Rate* Mann'd with *Popes* and Emperors, and *Princes*, and *Fathers* and *Councels*, and innumerable Souls there

embarqued in the Sea of *time* for the great Voyage of *Eternity*, do account our little Proteſtant honeſt *Sheet-authors firing* at them daily to be only like the *Yacht-Fan Fan's* attacking *De Ruyter*.

But my Lord, there is another Reaſon why a perſon of your Lordſhips great Power and Abilities ſhould not at this time embarraſe your ſelf with writing, No not thoſe defences of your innocency, which yet perhaps may be neceſſary to be done for the uſe of thoſe who know you not hereafter when the heat of the day and your Services in this critical juncture ſhall be over, and would now ſhew as meanly as if a *General* in the *time* of *Battel* having ſome dirt or duſt lighting on his face, ſhould while he was among the bullets employ his barbers waſhballs to cleanſe it, and that too when the fate of the battel ſeems to *totter* and is near deciſion one way or other, and whiſe there is hardly room for the *Quid agendum* to wedge it ſelf in, and *he that faith conſider is* almoſt *a foe*, (and therefore once when a great *Commander* had no way to ſave himſelf and his Army but by their ſwimming with their horſes through a River to attack their Enemy, he did only to that queſtion of *quid agendum* put to him by his Officers, ſuddenly eccho back the reply of *agendum*, and with his horſe took the River) and while now 'tis with us as on board a Ship in the time of Fight, or of a Storm when they are Fighting with the Elements, and the Maſter or Steersman orders any thing to be done, the caſe will bear no dilatory anſwer of words, and the anſwer there is, *Done it is*; I ſay, after all this, that there is a reaſon which in my opinion renders any mans writing unneceſſary now either to the World or himſelf, and that is this, That words and Language the which formerly having the ſtamp of common uſage and of reaſon on them paſſed as currant coine for the Signification of mens minds and as a *medium* of *commerce*, are in this juncture as uſeleſs that way, and of as little value as lether *coine called in*: and this Age wherein both the *word* and *thing* called *ſhamme*, hath been brought in uſe, and *ſhamme* calls it ſelf an anſwer to that great queſtion, *What is wit*? tho with as little reaſon as if a lye ſhould call it ſelf an anſwer to that old great queſtion, *What is truth*, hath inforced thoſe that do not love to be *ſhamm'd upon*, not to meaſure mens *actions* by their *words*, but their *words* by their *Actions*. And tho a mans written *books* are called his *works*, yet have I obſerved an occaſion of *Sarcaſme* given thereby, when one ſpeaking of a particular *Divines* excellent *writings*, ſaid he loved his *works*, but hated his *actions*. And written *works* are now indeed but actings as when a man doth *agere geſtum in ſcena* on the *Stage* of the *World*, and for them he finds but only a *Theatrical* applauſe, Nor ſo much as that, when like the *Actor crying O heavens*, he looks *down* on the *Earth*.

As he is alwaies accounted but a ſmatterer in knowledge who is a *pedant*, or *petty-Chapman* in *words*, ſo he playes but at ſmall games in *politicks*, who is a *pedant* or trader in *words*, or who indeed will *give* any thing for them. He who doth *verba dare* has *bad morals*, and who gives any thing elſe for them has *bad intellectuals*, and according to that old *Monkiſh* verſe they ſaid,

Res dare pro rebus, pro verbis verba ſolemus.

The only *real ſecurity* therefore that the World hath for its *quiet*, is mens *only* giving a *ſeeming belief* to *ſeeming profeſſions* and *proteſtations*; for as *Ayr* out of its place makes *Earth-quakes*, ſo if the *articulate air* of mens *words* gets beyond my *hearing* into my *belief*, it may there raiſe thoſe commotions of paſſion that may make me trouble both my ſelf and the World, and particularly by the paſſion of jealouſie before-mentioned, on my deſire where I have a kindneſs that it ſhould be mutual, and when poſitive words brought me into the fools paradiſe of believing it poſſible, a thing perhaps not poſſible in nature, that two bodies and minds whoſe faculties muſt needs be different, ſhould have an equal intenſeneſs of love for each other, no preſident of friend-

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ſhip, particularly that of *Jonathan and David*, having ſhewn it, and in the conjugal love the paſſions of the *weaker* Sex being obſerved to be the *ſtrongeſt*, and that of jealouſie as well as Love, jealouſie particularly being moſt *potent* in minds moſt *impotent*, and in perſons moſt diffident of themſelves. And this may in ſome ſort *conſole* your Lordſhip after all your reſtleſs endeavours to merit the love of all your Countrymen if it be not exactly mutual. But this by the way.

The great names of *Proteſtant* and *Religion* began to adorn each other in the *year of our Lord* 1529, when ſome of the *Electors* and *Princes* of the *Empire* with a *proteſtation* oppoſed the *Decree* relating to the *Maſs* and *Euchariſt*, made at *Spiers*, and when ſome of the *Capital Cities* of *Germany* joyn'd with them to *proteſt* the ſame thing. But every one knows that a proteſtation is a revocable thing, and that a *Proteſtation contrary to actions revokes it ſelf*. And that the word *Proteſtant*, hath not been in the World as the Poets term is of calling graſs green, or the like, *otioſum epitheron*, I believe the Papiſts will grant: and 'tis not one *Proteſtation* made and not revoked either by words or actions, that can make that term conſiſtent with our Religion, or render a man worthy to be call'd one. 'Tis not a good continual claim to our Religion that yet is for land we are diſſeis'd of that is made only once a year whilſt we live: No; the *Proteſtation* that the *Proteſtant* Religion requires, is ſuch a continual one as is reiterated, upon every freſh act and attempt of the *Papal* Religion againſt ours; 'tis not a going to our Cells, and ſaying, *Lord have mercy upon us*, but 'tis our watching in our Stations, and our ſhewing no *mercy* to the *principles* of Popery that are alwaies attacking the quiet of the World either by Storm or Siege, or undermining; 'tis like the *Proteſtation* required when the defendant hath declined a Judge, that muſt be made *toties quoties* as any *new* Act is done by the Judge, without which the *firſt Proteſtation* grows inſignificant: 'tis not one Act of *proteſting* the *Popes Bills* of Exchange for good money we paid him, and his giving us *bank-tickets* upon *purgatory*, or giving us ſome fantaſtick Saints pretended Hair or Nailes (*proteſted* with ſo much ſcorn by our Popiſh Anceſtors in *Henry the* 8*th's* time, that a piece of St. *Andrews finger* covered with an ounce of Silver pawn'd by a Monaſtery for forty pound, was left unredeemed at the diſſolution of it, which ſhewed that that commodity would even then yeild nothing, and was a meer drug in *Scotland* (of which Country he is call'd the Saint Protector) but 'tis further like a *proteſtation againſt the Sea* at the next Port made *toties quoties* goods in a Ship are damnified by its rage, which the law requires the *Skipper* to make, or elſe leaves anſwerable for the dammage. And if a poor *Tarpauling* who muſt alwaies plough the Sea for his bread during life, and there ſtill conteſt with the angry Elements, ſhall when he comes on ſhore by a *proteſtation* bid defiance to the *pride* of the whole *Ocean*, he deſerves not the name of a *Hero* that Safe-guarded by both the *Land* and the *Law of the Land*, ſhall not on occaſions offered continually have the courage to *proteſt* againſt the dammages both his King and Country have from the *Rage* of Popery. My Lord, I have been the longer in diſcourſing of the inſignificancy of *words*, or indeed ought, but the *emphaſis* of *works* requiſite to ſhew a Proteſtant *faith* at this Juncture, becauſe I am ſure you are willing (as you may well be) to *joyne iſſue* on that point, and to be judged a Proteſtant in *mans day* by your works, as you muſt in Gods ſtand or fall by the *Teſt* of them, at the laſt *Audit*, and to appear a Proteſtant too by works above the poor *level* of a dull *opus operatum*, by works that repreſent the continual employment of your life with an Heroical vigour, and your *going from ſtrength to ſtrength* (as the Scripture expreſſion is) in the defence of Proteſtancy, by works that ſpeak you like the heavenly bodies inceſſant in your influence, and haveing reſt only in *Motion*. 'Tis not without wiſdom ordered by the *Pope*, That

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no men ſhall be *Cannoniſed* till after *death* for fear of *Apoſtacy*; nor then likewiſe, unleſs it ſhall appear that they *wrought Miracles*. And the truth is, our people were all ſo far born with *Popes* in their beſſies, as to this point, that they will not now *Cannonize* any Great Men for *Proteſtant Saints*, unleſs at this time they do *Miracles*; and indeed I think they have reaſon to inſiſt on their doing as great *miracles* for our Religion, as any Papal *Saints* dead or alive have done *againſt* it. And when I conſider the real Great Things that have been by the heads and hands of your Lordſhip and other Noble Perſons performed for the *Statuminating* of the Proteſtant cauſe, and enabling us to ſay to our underminers with the confidence of the Pſalmiſt, *As a bowing wall ſhall ye be, and as a tottering fence*, I do think you may expect with Juſtice that which is greater then our praiſe, the acclamations of our *bleſſing*, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, *that to heroick qualities in men not praiſe, but pronouncing bleſſed is due* (ἐκ ἐπαινῶμεν ἀλλὰ μακαρίζομεν) and as St. *Paul* ſaith, *it is more bleſſed to give then to receive.*

And here, my Lord, going by this exact Rule of meaſuring things by things, and not by words, your Life hath enabled me to give the ſtricteſt *Areopagus* of Cenſurers the world can produce, and who would damn the uſe of Proems and the art of moving paſſions by words, an irrefragable inſtance how you have ſecured the Nation formerly from being enſlaved to and by Popery, and at that time when we ſeemed to our ſelves as ſecure from it as from *Mahumetaniſme*, which was when you were the great Conductor of the Publick Councels in the Conjuncture that brought in the King, and hindred *Lambert*'s uſurpation of the *Engliſh* Scepter, who tho at that time he was not generally ſuſpected to be a *Papiſt*, was on very rational grounds believed to be ſuch then by many very knowing particular perſons; and that too to be not only a *Papiſt*, but a *Jeſuited* one. He was at that time ſuſpected by ſome for having adviſed at a military cabal of the then great ones that the Cavaleers ſhould be Maſſacred, a cruelty that could enter into no breaſt but one abandoned to Jeſuitiſme. And as on ſuch a *Monſter* your Lordſhip then had your eye on him: and of his being ſuch ſome of the *depoſitions* and *examinations* took about the late plot have been very particular and ſatisfactory. Nor is his haveing petition'd ſome few years before the diſcovery of the late Plot, That he might have his Liberty, and of a very great Roman Catholic Lord's having then offer'd to be ſecurity for his quiet demeanor, Now unknown, ſo that the Kingdom then ſcaped falling into Popery before the danger was by it apprehended; like the Man who in the *Night* ſcaped *that* of *Rocheſter Bridge*, and whom the light of the following day almoſt confounded with his *deliverance*. Your Lordſhips activity and prudence appearing in the *public* Councels and in your *Secret* correſpondences, to the defeating of the councels of that *Romiſh Achitophel*, and ſeiſure of his perſon, will no more be forgiven you by the Papiſts of *England*, then it either by the Papiſts of *England* or *Ireland* will be *forgiven* or *forgot* that you ſhew'd your ſelf a true Father of your Country in *Ireland*, in the Conduct foremention'd of that great Affair of the Metropolis, and many Garriſons of that Kingdom being wholly put into the hands of the Parliament, rather than the Child (as I may ſay) ſhould be divided between any of his Majeſties Subjects, and the Pope the pretended ſupream Father of that Country, and that you preſerved it to come into the hands of the true Supream One.

Your Lordſhip and other well-wiſhers to the Crown then were not of the humour of ſome of our young vulgar Proteſtants, who as the Papiſts parrots, have been by them taught to ſpeak it commonly, That they love a *Papiſt* better than a *Presbyterian*. 'Tis ſinful not to love the perſons of both, but ridiculous to love the Yoke of either opinion; and it ſeems his late

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Majeſty of glorious Memory, and his Councel, and his noble Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and your Lordſhip thought it ſafer for the Crown, for *Ireland* to be truſted with that ſort of diſobedient Children that depended on no forraign Eccleſiaſtical Head, then on ſuch as did. And it is to be acknowledged to your Lordſhips care of the freedom of your Country, that when you ſat in the long Parliament till you and other Members thereof were torn thence by *Cromwel's* Souldiers, you cruſht the *Jure-divinity* of *Presbytery* in the Egg by its being ordered to be ſetled only for three years, ſo that it ſaw it was to be *expeditated* at the end of *three years*, and had no power to trample upon the conſciences of others, and in effect had but a *tolleration*. I think that no Church-Government at all is better then that rigid one of Presbytery intended then by ſome Zealots. As the good and learned *Dean of Canterbury* ſaid in his *Sermon on the Fifth of November* before the Houſe of Commons, That as to Popery, *'twere better there were no revealed Religion, and that humane Nature were left to the conduct of its own principles and inclinations, then to be acted by a religion that inſpires men with ſo wild a fury, and prompts them to commit ſuch outrages*, &c. and there renders Popery worſe then Infidelity or no Religion, and ſo indeed *in fact* the Kingdom had then *no Church-Government* paramount at all in it, and inſtead of the imagined fierce *pedagogy* of the *Scotch* Presbytery that made every *Levite a Rabby Buſy*, every Pulpit *Rhetor* a *Conſul*, and every *Lay-Elder Major General* of the *Pariſh*, we had a tame inſignificant Government admitted only to probation for three years, and were no more hindered of the freedom of a Gentlemans Converſation thereby then by the Government of the foremention'd *Presbyter John* in the *Eaſt*, and *England* was then not only free from the charge of *Peter-pence*, *Legatine levys*, *oblations*, *contributions for the Holy Land*, and both charge and trouble from all the Papal *Courts* and *Maſſes Anniverſaries*, *obits*, *requiems*, *dirges*, *placebos*, *Trentals*, *lamps*, but from all *contumacy fees* in ſpiritual Courts, and from thoſe Courts themſelves of which yet the yoke is very eaſie compared with either that of the Papiſts or *Scotch* Presbyters; and our condition, as to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, was like that time or *conjuncture* of liberty, that *Father Paul* in the *History* of the *Councel* of *Trent* refers to, ſpeaking of the time when a certain cuſtome prevailed, ſaith, *il, che come e un uſo molto proprio, dove ſi governa in liberta, quale era all hora quando il mondo era ſenza Papa*, That it was a cuſtome very proper where they governed with liberry, which was when the world was without a Pope.

I never heard of any man that was *gored* with the *horn* of our Presbyters *excommunication*, nor of any diſſenter from them, that was tyed up for them out of their horn of plenty of Church-power to force a *drench* of *Doctrine* down his throat, and much leſs of any dealt with *in* that way mentioned by *Spotiwood*, in his Obſervation, that the *Devil would not be feared but for his horn, referring to the horning in* Scotland, *that is, the ſeiſure of all a mans goods when the horn blew, after he was excommunicated by the Presbytery.*

There is no doubt but that ſome of the Divines of that perſuaſion were brib'd to it by an expectation of *power* to oppreſs, when that the great Revenues of the Church were denied them; And thus the *Pope* keeps his Guards in *Rome* only with the *pay* of *priviledges*, but inſtead of their riding the People, the Parliament rid them, and with that caution as they of old did who rid on Elephants in battel, which great animal being obſerved to be then unruely ſometimes and to endanger both the riders and their camp, and it being known that their receiving a Contuſion in one part about their head, would preſently diſpatch them, their riders had alwaies a hammer with them ready for that uſe on occaſion.

He therefore that ſaith he loves *popery* better then the Government of *Presbytery* as it was *de facto* ſetled or rather permitted in *England*, and when *they that would have its maypole for them to dance about had it, and thoſe that would have none, had none*, ſaith that he loves a fiery and tormenting furious Church-Government that would make *Mount Sion* to be ſtill *belching out fire like Ætna* better then none at all: that he loves a *Hirricane* better then being a while *becalm'd*: that he loves the Church government that was like *coloquintida* in the pot, rather then that of the Presbyter, which was here but like *Herb John*, and that he fears a *Maſtiff* who was not only *hambled* and whoſe *jus divinum* was *lawd*, and whoſe *ſpleen was cut out* by the *State Chirurgeons* more then an incenſed hungry Lion of *Rome*: that he likes a Government better that at beſt is like a *Peacock*, that is all *Gaudery and damned Noiſe* and nothing elſe except *pede latro*, that is, *all* Ceremony, and devouring *all* with ceremony, then a Government that with its looks can neither allure nor fright, and which we could pinion as we pleaſed, and play with till we could get a better in its Room. Whether a Papiſt was to be loved better then a Puritan was a *vex'd queſtion* in the time of *Queen Elizabeth* and 'twas reſolved then in the affirmative only by the Penſioners of *Rome* and their dependants.

The Learned Author of the Book called *Certain conſiderations tending to promote Peace and good will among Proteſtants*, doth in p. 13. quote our famous *Gataker* for relating that *Dr. Elmor Lord Biſhop of London* in Queen *Elizabeths time*, when one in a *Sermon* at St. *Pauls Croſs* inveighing againſt *Puritans*, rendred them worſe then *Papiſts*, ſharply contradicted that cenſure, ſaying, *that the Preacher ſaid not right therein, for that the Puritans if they had me among them would only cut my rochet, but the Papiſts would cut my throat*, and that his Succeſſor *Dr. Vaughan Lord Biſhop of London*, when another in the ſame Pulpit too ſhew'd the ſame eagerneſs in repreſenting the *Puritans* worſe then *Papiſts*, expreſſed the ſame ſenſe with his predeceſſor concerning it, *and wiſhed that he had had the Preachers Tongue that day in his Pocket*. It was (it ſeems) then the good fortune of *London*, to be bleſt with Biſhops renown'd for their great zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and with ſuch a one it is at this time enriched and dignified. I will not ſay *Biſhop* of it only by *divine permiſſion*, but *miſeratione divinâ*, the Style I have ſeen of Biſhops in ſome antient Inſtruments, 'tis out of the *Divine Compaſſion* that ſuch an *eminent* Proteſtant *City* has ſuch a *Prelate*. Nor do I intend by the juſt praiſe paid to this *great* and *good* man, to leſſen the worth of others of the *Fathers* of our *Church*, of which number I have the honour to be acquainted with others who endeavour the extermination of Popery, with as couragious a zeal as can be wiſht, and no doubt but the text of *Scripture* in the *Title* of my *Lord Biſhop of Lincolns* book, namely, *Come out of her my People leſt ye be partakers of her Sins and Plagues*, is by the whole Church of *England*, lookt on as a ſeaſonable *alarm*, and no doubt many of this our Church who have writ with ſo much various learning and ſtrong Reaſon againſt *Popery*, know that if that ever be *de facto* and by law paramount, the Church of *England* will be *ipſo facto* cruſht thereby out of all its viſibility. The thought of this brings that *Scripture* to my mind, *viz.* Matthew 21 *v.* 44. *and who ſoever ſhall fall on this Stone, ſhall be broken, but on whom ſoever it ſhall fall, it will grind him to powder*. And if the Church of *England* by only falling *ſuper hanc Petram*, I mean heretofore by the Empty *Project* of ſome for the Uniting *Rome* to us, was broken and disjointed, therefore if ever it ſhall come *under the Stone* of the Roman Catholick Religion, and it be thereby made poſſible for the Stone to *fall on it*, the Church of *Rome* will then grind it to powder. Its former *falling on the Rock* could only break it into the pieces of *Presbyterian* and *Independent*.

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and other *ſeperate* Churches, but that *Rocks falling on it* will not *break* it into *pieces* but grind it to *powder* as was ſaid; and perhaps Papiſts then from this place of Scripture would form as good a *title* by *divine right* to *cruſh* our Church, as they did from the *ſuper hanc Petram* in the 16*th* of *Matthew* for the *building* of theirs. But this by the way.

And now putting the Queſtion who are to be loved beſt, either the Popiſh *Prieſt and Levite* that help'd to *wound Ireland* formerly when *it fell among Thieves* and Rebels, or thoſe compaſſionate *Samaritans* who put it on their own Beaſt and poured Oyl into its Wounds, and took care of it till it was reſtored to its true Owner? I ſuppoſe a Proteſtant will ſay the latter, and will account that no *fire ſhould be called to fall on the heads of ſuch hoſpitable Samaritans*, and that others ſhould be ſpared, who inſtead of powring Oyl into our *Wounds*, did it into our *flames* when they burnt our Citie.

Your Lordſhip hath ſhewn your ſelf a compaſſionate *Samaritan* to Two Kingdoms to which your *healing* principles and practices have been beneficial, and in this you have out-done him in the *Parable* who did *not ſtay to ſee the effects* of the gentle Medicaments of *Oyl and Wine* he beſtowed on his Patient's Wounds, but your Lordſhips long *attendance* on the affairs of the Public brought you to ſee the Languiſhing Kingdom revived, and to have at once both its Head and Senſes reſtored when Providence made our *Sovereign* to be his *repenting* Peoples choice. But, *my Lord*, theſe Kingdoms have not yet done with your Skill, and may have Wounds that require your Wine and Oyl, the *Lyons Heart*, and *Ladies Hand*; I mean ſuch *Tenderneſs* and ſuch *Courage*, and ſo great Judgment as you have formerly ſhewn, A Raging Acute Diſeaſe that hath been long not only beſieging but ſtorming a mans vital parts, and with extream difficulty at the long run repell'd by Nature, doth yet commonly leave ſuch *dregs* in his ſpirits that *depreſs* and enfeeble them in the remainder of Life, and a man come to himſelf after a long madneſs, labours ſtill under a dejection of his ſpirits both by grief and ſhame, thinking of the arrear that he is in to God, the World, and himſelf, by his former madneſs: and this is *the preſent ſtate of England* after its former *ſtate of diſtraction*; and men with ſhame now look on their former *Phyſitians*, and ſome are apt with that Merry Mad-man in the Poet, to be angry with thoſe that took pains about their being cured. 'Tis true indeed, the Kings Reſtoration cured us of our Civil Wars, yet may a man be cured of his Wounds, and afterward dye of the Feaver his Wound put him into; and our condition is ſuch, that 'tis ſome degree of Heavens Mercy to us, that our Feaver is continuing, for no man can dye in a Feaver, as no man can dye without one: And our ſpirits are ſo ſunk under the weight of the Diſeaſe we have long languiſht under, that our Stomach cannot endure any Cordials, or eſpecially the ſame long: & certainly that ſtrong Phyſic that would at firſt have cured us, would now kill us. Yet now in this conjuncture ſeveral of our Political Phyſitians ſeem by their retirement to have given us over, as if they were of *Hippocrates* his mind, who ſaid, that *a Phyſitian ſhould not diſcredit his generous Medicaments by employing them on a deſperate Patient.*

Methinks 'tis pity that any of our Pilots ſhould quit the Helm in a Storm, and that they ſhould not (as *Cicero*'s expreſſion is) *Sententiam tanquam aliquod navigium ex Reip. tempeſtate moderari.* Thoſe words in *Prov.* 1. A man of *underſtanding ſhall attain to wiſe Councels*, ſome read, *Vir ſapiens gubernacula poſſidebit*, I preſume not to Cenſure any man, but I hope that no croſs Winds will ever make your Lordſhip leave the Helm, but rather invite the continuance of your Skill in *beating* and *tiding it out* (as the Sea phraſe is) and in not *overſhooting the Port.* Your *pacifick* Genius and great Wiſdom have in ſeveral angry conjunctures

junctures produced an unexpected calm by your offering unexpected *Expedients*, a *Talent* that is indeed very *rare* and conducive to the quiet of the World, as leading Potent Parties from their declared Opinions without the ſhame of a ſeeming retreat.

It happens ſtill in Navigation, that what makes the Paſſenger merrieſt, makes the *Steers-man* moſt thoughtful, Namely the ſight of Land: And therefore tho I and others who *make no figures* in the government of the Kingdom ſeem to be glad at our *ſight* of *land*, that is the extermination of Popery from *England* after we have been ſo long *nauſeated* and Sea-ſick with it, yet 'tis now our occaſion for the skill of ſuch a Pilot, as your Lordſhip is greateſt when we are endanger'd by ſome Proteſtants of narrow Spirits and Principles as by Shelfes or *brevia & ſyrtes*, ſhallow waters, and by little Rocks or *breaker's* juſt covered with water and which are only to be diſcovered by the ſwelling roughneſs of the water they occaſion. It has pleaſed Divine providence to caſt your Lordſhips whole life of Action into *difficult times* ſuch as are called in the New Teſtament χεῖνοι χάλεποι and tranſlated *perilous times*, And ſuch as *Cicero* calls *Maxima Reipublicæ tempora*, and *difficiltima Reip. tempora*. Your life hath been a continual conteſtation with principles pernicious to man-kind, and you have been under your Prince a *Nutritius pater* for the moſt part to men who have like froward and unquiet Children been *crying* for each others *property* in things civil, and in Religion, and have thought themſelves *perſecuted* when they could not *perſecute* others; Nor have you been *too much* a *Latitudinarian* as to Church diſcipline, Nor of too *narrow* a *Spirit* or principles as to any Proteſtant *Diſſenters*. And I think Envy never charged you for giving any advice that tended to the injuring the *ballance* of Chriſtendom, or the power of *England* in ſetling it, or the perſuading us to love ſome of our Neighbours better then our ſelves. You who are ſo far from *offending any weak brother*, That you are ready with the Apoſtle rather to *abſtain from eating fleſh while the World ſtands*, and therefore will much leſs kill or devour him, and leſt of all will you offend a *weak Brother-Proteſtant Country* or help any elſe to devour it: and will not injure any of thoſe Countreys that you viſited abroad (when the world and you ſaw one another) by projecting their Miſchief. And therefore as I find in the *Prolegomena* of *Grotius de jure belli & pacis* that *Themiſtius*, ſpeaking to *Valens the Roman Emperor* he told him that *Kings if they would be guided by the Rule of true wiſdom they muſt non unius ſibi creditæ Gentis habere rationem, ſed totius humani generis, & eſſe non* φιλομακέδονες *tantum aut* φιλορώμαιοι *ſed* φιλάνθρωποι, ſo it may be juſtly ſaid that the *Counſellors* of *Kings* ſhould alwaies *adviſe* them, not to take care only of the concern of their own people but of the happineſs and quiet of all man-kind, and not only to be *lovers of the Macedonians*, or *lovers of the Romans, but to be lovers of Men.* I never heard your Lordſhip reproacht for having any intereſt contrary to that of your Country or indeed to the repoſe of Chriſtendom. And as in Nature we ſee all heavy bodies tend by their *own* Center to the Center of the *Univerſe*, ſo have I ſtill thought that your Lordſhip alwaies endeavoured by the purſuing your own good to purſue that of the Kingdom, and that your endeavours of promoting the good of your own Country have tended to the good of the World: And that in every Scheme of your Politicks whether Civil or Eccleſiaſtical pollicy you have took your *Model* from the *Great Architect* of *Nature* doing things *fortiter* and *ſuaviter* and with regard to his works of which 'tis ſaid in the 8*th* of *Wiſdom, Mightily and Sweetly doth ſhe order all things*.

And he that builds ſo, is a *Workman that need not be aſhamed* either of himſelf or of his work, that is both ſtrong and fair: ſuch a *Councellor* need

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not be ashamed of his *Councel*. 'Tis one of the worst sort of Reproaches to which a Councellor at Law can be exposed, to be called a *crafty Counsel*, that is, one who secretly gives advice for the perverting of Justice and the Law; and to do that vile thing is more odious in a *Counsellor of State*: And of this subject when I formerly discoursed to your Lordship, I remember you were pleased to say it of your self to me, That you had a great aversion from giving *whispering* Councel, to your Royal Master, and that it hath been your humble motion to him, to command his Councel to give him their advice in writing.

Your Lordship is by one particular accident a necessary subject for the Worlds compassion, namely by your having out-lived most of the eye witnesses of the many memorable things you have done for the World. If the people of *England* your Contemporaries were *six Millions* at the time of your birth, *five* of those *Millions* are now lodged in graves, persons above the Age of *Sixty* making but a *sixth part* of Mankind. I reading lately in *Tully de Senectute*, was pleased with what he saith of old men both *de facto & de jure* praising themselves: he saith there, *videtisne ut apud Homerum sæpissime Nestor de virtutibus suis prædicet? Tertiam enim jam ætatem hominum vixerat*: he had lived almost 300 years when he went with the other *Grecians* to the *Trojan* War, and where he gave such weighty advice, that *Agamemnon* said he should make quick work of the taking of *Troy* if he had ten such *Councellors* as *Nestor* was; *Quod si acciderit non dubitat quin brevi Troja sit peritura.* He never wish'd, saith *Tully*, to have *ten Ajaxes*. It seems the General thought that an old Commander would be weighed down with a *tenth part* of an old wise *Councellor*. But *Nestor* had bury'd all those *thrice* over who were born with him, and he lived to see his Country-men *doubled* once and a half (200 years being the space judged for a Nations doubling) and if he would have his Atchievments in his *first Century* Celebrated and witnessed, he must be his own Herald and witness in his own cause. I will not apply *Nestors* case to your Lordships, as to your doing right to your self by praise, for you have no more occasion to do that then *Tully* had who saith there, *Nihil necesse est mihi de meipso dicere, quanquam est id quidem senile ætatique nostræ Conceditur*: But do think that any Protestant Prince who can say he hath ten such Councellors, and resembling your Lordship in the experience of near *fifty* years spent in the affairs of *State* in *critical* times, and with success, and equal to you in all sorts of Learning, and in the knowledge of the *Law* and publick *Records*, and in Eloquence and Courage, as well as in the hatred of Popery, he may add, *Quòd non dubitat quin brevi Roma sit peritura.* i. e. without such dilatory *Troy Sieges* as have been formerly laid to it. He saith elsewhere, *Apex senectutis est autoritas. Quanta fuit in L. Cæcilio Metello! quanta in Attilio Calatino, in quem illud elogium unicum, Uno ore plurimæ consentiunt Gentes, populi primarium fuisse virum.*

And this *Authority* or Reverence of old age is so weighty, that it seems reasonable that in the criminating one that hath this badge of Nature there should be what *Tully* calls *authoritas testimonii*, and any *single* witness had need to have an allowance *se primarium fuisse virum* that would convict such a man; for diamonds are not to be cut but with the dust of diamonds. 'Tis not for nothing that the *Scripture* cautions the *not receiving an accusation against an Elder but by two or three witnesses*, and I am told that the *Canon-Law* requires seventy two Witnesses to convict a Cardinal who is a Bishop accused of any crime but heresie, and forty four in the conviction of a Cardinal Presbyter, and twenty six to convict a Cardinal Deacon, and seven to convict any Clerk. And therefore I think that it was a commendable tenderness and worthy of English Judges in a Trial at the *Kings-Bench*, to acquaint the Jury,

that they are to weigh and conſider the credibility of witneſſes pardon'd for perjury; and both the Judges of the *Kings-Bench* and *Common-Pleas* reſolved it, That the credit of ſuch a perſon was left to the breaſt of a Jury. *The Biſhop of Rome* who claims that *Monarchiall* power which is *poteſtas reſtituendi in integrum Sententiam paſſos, & quandoque abſolvendi pœnam & non infamiam, quandoque & pœnam & infamiam abolendi*, and who as *Aquinas* ſaith (2. 2æ. q. 68. ar 4.) *poteſt infamiam Eccleſiaſticam remittere*, yet allows the *School-men* to apply *diſtinctions* to that priviledge of his, and to interpret it of *infamia Juris*, not *Facti*, for *labem illam quæ turpi facto annexa eſt, nemo delere poteſt*, as *Soto* concludes *De Juſtit. & Jure l. 5. q. 5. ar. 4.* No man who ever he be can waſh out that ſtain of infamy which by Nature is inherent in a foul wicked Act, becauſe (ſaith he) *ad præteritum non eſt potentia*, when the infamy is inherent by the *Nature* of the fact and not *poſitive* by Law. But ſtill our merciful Laws of *England* allow a perſon after a pardon for the infamy of perjury, to be a witneſs, reſerving his credibility to the Jury, and who may after the former crime obtain to be believed by them, when they ſhall have found that he hath acquired an habit of virtue by the *ſeries* of many actions in his following Life, no man being ſuppoſed able in a *deſultory* way to leap out of a rooted habit of Vice into an heroical habit of Vertue, and ſo *è contra*; for that *nature* doth not paſs from one extreme to another, but *per medium*. 'Tis true indeed, in caſe of Treaſon where the life of both the King and Kingdom is ſtruck at, and of which there is rarely any detection made but by participants in the Crime, one who would be repell'd from being a Witneſs, is welcome as an accuſer, and the barking of a dog is allowed to alarm us of thiefs; and as we ſay againſt Pirates, *omnis homo miles eſt*, much more may every man be an accuſer againſt Traitors. Thus I have heard that in the caſe of *hereſie* in the which (as I ſaid before) the *Canon Law* orders the ſame proceedings and rules as in Treaſon, a Lay-man is allowed to be a competent accuſer of a Clergy man: And as by all Laws any man is allow'd to be an accuſer who proſecutes an injury done to himſelf or his Kindred, ſo I am told, that by the Canoniſts *Hæreticum accuſans dicitur ſuam ſuorumque injuriam proſequi* (and in that caſe a notorious enemy is allowed to be an accuſer) for that a *heretick* is ſaid to ſtrike at the Foundation of all Lawes divine and humane. Nay according to the *Canoniſts*, the *Pope* who cannot be accuſed of any *crime* but *hereſie*, may be accuſed of *that*, and even by a *heretick*, and that with good reaſon according to their *hypotheſis*; for that the Pope being a Bankrupt in the Faith by *hereſie*, attempts to *break* all the innumerable *Prieſts*, *Monks*, *Friers*, *Nunnes*, &c. that get their bread by that Religion. No wonder therefore that the *Canoniſts* agree that *hereſie* is to be *cut off* in the beginning; and they cite out of *Timothy*, that *it doth eat as a Cancer*, and the *eating of hereſie* even in the *breaſt* of a *Pope* muſt needs be troubleſom to the whole body of Clerical and Monaſtical Papacy, as a *Cancer* or *Wolfe* that would eat up all their bread, and therefore in the ſingle caſe of *hereſie* the *Pope* himſelf according to his own law may be convicted by two Witneſſes, and be thereupon depoſed. But tho it may be ſuppoſed that as the Civil and Canon Laws do leave the credibility of witneſſes very much to the Judges, ſo our common Law does to Juries, and that in many atrocious Criminal cauſes, every man is not allowed to be an accuſer of an illuſtrious perſon, and that we ought to be very tender and reſerved in the *taking up an ill report againſt* the meaneſt of any of our *Neighbours* of mankind; yet its otherwiſe as I ſaid before in the caſe of Treaſon, which is like a *peſtilence walking in the dark*, and ſeldom known before tis incurable, and before 'tis ploughing up the whole Land of a Country into graves. We are not to quarrel with the *birds of the Air* who tell who in his Bed-Chamber curſes the King, becauſe they are not Eagles. We are to

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be glad of the happy Augury, and to thank God and them for their ſaving the *Imperial* Eagle; and to be well pleaſed with either Tame or Wild-geeſe that ſave our *Capital*. If any Fleet comes to invade us, we are not to be very nice in diſſecting the Morals or outward eſtate of him who fired the *Beacon*. Your Lordſhip hath heard how *Owen o Conally* an *obſcure perſon* (as Sir. *John Temple* ſtyles him in his *Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion*) came to the *Lord Juſtice Parſons about nine of the Clock at Night before the intended ſeiſing of* Dublin *Caſtle, that was to be on the following day and diſcovered the deteſtable Conſpiracy to him, with the names of the chief Conſpirators, when the diſguiſe of wine had made him ſeem hardly intelligible or credible.* And when it falls out that a Country is ſaved by *wholeſale* through a detection of Conſpiracies preſented by perſons who cheated their Country-men formerly by *retail*, that is, by perſons who had been vile and infamous, it ought to be accounted as an inſtance of the divine benignity to ſome of the moſt wretched and ſinful Members of Mankind, who have been long induſtrious in tearing out of their hearts what reliques they could there find of the divine image, and who had long acted only *Devils* parts on the *Stage* of the world in puniſhing and being puniſhed, then to invite them to an opportunity of changing the Name of *Malefactors* into that of being *bleſſings* to the World, and not only of being their Countries *benefactors* but (as it were) *founders*, and to gain good Conſciences, and good names, and what rarely happens to others to have an *after-game* allowed them to play for *Reputation*, and to have it ſaid of ſuch an one on the occaſion of the ſhame of his paſt life ſtimulating him to bring both glory and ſafety to his Country, *ſi non erraſſet fecerat ille minus*. By the account that I had ſent to me from *London* of Matters in ſome *affidavits* relating to your being called Papiſt, your Lordſhip hath the greateſt advantage that any man can deſire who has any things ſworn againſt him, by perſons how credible ſoever, namely the incredibility of the things themſelves. For can it be thought that your Lordſhip would out of your own Mouth judge your ſelf a Traitor, that is, one reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, and forfeit your Life and Eſtate, and attaint your blood in the preſence of a young man you had never ſeen before? and is it likely that the *Iriſh* Papiſts, who, as Sir *John Temple* obſerves in *his* ſaid *hiſtory*, *have ſuch a kind of dull and deep reſervedneſs, as makes them with much ſilence and ſecreſie to carry on their buſineſs, and whereby the deſign of the laſt Rebellion which was ſo generally at the ſame time and at ſo many ſeveral places to be acted (and therefore neceſſarily known to ſo many ſeveral perſons) was without any Noiſe brought to ſuch maturity, as to arrive at the very point of Execution, without any notice or intimation given to any two of that huge Multitude of perſons who were generally deſigned (as moſt of them did) to periſh in it*; *And the* Iriſh *Papiſts having been then* (*as he ſaith*) *tongue-tyed by an oath of Secreſie*, I ſay is it likely that they now deſigning Miſchief if they did hope by your Lordſhips help to promote it, that they would *trumpet* forth your Lordſhips name in their publick *Maſſes*, and uſe ſuch ſpeaking trumpets about your name and their enterpriſe as ſhould be heard all over *Ireland* and *England*? And who can believe it to have the ſhadow of Veriſimilitude that your Lordſhip ſhould give Commiſſion to any to offer one of the Kings witneſſes (and particularly Mr. *Dugdale*) your houſe as an *Aſylum* to retreat to after they had for the *turpitude* of *lucre* retreated from their Principles, their Conſciences, their Oathes? I never ſee any man *ſworn* as a Witneſs in a cauſe, but I think of the ſaying of *St. Auſtin* upon thoſe words of St. *James*, *Above all things my Brethren ſwear not*, Namely *Falſa Juratio exitioſa eſt, vera Juratio periculoſa eſt, Nulla Juratio ſecura eſt*; and I have as it were a little cold ſhivering on me, while I ſee a man about what he knoweth of the property of a *tenement* ſtaking his title to a Heaven and a *Crown* of *Glory*; I have

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then ſuch a concern for another, as I have when I ſee a great Ship juſt launching off the Land into the water, and do then apprehend an immortal Soul launching it ſelf into the great Ocean of Eternity, and am afraid of its being overſet. But when I think of a mans having honeſtly ſworn already and in the greateſt concern, namely in the detection of a Conſpiracy againſt his Kings Crown and Life, and conſequently having invoked the Omnipotent God to be conditionally his Revenger, his Executioner as well as Judge, and further think of any one that ſhall tamper with ſuch a witneſs and offer him a great Sum of money as his *viatical expences* to *hell* to ſwear contrary to his former oath, and by that New Oath to renounce his expectation of a Crown of Glory in Heaven, and to endanger his Princes Crown and Life on Earth, and to attempt a Mortal wound on *Gods Vice-Roy* in the dominions of his Soul, I mean his Conſcience, I have both all poſſible horror overwhelming my thoughts on ſuch a *tremendous* inſtance of the degeneration of Mans Nature, and I have all the *compaſſion* imaginable for your Lordſhip on one of Mankindes pretending to think it poſſible that your houſe ſhould with your conſent be turned into a *denn* for ſuch a *Monſter*.

An *Areopagite* was diſcharged from the Seat of Judicature, becauſe he threw away from him a ſmall bird that fled to him from the purſuit of a great one; and it was therefore ſuppoſed that ſuch a judge alwaies carried cruelty in his breaſt for that *chariſſimum Deo animal* call'd *Man*: and ſuch is the compaſſionate tenderneſs of your Lordſhips mind toward injured and perſecuted Mankind, that one of thoſe may be allowed to Neſt within your houſe as freely as a poor bird without it, But birds of Prey, I mean *Romes* Vultures, and either ſuborners or witneſſes ſuborned to recant, have no plea for your Shelter; and I am confident rather then your houſe ſhould be a cage for any ſuch *unclean birds*, you would be content as the *expreſſions* of the *Prophet* are, *that the Satyr ſhould there cry to his fellow, and that the Schrich Owle ſhould reſt there, and that the wild Beaſts of the Deſert ſhould alſo meet there.* Your Lordſhip ſees what a *preferment* the *Papiſts* deſigned you: for that after (according to ſome of the *Narratives* of the Plot) Sir *W. G.* was deſigned *Lord Privy-Seal*, you were to be a *providore* for a ſuborned *caſt* witneſs, and a *Jackal* or provider for the *roaring Lion that walks about ſeeking whom he may devour*: In fine, *my Lord*, they deſigned your Lordſhip to be an entertainer or an *Hoſt* for the *Devil*. But your Lordſhips name being taken in vain by thoſe who would have retained Mr. *Dugdale* to take Gods ſo, and the Devils tempting any to undertake for your houſe being a Sanctuary to a devil, are not new things for wonder, when you pleaſe to conſider that the *Devil* preſumed to *undertake* for Almighty *Gods* protection, when he tempted the *Son* of *God*. It ſeems the ſhewing to *Dugdale* the *ſeveral Kingdoms of the Earth* where he ſhould be ſafe, could not prevail with him to be a fugitive from his Conſcience; and tho it appeared in ſeveral *Trials*, and particularly my Lord *Staffords*, *the tempter deſired to have him*, and that he *was ſifted, winnowed as wheat*, Yet neither his *Faith* nor the *faith* of his Teſtimony *failed him*, after all the *cribration thereof*, and all that was gained by the endeavour'd ſuborning him againſt himſelf, as well as others againſt him, was only the *fate* of the *Thruſh*, who is ſometime birdlimed and took by his own excrements.

Is it not then an example of rare modeſty, that the diabolical *tempters* ſhould be the *accuſers* of *the Brethren*, I mean of ſome of the *Kings witneſſes* that would not be Bribed from atteſting the truth in the caſe of their Political Father? The Age wants not the inſtance of an honorable Perſon, who courting a Lady in order to marriage, thought her at laſt not worthy his farther amours, yet who becauſe he did once profeſs to love her, he fought

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one who reproach'd her vertue: But his example is not more heroical than is the practice infamous, for such who courted some of the Kings Witnesses both by importunity and gold to espouse their interest, and when both were totally and finally rejected, make it the most study'd part of the *Romance* of their Lives to dishonour them, and to *shamme* inventions of New Tragi-comic *Plotts* upon them, but Plots so damn'd *dull*, as to be seen through in the opening of the first *Act*, and *Plots* that were most *thin* where the Actors cryed to themselves like *Bayes* in the *Rehersal*, *Now the Plot thickens*, and where nothing of the *three Unities* was regarded, and which no marvel if they brought such confusion still to the *Actors*, as the Story makes to have once happen'd to the old *Red-Bull Players* at the *Tragedy* of *Doctor Faustus*, when they complained that *they had one Devil more than their Company*, and when they said a *quarter of the house was carried away*. Your Lordship out of a generous indignation that such *Whifflers* in Politics should think to lay a *tax* upon the belief of the Kingdom both without *Act* of *Parliament*, and without *Sense* (and indeed contrary to the sense of several Parliaments) did during a *Paroxysme* of the *Gout*, cause your self to be carried by your Servants to be present at Councel, when the *Papists pretended* Presbyterian-Plot was there to be considered. And if it be true what Mr. *Hobbs* saith in his ingenious *History of the Civil Wars of England*, [*That Monsieur du Plessis* and Dr. *Morton Bishop of Durham writing of the progress of the Popes power, and entitling their Books, one of them, The Mystery of Iniquity, the other, The Grand Imposture, were both in the Right; for I believe there was never such another Cheat in the World*] the Mercury of that cheat being *sublimated* into the invented *cheat* of that Plot, was too nauseous and strong for the belief of the Kingdom to be able to swallow. We may therefore be very well allow'd to put the old great *interrogatory* of *Cicero* to these *Catilines*, *How long do you abuse our patience?* especially considering how much to *windward* we are of them by the detection of their real Treason, and do see both the *smoke* of our gunns, and those of their own they fire at us annoying them, and while we have had the just advantage of Plaintiffs against them and whereby their *recrimination* against some of our great number has seemed only dirt thrown in their own defence, and at worst but *Catilines* accusing of *Cethegus*, and considering that we know it only proper to their Religion to justifie the Maintaining the dignity of *holy Church* by Lies and calumnies. Thus *Guymenius* a famous Popish *Doctor ex tractatu de Charitate Propositi. 7. p. 176.* cites *Bannez. 2. 2. quæst. 70. art. 3. dub. 2.* for asserting that *per modum defensæ & ad infringendam contumelioſi authoritatem, potest secundum quosdam absque lethali crimen falsum illi objici, and that 'tis only a venial Sin to object a false crime to an unjust witness*, and *twenty Doctors* are there mentioned for the making this a *probable* opinion. And therefore if it be *lawful* for a man to make *shamm-accusations* where he hath only a private concern, 'tis *meritorious* to do it in the case of *holy Church*: therefore he said very right according to the Popish *hypothesis, gaudeo sive per veritatem sive per occasionem Romanæ ecclesiæ dignitatem extolli. Joseph. Stephanus de Osc. pr. in epist. ad lect.*

Guymenius p. 190. *extractatu de justitia & Jure, Propositio.* 1. Cites both *Fathers Schoolmen Divines* and *Casuists* of several orders, and even holy Scripture for the asserting this proposition, viz. *Licitum est clerico vel religioso, Calumniatorem gravia crimina, de se vel de sua Religione spargere minantem occidere, quando alius defendendi modus non suppetit:* A *principle* of *Religion* calculated only for *Ballies & Hectors*, & therefore no marvel that such were observed to flock from so many parts of most Countries in *England* to *London* in and since the year 1678. like Ravens in expectation of the Carcases of Protestants, and such miscreants are to the Jesuits their *Triarian bands* upon occasion, and who in

the Out-skirts of *London* are a noyſome Peſtilence, and not enduring nor being endured to live in the Countrey.

But from the ſaid laſt Cited propoſition of *Guymenius*, the propoſition that contained the enacting Law Sir *Edmund Godfrey* fell by, I *infer*, that ſince there is a *par* or *proportion* between a good name and life, that ſuch who account it lawful for a particular Clergy-man to Murder even a Popiſh Lay-man who ſhall but threaten to caluminate him, will account it meritorious by *Shammes* to Murder the fames of thoſe who ſhall threaten to accuſe holy Church.

And it ſeems as men try experiments on Creatures they account vile, they experimented both theſe propoſitions on *Godfrey*, for after they had baſely killed him, they would have *ſhammed* off his blood and the guilt of it upon himſelf, when they pierced his dead body with his own Sword ; a barbarous and infamous ſort of cruelty, and which brings to my mind what *Dr. Donne* in the preface to his ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ referres to in the *Notæ Mallon. in Paleot. Part.* 1. *cap.* 2. *viz. that the Church in her Hymnes and Antiphones doth often ſalute the Nayles and Croſs, but the Spear which pierced Chriſt when he was dead, it ever calles dirum mucronem.* And here becauſe ſome of them drive an eternal trade of butchering and ſhamming, and then in effect Stabbing their own Shamms of Plots, I ſhall Entertain your Lordſhip with one egregious *inſtance* of a Prieſt of theirs being abandon'd to a *reprobate* or *injudicious ſence* of *ſhamming*, in making by a ridiculous Lye a famous Cardinal and profound States-man perhaps as the World has bred, and one of ſingular Piety and great modeſty, to render the *Gun-Powder-Treaſon* a *Sham Plot*, and thereby wounding the Fame of both the underſtanding and morals of their great dead Church Hero, as barbarouſly as they did the Corps of *Godfry*. And this inſtance I refer to, is in a Book called *The Advocate of Conſcience liberty, or an Apology for Toleration rightly ſtated*, and writ with Learning and Wit, and Artifice enough *ad faciendum populum* by a *Prieſt* of *Romes* Church an *Engliſh man*, and printed in the year 1673. In *pag.* 325. He repreſents the *Gunpowder-Treaſon* to be a *Sham Plot* contrived by *Cecil*, and to prove this, Cites *D'Oſſats Letters, Book* 2*d. Letter* 43. And the date of that Letter was from *Rome, March* the 29. 1596. And the date of the laſt Letter there is from *Rome* in *December* that year. The *Gunpowder-Treaſon* Plot was to have been on the *5th of November* 1605. And on *D'Oſſats* marble *Tomb* in *Rome* his Epitaph mentions that he dyed *Anno* 1604. ſo then he is made by that *Author* to have known that Treaſon to have been a *Sham-Plot* Eight years before it was to be executed, and to have permitted many Papiſts for want of his ſending a line of News of the Shamm, to be ſhamm'd out of their lives, and the *Roman* Church to be *ſhammed* and *anniverſaried* out of its credit in *England*.

But if they reproach any as they did *Cecil* on the pretence of the perſuading ſome of their wild principles into the *decoy* of a plot, a thing I think deteſtable as what implies a tempting or inviting of a Man to degenerate from himſelf, they have no reaſon to be angry with but only to pitty men that receive infection from their principles, and from this particular one, That 'tis lawful for a good end to enſnare men into acts of Sin. Many *Caſuiſts* and *Divines* are brought by *Guymenius* for this purpoſe, *p.* 184. *in the* 9th *propoſition ex tractatu de Charitate*, and under which *propoſition* he quotes *Sotus de Sec. memb.* 2. *quæſt.* 2. a little before the fifth *concluſion* where he enquires, *an liceat & expediat aliquando perditum hominem permittere in pejora prolabi crimina, ut ignominiâ peccatorum confuſus, facilius reſipiſcat & emendetur.* And he anſwers *licet nobis aliquando permittere peccatorem ad tempus in pejus cadere ut cautius reſurgat.*

The 9th *propoſition there is Maritus qui uxorem adulteram ſuſpicatur poteſt ei occaſionem offerre ut in adulterio deprehenſam corrigat. Lay man. Jeſuita. lib.* 2. *tract.* 3. *Cap.* 13. *num.* 5.

But in p. 205. *extractatu de juſtitia & Jure, Propoſitio* 4. The correction that may be lawfully uſed is aſſigned, it being there ſaid, that *non peccat maritus occidens propria authoritate uxorem in adulterio deprehenſam*; the which he ſaith *Sa* the *Jeſuit* repreſents as a *probable opinion*, And which *Hurtado* he ſaith poſitively defends, *Tom.* 1. *reſol. moral. tr. ulti. reſ.* 5. §. 7. *n.* 204. ſo that if a Proteſtant States-man had inveigled them into a plot and then hang'd them for it, his *politicks* had ſquared exactly with their *Morals*. And even as the calling of a Rat-catcher is a lawful calling, tho ſome of that profeſſion have had no certain way to take Rats but by the uſe of one experiment, namely, firſt, to provoke them to fly in the Artiſts face; according to the ſaid principles is the calling of a States-man both lawful and laudable who deals ſo with ſuch as he judgeth to nibble at Treaſon. But this by the way. And now to let your Lordſhip ſee how ſome of their Divinity is particularly but a laboured Sham in the caſe of *Treaſon*, and even but a *mocking* at Sin, I ſhall divert you with a known Author among them making men play with the *bait* of Regicide, as he is *hooking* them into it: And 'tis *Mariana the Jeſuit*, as I find him Cited by *Dr. Donne* in his forementioned *book p.* 135. He quotes there *Mariana de Rege l.* 1. *c.* 7. *for cautioning againſt a King being a ſelf-homicide by drinking poyſon prepared and miniſtred by another he being ignorant; for after he concluded how an heretical King may be poiſoned he is diligent in this preſcription.*

[*That a King be not conſtrained to take the poiſon himſelf, but that ſome other may adminiſter it to him, and that therefore it be prepared and conveyed in ſome other way than meat and drink; becauſe elſe, ſaith he, either willingly or ignorantly he ſhall kill himſelf*] *ſo that he provides that the King who muſt dye under the Sins of Tyranny and hereſie; muſt yet be defended from concurring to his own death, tho ignorantly, as tho this were a greater Sin.*

Is not this pleaſant to ſee any of them catching of Kings in a *Theological Mouſetrap*, and playing with them like Mice before they devour them? to ſee them ſweeten a Cup of poyſon for a King with their damn'd Church Sophiſtry, and to ſham men as licoriſh Flies to be Swallowed up in the Cup? I wiſh that ſome of the moſt conſiderable of the Grandees of the Church of *Rome* could Anſwer this accuſation of their *ſhamming*, otherwiſe than by committing it *de novo*: for if they ſay that ſome of their Doctors write againſt this and other crimes as well as ſome for them, as particularly ſome write againſt the uſe of equivocation; And as *Father Parſons* the Jeſuite writing againſt King *James*'s ſucceſſion, another Engliſh Jeſuite namely *Creſwel* writ for it, and ſo that when ſome of their Doctors break the Churches head, others preſently gave it Plaiſters, is not this a fearful, ſhall I ſay, or Contemptible *ſham*? Do we not know that the diſcipline of their Church is as exact as any *Military* diſcipline can be, by which alone it hath preſerved it ſelf ſo long in being, and that none among them can publiſh books without paſſing ſeveral Courts of Guards of *Superiors*, nor contradict one another in rules of practice, more than Trumpeters of an Army dare ſound a charge or a retreat but when commanded to it? And what a face of ſomething like *ſham* the preſent *Popes declaration* about ſome opinions of the *Caſuiſts* carries with it, I have already mentioned; and doth not every one know their avowed doctrine *de opinione probabili*, Namely, that tho an opinion be falſe, a man may with a ſafe conſcience follow it by reaſon of the Authority of the teacher, and that a *Confeſſor* is bound to abſolve the *penitent* when there is but one opinion for his being abſolved, tho, he believes that opinion not only *improbable* as to the *principia intrinſeca*, but falſe.

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In Sum, according to the old obſervation of Poperies prevailing, by haveing that in it which may fit the temper and humor of every individual perſon, and to be like *Manna* anſwering every mans taſt, whether he hath a *guſto* for miracles, or even for ſtarving or abſtinence, for buſineſs, or retirement for Life or for death, for Honor or for begging, it may to theſe be added, that if any one affects to be a *Ruffian* or one of the Popes *Sheriffs* as aforeſaid, there is a moſt ample field in the killing of Kings, firing of Towns, Maſſacring their Inhabitants for the *talent* of ſuch a *Pavure diable*, and indeed *incarnate* one to expatiate in, and if any account it a *luſcious* thing to be cheated or to be ſhammed as ſome few, or to cheat or ſham as many think it, behold a Religion made for the *nonce* in that point too. But while they are thus playing with all things Sacred and profane, *he that ſits in the heavens has them in deriſion* and leaves not the Proteſtants to fall finally as *a portion to Foxes*, ſuch who turned tail to tail carry firebrands between them, and their *ſhammes* do *only enter* on the *Stage* of the World to be inſtantly *hiſſed off*.

My Lord, I have not been *raſh* in Cenſuring either the principles or practices of ſome Roman Catholicks as aforeſaid. And particularly I well know, that even the moſt ingenious of our *Engliſh* Papiſts cannot now in this *Conjuncture* endure to hear of *Father Parſons* his *book writ by him to Invalidate the Right of King James to ſucceed Queen Elizabeth, principally becauſe he was* (as Father Parſons thought) *an heretick*. A very *great Man* that *Jeſuite* was, and ſo *Conſiderable*, that one of our eminent *Divines* in his Sermon in print, gives him this *Character*; *That he was perhaps one of the greateſt men that the order of the Jeſuits has produced*.

And methinks 'twas pitty he ſhould play at ſuch *ſmall game* of *ſham*, when he publiſht that book, as to entitle it to *Doleman*, an *honeſt ſecular Prieſt* whom *Parſons* hated, and to make him *odious*, laid the *brat* at his door.

Moreover, a kind of inglorious ſham it was, that *Creſwel*, who was *Parſons* his *fellow Jeſuite*, writ (as I ſaid) at the ſame time for *King James* his Right to the *Crown*, not out of any deſire he ſhould enjoy that Right, but that on all events they might have ſomething to ſay in *apology* for their *Society*, and bring Griſt to its mill. For if King *James* had not come to the Crown of *England*, the honour of hindring his Succeſſion had been attributed to *Parſons*; and *Creſwel* the Jeſuit expected the Credit for his writing on the Event falling as it did. *Thus* I remember to have heard a Paſſage of two *Aſtrologers*, who on the day before the former great *Prince* of *Parma* was to throw the die of War, agreed together to predict luck to him perfectly contrary to one another, that ſo they might ſave the credit of their *art*, by one of the *artiſts* being in the Right.

The *Author* of the book called the *Catholick Apology, with a Reply &c.* (and which book I think the *Author of the Compendium* mentions as one of the *books writ by the Roman Catholicks of England ſince the Kings Reſtoration*) ſaith *p.* 366. ſpeaking of *Dolemans book*, *For Dolemans book who wrote it God knows, Parſons deny'd it at his death, and I believe he was not the author, becauſe in ſeveral of his works he ſpeaks very much to the advantage of King James.* But as to *Father Parſons* having in that *Conjuncture* been of the *Spaniſh faction*, and having apply'd his whole ſoul and ſtrength to hinder King *James's Succeſſion*, and his having writ that book the *Great* forementiond *Cardinal*, namely *D'Oſſat*, (who in ſeveral of his Printed *Letters* gives the World a more ſatisfactory and particular Scheme of the whole deſign to hinder that Kings Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, than I know any or all elſe to have done) ſaith among his letters (printed in *folio* at *Paris* 1664.) in that in *book 7th Anno* 1601. a *letter* to the *King*, *letter* 131. what may be thus render'd in Engliſh, *viz. It may pleaſe your Majeſty to remember, that ſince the year* 1594.

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there was a book printed in the Engliſh language that the Spaniards caus'd to be made by an Engliſh Jeſuite call'd Parſons, and 'twas by the way of the low Country diſperſed about England &c. And further in the *7th book p.* 301. *in the letter to Villeroy, letter* 133. what he ſaith of that book of *Parſons*, may be thus made *Engliſh, and from that book of Father Parſons one might draw reaſons in favour of his Majeſty, which would be more weighty then thoſe he deduceth for the King of* Spain *and his Siſter, the ſaid Father Parſons does contradict himſelf very often and very groſly, as it happens to all perſons in paſſion as able as they are, who are not guided by truth and by reaſon, but tranſported by Intereſt and by paſſion.* And in the laſt *letter* of the 8th *book*, and *to Villeroy from Rome* the 30th of *December* 1602, *he ſpeaks of Father Parſons having made application to himſelf to deſire that there might be a treaty prepared from Rome between the Pope, the King of* France, *and the King of* Spain, *to agree among themſelves of a Catholick, that may Reign in* England *after the Queen, be it the King of Scots if he will turn Catholick, or be it ſome one elſe &c.* But there in p. 367, *year* 1603, letter 174. from *Rome* to *Villeroy*, and on *April 21ſt*, it appears that all the *Machinations* of the *hot Jeſuitical* heads againſt King *James* his *Succeſſion* were overturn'd by *providence*, for he there ſaith that the *Queen* was no ſooner dead, then that the *King* of *Scotland* was in *England* peaceably received, and the *Controverſie of King James his title evaporated*; and for the honour of our *Engliſh underſtandings* he there ſaith, *Les gens de cet Iſle là ont bien Monſtrè qu' ils ſcavoient faire leurs affaires entr' eux toſt & ſeurement, & que ceux de dehors ſe ſont fort meſcontez en leurs deſſeins & eſperances.* i. e. *the people of* England *have well ſhewn that they knew how to do their own buſineſs among themſelves quickly and ſafely, and that others abroad took very wrong Meaſures in their deſigns and hopes.*

I have here ſaid enough to entertain your Lordſhip with the View of their unreaſonableneſs, who would impoſe on us, That Father *Parſons* wrote not that Impious and Treaſonable Book, and likewiſe with the more pleaſant View of Gods *Confuting* it (as I may ſay) by the happy determination of his over-ruling Providence.

And Now becauſe I would make it appear to your Lordſhip, that I have not been unjuſtly ſevere to the Jeſuitical Principles, in rendring them ſuch as are the ſturdy extravagances of thoſe *offals* of *Mankind*, call'd *Bullyes* and *Hectors*, I ſhall entertain you with one Inſtance of a *Bravado* of threatning from one *Engliſh Jeſuite* to all Proteſtant *Crown'd Heads*, a *bravado* that is like the High Water Mark, to ſhew in words how high 'tis poſſible for the foam of the raging Sea of Anger to reach, and 'tis in a Letter of *Campian* the *Jeſuite* to *Queen Elizabeths Privy Councellers, printed afterwards at Triers*, 1583. as I find it Cited in that moſt learned *Preface* of my Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s to the Book concerning the *Gunpowder Treaſon*, in the *Tear* 1679, and 'tis thus in Engliſh, *viz. That all the Jeſuits throughout the World have long ſince enter'd into a Covenant, to kill heretical Kings any manner of way: and as to our Society know, That we Jeſuites who are ſpread far and wide throughout the whole World, have enter'd into an holy Covenant, that we ſhall eaſily overcome all your machinations, and that we ſhall never deſpair of it as long as any one of us remains in the World.* Lo here a *Drawcanſir*, that will not only *ſnub* all Proteſtant *Kings*, and take the *bowles from their mouths*, and beat out their Brains with them himſelf, but he ſaith there is a *Society* or Corporation of ſuch *brethren* of the *bladed* Eccleſiaſtical, who have enter'd into a *Covenant* or *Aſſociation* to murder all Proteſtant Kings, and that every ſingle Member of the Corporation ſhould have that *dead-doing* talent of Valour that ſhould awe and ſubjugate the Proteſtant World. And here then, *my Lord*, every Jeſuite values himſelf on being a *Mutius Scævola*; and more than Three hundred of

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theſe new *Romans*, or ſo many thouſands of them, I mean *all* of them, according to *Campian*, have *Covenanted* to deſtroy every *Porſenna that lays ſiege to Rome*: but in that time of Queen *Elizabeth* there was an induſtrious *Gentleman* who fear'd not the terror of theſe *Huffes*, but with his ſecrecy and ſilence did reduce theſe mad dogs into the Condition of neither barking nor biting in *England*, I mean Sir *Francis Walſingham*, of whom 'tis ſaid in *Cotton's Poſthuma, That his bountifull hand made his intelligences ſo active, that a Seminary could ſcarcely ſtir out of the Gates of* Rome *without his privity.* And no wonder then if *Campian* was ſoon brought to the end of a *Traytor* here in *England* by the Care of *one of Queen Elizabeths Privy Councellers* in the Year 1581. who did both *defie* and *ſcorn* that *Rhodomantado addreſs*, wherein the *Jeſuite* did *Goliah-like, defie All Proteſtant Kings and their Armies*, and as if *he would give their fleſh to the Fowls of the ayr*; but the event ſhew'd his own fleſh was ſo given as a Traytors, to that uſe here in *England.*

It was a kind of a *bravado* in the great *Archimedes*, to ſay, *Give me where to ſtand, and I'le ſhake the Earth.* He well knew no ſuch place could be found. The *Jeſuits* it ſeems would have every *one* of their Order to be an *Archimedes*, and able to *ſhake the Earth* as he pleas'd, and the *hypotheſis* of *Popery* they know offers them a place divided from the Civil and Imperial Government where to ſtand with their Engines, namely the Eccleſiaſtical, but *things will not be ill adminiſtred*, and holy Church it ſelf will ſink into the Earth, if its Foundation be not laid as God and Nature would have it, and the Man who ſtands for the place to be an *Archimedes*, and to *Move the Earth*, will ſoon find his fate of being diſſolv'd into his *own* little *duſt*, and that among the artificial *lines* he is making. It ſeems that boaſted *aſſociation* or *Covenant* of the Jeſuites did help to occaſion another among the Proteſtants in Queen *Elizabeths* time, which was ratify'd by *Act* of *Parliament* in the 27*th* of *Eliz.* which was about three years after the death of *Campian*, who was Convicted of High Treaſon by vertue of the *Statute* made in the time of our Popiſh Anceſtors, namely in the 25 of *Edward* the Third, and thereupon executed, and yet by the Romiſh Church made a *Martyr*, tho (as I ſaid) convicted on that *Statute.* But according to this thundring *denuntiation* of War againſt all heretical Kings by *Campian* as the Jeſuites *Herald*, and his *boaſting when he did put on his armour* that every *one* of his Order ſhould be like an *Alexander* an adequate match for at leaſt *one World* of hereticks, the author of the *Compendium* needed not by his Rhetorick to reflect on my Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln's* Candour & gentleneſs in ſaying *yet if it be a breach of Chriſtianity to cruſh the bruiſed reed and of generoſity alſo to trample upon the oppreſſed, I wiſh his Lordſhip may be found guilty of neither &c.* for *behold* any *ſingle* Jeſuite according to *Campian* tho but like a *reed ſhaken with the wind* is *able* to *bruiſe* all *Proteſtant Scepters*, and any little toe of that Order can trample all Heretical crowned heads to dirt, and the *Number* of the *Papiſts* in *England* if reduced to the *leaſt* of *Numbers* is not according to *Campian* to be ſlighted, if *one* of them be a *Jeſuite*, for that that *one* Jeſuite will carry the advantage of *odds* againſt *all* Proteſtant Kings and Princes; that *one* may ſay *my Name is legion, for we are many*: but as that *legion-ſpirit* could not without the *Divine* permiſſion ruin a herd of Swine *off* from a *Steep* place, ſo neither can all the *legions* of *Jeſuited evil Spirits* in the World drive a King & Kingdom from Precipices at their pleaſure: And *Queen Elizabeth* in ſpight of all the arts and power of *Rome* outlived eight Popes, and lived to change all her Counſellors but one, all her great officers twice or thrice, ſome Biſhops four times, and *died full of years*, and *did ſee and leave peace upon* Iſrael.

And now I ſhall Entertain your Lordſhip with a further Reaſon of my charging the preſent Popes declaration aforeſaid about ſome opinions of the Caſuiſts,

Caſuiſts, as carry with it a face of ſome thing like *ſhamme:* and my reaſon is grounded on what was ſaid in a *publick Sermon* before an honourable Audience, namely, *that the propoſitions of the Caſuiſts therein were not Condemned by the Pope in the Conſiſtory, which would have made the Cenſure more authoritative, but by the Pope and Cardinals of the Court of the Inquiſition, upon which a remarkable thing follow'd: the Jeſuites in* France *who were much provoked at this Cenſure, moved the Procureur de Roy, or Attorney general at* Paris *to put in a Complaint againſt the publiſhing that Decree, ſince it came from the Court of the Inquiſition, which not being acknowledg'd in* France, *nothing Flowing from that authority could be received in that Kingdom: upon which the decree was prohibited and ſuppreſs'd.*

And may not the *Engliſh* Popiſh Prieſts ſay the ſame thing, the *Inquiſition* was never received in *England*, and therefore that declaration of the Popes obligeth us not here, and we will prohibit and ſuppreſs it as much as we can! No doubt but the preſent Pope fearing that the Noyſome and Infectious ſmell of thoſe Opinions of the *Caſuiſts* being more offenſive to the minds of Men, then any ſnuff of a Candle can be to their Noſtrils, they were ready to cry *for the removing of the Candleſtick of his Church out of its place*, went about to extinguiſh them in the moſt *Summary* Manner that he could, and therefore attempted to do it by the *Court* of the *Inquiſition*; well knowing, that in the *Conſiſtory* of *Cardinals* all proceedings are ſo dilatory, and the old *magi* there ſo uſed to do every thing *pian piano*, that they would conſume many pounds of new Candles in debating whether or no and how the old ſnuff ſhould be removed, and perhaps would have thought to have contented the World in the mean time with giving it ſome *perfumes*: but the *Pope* being afraid of the *Jeſuites*, perhaps as ſometimes the *Grand Signior* is of his *Janiſaries*, doth not for fear himſelf ſhould be extinguiſhed by them, ſo far (as I may ſay) follow the light within him, as to throw away or tread out that *ſnuff* of thoſe opinions as containing a *malum in ſe*, or declare any of them to be *ill* as contrary to the principles of the *law of nature*, in which caſe neither *he* nor *God* himſelf indeed could have diſpens'd with them, tho yet any honeſt and ingenious *Heathen* would on the leaſt occaſion given, have declared them ſo, As *Cicero* and *Seneca*, and many others have done; and which had the *Pope* done and the *Jeſuites* or any Papiſts perſevered in the making thoſe *principles* the *Rules* of *practice*, his *Kingdom* had thereby been *ipſo facto divided againſt it ſelf*, and a diffinitive ſentence had been thereby given by the Pope, that all who had dy'd owning thoſe principles and practices, had been ſunk for ever into the burning lake. Therefore, as I ſaid before, I hope this *declaration* of the Popes ſuch as it is, will give an alarm to our *Engliſh* Papiſts to deal ſeriouſly with their Souls, and to conſider as if it were for their *eternities*, theſe and other Principles of their Religion, and that if they will not be thereby perſwaded to be *almoſt* Proteſtant *Chriſtians*, yet to be *altogether* Maſters of as good *Moral Principles* as the *Heathens* I named; and If any of them can but give us a *Moral* certainty of their Principles being but ſuch, I ſhall never repine at any favour that any new Law may afford to ſuch of them.

If therefore any of our Lay Country men Papiſts not guilty of the late *Plot* ſhall deſire to be *heard*, and to ſay any thing *toward this effect, ſome of us have heard of theſe principles before mention'd as own'd by our Caſuiſts and Prieſts and Confeſſors, that are now thus condemned by the Pope, and we did not believe that thoſe our ſpiritual guides did own ſuch Principles, but now our Eye ſeeth by the condemnation thereof that they were before own'd and made rules of Practice; Wherefore we hope that who ever do own them, will abhor themſelves and repent in duſt and aſhes; and others of us did formerly think them Conſiſtent with the Chriſtian faith and the peace of Kingdoms and with humane Society, but we now*

abhor

abhor thoſe principles and repent in duſt and aſhes; We are ready to let the King and Kingdom and the World have a moral certainty, that we deſire no power to change the Religion in England *by Law eſtabliſh'd, and we are willing to receive Inſtruction from any that ſhall be appointed by publick Authority, to give it to us, concerning what other principles beſide theſe Condemned by the Pope are inconſiſtent with Religion or the publick Peace; and in caſe any ſhall offer to give us diſpenſations either for principles or practices contrary to thoſe, we renounce as inconſiſtent with the publick peace; we ſhall be ſo far from accepting of ſuch diſpenſation, that we ſhall detect the offerer thereof before a Magiſtrate, as much as we would an enemy to His Majeſty; We are ready to give active or paſſive obedience as to all the Laws in being; We believe not the Biſhop of* Rome *to have more power in His Majeſties Realms by Gods word, then any other forraign Biſhop, as was by Acts of Parliament and publick Recognitions declared in the Reign of Henry the* 8th. *We are willing to render the Kingdom as ſecure from fear of us and our obtaining power, as are the States of the United Provinces from thoſe of our perſuaſion in Religion among them; We are willing to let you ſee, that the ſame Baſis that ſhall be your ſecurity, ſhall likewiſe be ours.*

A great part of our number has we fear given too much cauſe of jealouſie to the Kingdom of their affecting pre-eminence therein, we are ſorry for it, and hope it will be ſo no more;

I ſay ſuch *Papiſts* as *theſe* are the *bruiſed reeds*, I would not *trample on*, and would make no noiſe to interrupt their being heard to the effect above mention'd. And ſince *what has been done, may be*, and Sir *William Temple* in his Impartial Obſervations *on the United Provinces of the Netherlands, chap.*5. ſaith of the Roman Catholicks there, *that tho they are very numerous in the Country among the Peſants, and conſiderable in the Cities, yet they ſeem to be a ſound piece of the State, and faſt jointed in with the reſt: and have neither given any diſturbance to the Government, Nor expres'd any inclinations to a Change, or to any forreign power, either upon the former Wars with Spain, or the latter Invaſions of the Biſhop of* Munſter; 'tis I ſay *poſſible* therefore for them to become *ſound pieces of the ſtate there.* And if the end of all their *ſhamme Plots* be what is uſually that of Comedies, and *Romances plots*, a *Marriage*, I mean their *eſpouſing* the *true Intereſt* of the Kingdom, I for my part ſhall never forbid the *bannes* of the *Matrimony*, nor enter any *Caveat* againſt the *licenſe* for it granted by lawful authority; *provided* they give due *ſecurity* as in that caſe againſt ſuch a *precontract* with *Rome*, that may *null* their *contract* with us.

'Tis an old Common Obſervation, That *whelps* without any care beſtowed on them will ſee at the end of *nine* days, tho born blind, and that if they are much *tamper'd* with by *art* to be forced to ſee ſooner, they are blind for ever: and therefore I hope that the forbearance of our Church in this latter Age to tamper with them, by diſputes, or Catechiſing, or Compelling them to be preſent at the publick worſhip, will with the help of Time and Nature, and their experience of their inability by all their *ſhamme Plots* to put out our Eyes, conduce to the opening of theirs.

Alas, what advantage is it by all their *artifices* that they can hope both to *gain* and *keep* here, I mean for any conſiderable time. A trick of *art* is like a Monſter in *Nature*, ill-lookt, and ſhort lifed; and 'tis obvious to every Eye, that the *higher Scale* got up by *accident*, is more ready to *pop down again*, then it was before, while it hung in its *due poiſe*. And while they do by *art* and contrary to *Nature* in any *Conjuncture* hoiſt up their Intereſt high in the Air, the artificial motion endures not there long to be gazed at, and while it is there viſible, 'tis beheld by thouſands of vigilant Marksmen, who know 'tis eaſier to hit the mark ſhooting upward then downward.

We find 'tis notorious out of the preſent *Pope*'s ſaid *Decree* of the Second of *March* laſt, That the *Jeſuits* and other *Caſuiſts* were Encouragers and Patrons of *Calumny*, by thoſe *Principles* of theirs he therein *Condemns*, and namely, That *Probabile eſt non peccare mortaliter qui imponit falſum crimen alteri, ut ſuam juſtitiam & honorem defendat: & ſi hoc non ſit probabile, vix ulla erit opinio probabilis in Theologia:* i. e. *It is probable that he doth not Sin Mortally, who faſtens a falſe Crime on another, that he may defend his own Juſtice and Honour; and if this is not probable, there is ſcarce any Opinion probable in Divinity.*

The *Jeſuits* have by this Opinion given us the *alarm* that they make *Calumny* not *contrary* to the *Law of God*, but only *beſide it*, for that is the Popiſh account of a *Venial* Sin; and moreover, that it *is a ſmall and very pardonable Offence againſt God or our Neighbour, and no more than an Idle word, and that it Robs not the Soul of life, and that it may be remitted without hearty Pennance and Contrition, and only with the Sacraments, Holy Water*, and the like; theſe being the Popiſh *Received* Doctrines of the Nature of *Venial Sin.*

And thus they may by falſe Imputations and Teſtimonies rob the *Bodies* of Proteſtants of life, without bereaving their own *Souls* thereof, and this is own'd by them as a *firſt Rate* probable *Opinion* in that Great *Science* call'd *Divinity*, that Great *firſt Rate* of all *Sciences*, as relating to the honour of God; but moſt certainly we have very great Reaſon to pity the Perſons of thoſe who have ſuch *low* and groveling and ridiculous Conceptions of the *Supreme* Being, as to think to add any thing to the *brightneſs* of his Perfection by that Sacrifice with whoſe *ſmoke* they endeavour to blind the *eyes* of *ſome* of their Brethren, while they are with its *flames* conſuming the *Bodies* of *others*, and to think to *tickle* him with the *ſtraw of Praiſe*, while they rob Men, and that the uſing of *Fraud* can be worthy of *God*, which is ſcorn'd not only by *Gentlemen*, but even *generous Beaſts* (it being proper to *Foxes*, and not to *Lions* to practiſe it) and that tho the *Dice of the Gods always fall luckily* (according to the old Adage) that falſe ones are to be uſed for their Honour, or that any one is to be a *falſarius* for the Glory of the *true* God, and that ſince the Roman Heathens thought it Eſſential to the Juſtice of their Laws, and the honour of Human Nature to term him a *falſarius* who but *conceal'd Truth* in the Caſe of *Men*, it can be *worthy* of the *Divine* Nature to encourage *falſe* aſſeverations in *Ordine ad Deum*, and that it can be any Honour to *infinit Wiſdom* to *out-wit ſilly Mortals*, or to *infinit Goodneſs*, to ſet it ſelf off by the *putative* or *real* faults of any one, and that ſince as the Philoſopher ſaid long ago, 'tis the greateſt Scandal to a Governor imaginable ὑπβυλδιεν τοῖς προυμένοις, *to lay ſnares for thoſe that he Governs*, to think that the Great *Governor* of the *World* can have *honour* from the laying of Nets and Springes by *Man Catchers*; In fine, to think that after the Divine Compaſſion to Men had under the *Moſaic* Diſpenſation ſo long ſignaliz'd it ſelf againſt *Idolatry*, becauſe 'twas a Cheat, and for that *an Idol is nothing*, it can be conſiſtent with the Divine goodneſs now under the *Oeconomy* of the Goſpel (of which the Reſtoring of *Humane Nature* was the Great intent) to encourage *inhumane Arts* and *Artifices*, to make it degenerate to the old Cheat of *Idolatry* again, and which was the worſt extremity of it, the *immolation* of Men under the pretext of Religion, a Cheat of *Idolatry*, that the Bleſſed *Jeſus* deſign'd by the offring of himſelf to exterminate out of the World as an unneceſſary thing, and by his dying breath to make it evaporate for ever.

There was no guile found in his mouth, and his followers were only then *wiſe as Serpents, while they were innocent as Doves:* and the firſt *Crying* in the Cradle of the *Puer Hebræus of the holy child Jeſus*, was as Thunder to

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ſtrike the old Equivocating Oracles Dumb, that had ſo long cheated the credulous World.

When he branded the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* with ſharper language, he calls them *Hypocrites*; He alarms us of *falſe Prophets* coming in the *Maſquerade of Sheeps clothing*; tells us, That *he who calls his Brother fool, ſhall be in danger of hell fire*, and therefore he may much more fear that danger who makes a Fool of him, and plays the Knave with him; he Commands us not to *Calumniate or kill*, but to *bleſs thoſe that curſe us*, which is more than to praiſe them, as I ſaid before of *bleſſing* being the *tribute* due to Men *heroically* Virtuous.

To ſhew that he intended nothing of *Artifice* in the Propagation of his Doctrine, a hated *Publican*, and a few poor Fiſhermen, and a Tent-maker are uſed in his *Embaſſy* to the World, men not likely to be able *Mentiri pro patriâ cæleſti*, if ſuch a Commiſſion as *Go Cheat all Nations*, had been given them.

And leſt it might be thought that with Oratorical *Harangues* that he or they led Men by the *Ears*, as an *implicit faith* is ſaid to lead them by the *Noſe*, he us'd no *hony* of Phraſe, or *ſting* of Epigram, no Politic Remarks, nor ſcarce more *lenocinium* of words, than is in *He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear.*

He tells us, That *for every Idle word we muſt give an account*, and therefore certainly abhorr'd *Equivocation*, which makes all words and ſpeech *Idle*, and of no effect; and ſince, as I think, 'twas truly ſaid, *Eloquentia non niſi ſtultos Movet*, *Eloquence moves none but Fopps*; he did, as I may ſay, put that generous *Complement* on mens *underſtandings*, not to Commiſſion his *Miniſters* to try to *ſooth* men out of one belief into another by *bribing* their imaginations *with the excellency of ſpeech, or the inticing words of man's Wiſdom*, but the contrary.

He thought it worthy of *God* to be *worſhip'd* by the world *in Spirit and in Truth*, and not to encreaſe the number of his *Homagers* by *Lies*, *Legends*, and *Impoſtures*. It was for the honour of the Chriſtian Religion that the Son of God choſe to take fleſh in the time when *Auguſtus* Reign'd, when the *Roman* World being freed from a long Civil War, had leiſure to Cultivate the Arts of Wit and Reaſon, and had brought them to their higheſt Perfection, and took not the advantage of a dark and barbarous Age to ſurprize the World in, as afterward both *Papiſm* and *Mahumetaniſm* did, and 'tis therefore no Marvel if either of thoſe two *Hypotheſes* of *Religion*, did in one Point ſo much reſemble the Chriſtian Religion, in ſo ſoon with its ferment *levening* ſo Great a *lump* of the World.

But the Chriſtian Religion came not into the World like a *Fireſhip* with prepar'd ſmoke to blind mens eyes, as it was aſſailing them: No, for to the end that the *Chriſtian* reveal'd Doctrine might like a great *Pyramid* be *conſpicuous* to the whole world, and laſt together with it, and reach from Earth to Heaven, the Divine Providence was long laying its Foundation very deep in *Nature*, and very *wide* in the *world*; I mean, *Juſtice* and *Reaſon* ſo agreeably to Humane Nature then at their height appearing in the *Laws* of the *Roman* Empire, and its ſubjugating the World, and its reducing Mankind to the *Law* of Nature firſt imprinted on Man's heart, were by the Care of Heaven uſed as *previous* in qualifying the World to receive the Glorious *Superſtructure* of the Chriſtian Religion, the which would certainly not have been ſo much as *res unius ætatis*, if at that time when the *Roman* Laws inculcating *the Natural Cognation between all Mankind*, and placing *Actions that wound Piety or Reputation, or good Manners in the Number of things Impoſſible*, and intimating their abhorrence of *Colluſion*, *Combining*, *Circumvention*, and *Diſanulling* things

things done thereby, and branding of those acts that do *fraudem facere legi*, and rendring that *to be but a pittiful innocence that is but as good as the Law requires, and making him in the eyes of the Law to be still in Poſſeſſion of any thing, who is actually trickt out of it, quia pro poſſeſſione dolus eſt*, providing againſt *Calumny* by an *Oath* in all *litigations*, and when a perſon is render'd to do a thing *infamouſly*, expreſſing it by *dolo facit*, having the regard of *Pudor, verecundia, Humanitatis, ac Religionis ratio*, and other ſuch words of the like *charming* ſignification, which were like Trees in the Body of the *Roman* Laws, planted as thick by one another as they could well ſtand, the *Chriſtian Religion* had in the *Congruity* of its Precepts to Humane Nature come ſhort of thoſe of the *Romans*, who as *Cicero* ſays, did not *Calliditate ac Robore, ſed Pietate ac Religione omnes gentes nationeſq; ſuperare*, and eſpecially if in thoſe againſt *Calumny, Fraud* and *Circumvention*, the *Chriſtian Faith* had not reach'd as high as the *bona fides* of the *Heathens*; and much more, if the Model of Chriſtian Morality had been in *that* Knowing Age like that of the Jeſuits in *this*.

But certainly ſince it hath often proved *fatal* to the *Miniſters* of Kings to be, or ſeem *wiſer* than their Maſters, the *Jeſuits* by affecting in their Platforms of Morality to be wiſer than him, who in the ſtyle of the Scripture, of *God is made to us Wiſdom, Righteouſneſs, Sanctification and Redemption*, may eaſily take a proſpect of their ruine; and as the Serpents trying to out-wit Heaven, and its Poiſoning the *Morals* of our firſt Parents with its *ſubtlety*, made the Scene of its motion to be in the *Duſt*, and *it* to be more *accurs'd* than any brute *Animal*, ſuch is likely to be the fate of this *Serpentine Order* after they have been by their ſubtle Caſuiſtical diſtinctions ſo long *nibbling* at the Sacred *word*, a thing the old *Serpent* did, and tempting Men in a fool's *Paradiſe*, according to their ſeveral Palates by their *Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil*, I mean the *Experiments* of *Vice*, by their pretended *Moral Theology*; but what is ſo far from deſerving the Name of *Theology*, that if it were imagin'd that a general Counſel of Devils were by their Chief call'd to debate of a Model of *credenda* and *agenda* for the world, 'tis likely they would unanimouſly agree to ſet up this, and no other; for no doubt they would paſs no *Article* to deny the *exiſtence* of a God, for they *believe that, and tremble*, nor yet any Article that might be controul'd by Natural light, or of which any Matter of Fact would be over-rul'd by Authentic Hiſtory; but they would among the unwary Judges of things, and ſuch whoſe Judgments are choak't up with the *fumes* of *luſt*, try to *puzzle* the *Cauſe* of Religion, and by diſtinctions to make Golden Bridges for Men to retreat from Morality: And this Courſe the *Jeſuits* have took. By their Caſuiſtical *diſtinctions* they have *broke* both the Tables of the Moral Law into innumerable *pieces*; they have *broke* not only the *leaſt*, but *greateſt of the Commandments*, *and have taught men ſo to do*, and how to do it with a *Salvo* to them, and how *Salvo metu & fide peccare*; and by being Caſuiſtical *Splitters* of Sin, have been as troubleſome to the World, as *Splitters* of *Cauſes* are to a Country. The Chriſtian Religion that great *Tye* intended by Heaven to be like a ſubſtantial and great *Cable* (as I may ſay) to ſupply the great *Anchor* of our hope, they have made it their great buſineſs to untwiſt by their *nice* diſtinctions, and to make it ſo *fine* that it will not *hold*, and by encouraging *Lies* and *Calumnies* for the honour of *Holy Church*, they have help'd the *Politic-Atheiſts-would be* to a new occaſion of trying to inſinuate that old *impotent-Slander* that Religion it ſelf is a *Cheat*; and moreover, ſince it is on all hands Confeſſedly true, that *Religion* is neceſſary for the Government of the World, and that every Ligament of Humane Society without Religion, is but like a rope of Sand, 'tis probable that the *Jeſuits* Morality being de-

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ſtructive of Religion, that the Nations of the World will look on it and their Society, as an Aſſociation againſt Humane Society, and that one Nation after another will declare themſelves Abhorrers of it. And it muſt by neceſſity of Nature appear, that they cannot be *Confeſſors* of truth, nor *Martyrs* for any but the Devil, that make lying *venial*; nor can their fate who pretend to be *Witneſſes* in the *Cauſe* of Religion be any other than is that of ſome according to the Law and Practice of Nations, who are *Witneſſes* in any *Cauſe*, to have their whole *Depoſition* rejected upon the Diſcovery of one falſity therein. And ſince 'tis confeſſed to be the Doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, and particularly of the *Trent-Council*, that the *intention* of the Prieſt is neceſſary to the validity of a Sacrament, who can promiſe to himſelf ſafe anchoring in the Depths of a Jeſuits intentions to *make* the Sacrament, while he *makes* Cheating lawful? If any one ſhall ſay, that ſo vile a thing is not to be ſuppoſed in a Prieſt, as upon any occaſion not to *intend* the *making* of the Sacrament, let him conſult the *Additionals to the Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm*, and there he ſhall ſee, *p.* 95. *Propoſition* 23. no meaner a *Jeſuit* than the Great *Caſuiſt Eſcobar*, cited for this Aſſertion, *That it is lawful upon Occaſion of ſome great fear to make uſe of Diſſimulation in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, as for a man to make as if he Conſecrated, by pronouncing the words without attention.* Eſcobar. *Theol. Moral. Tom.* 1. *l.* 6. *Sect.* 2. *C.* 7. *Prob.* 26. *p.* 27. And in this point, the *Pope's* ſaid Decree is infallible; namely, to ſhew the fact of this Doctrine of Devils, having been own'd by Jeſuits and Caſuiſts, as appears by the Propoſition 29th. in the Decree, *viz. Urgens metus gravis eſt Cauſa juſta Sacramentorum adminiſtrationem ſimulandi.* O Bleſſed Jeſus, can any Jeſuit think it is lawful for him ſo far *to fear thoſe that can kill the Body* as by his Diſſembling *his making of thy Body*, to *deſtroy anothers Soul* by Idolatry? 'Tis among both Papiſts and Proteſtants confeſſedly true, that if the *Hoſt* I worſhip ſhould not be the Body of Chriſt, I were a great Idolater; and therefore if a Prieſt by that incident Paſſion of fear may lawfully forbear to *intend* to *make* the Body of Chriſt, I may well have ſuch a conſtant fear as do's *cadere in Conſtantem virum*, of the danger of my worſhipping only a Wafer, and conſequently of my being an Idolater: and ſince a *Miracle* is Heaven's *Broad Seal* to the truth of any Doctrine, and ſince Tranſubſtantiation is the greateſt Miracle that can be thought of, I may well conclude that God will not commit the Power of making Millions of Miracles every day to men that make Cheating lawful, more than a Prince will commit the Cuſtody of his Broad Seal to a profeſſed Impoſtor. And therefore I ſhall by the way affirm, that the Proteſtant Religion not making the *intention* of the Prieſt *eſſential* to the *Sacrament* of the *Euchariſt*, is more ſtrongly aſſertive of the Real preſence there then is the very *Popiſh Hypotheſis*.

The truth is, 'tis a very inglorious, and a very imprudent thing to uſe *fraud* even in the Conduct of *Political* Government. My Lord *Herbert* in his *Life of* Harry *the Eighth*, ſpeaking of a foreign Monarch, ſaith with great Judgment, *but while he eſcaped not the Opinion and the Name of falſe* (which yet his Country Writers palliate no otherwiſe than with calling it *Saberraynar*) *he neither comply'd with his Dignity, nor indeed the Rules of Wiſdom, true reaſon of State conſiſting of ſuch ſolid Maxims that it hath as little need of Deceit, as a ſure Game at Cheſs of a falſe Draught: there is no uſe of it therefore among the wiſer ſort, it being only a ſupply of Ignorance among the Ruder and worſe kind of Stateſmen. Beſide it appears ſo much worſe in Public Affairs, as it is never almoſt hid or unrevenged. Reputation again is ſtill loſt thereby, which yet how much it concerns Princes, none can better tell than ſuch as Imagine them without it.*

But

But to uſe Fraud in or for that great concern of Mankind call'd *Religion*, is more abſur'd: and 'tis the vileſt Nonſence imaginable, *for Men to talk deceitfully for God*, and that ſtyle of a foreign Monarch of *Diſſembling his Indignation*, need not be uſed by him who made the World with a *fiat*, and can unmake it with a *thought*, and whatever Religion in the World is true, I am ſure that is and muſt be falſe that attempts to ſupport it ſelf by falſhood or fraud, and by the Violation of Faith given. For I am ſure that to ſtand to Promiſes, to abhor Deceit, is a thing in its own nature ſimply good, and *that it is impoſſible that God ſhould lye*, and if it be ſimply good in God, it is neceſſarily ſo in Man, whom he hath made after his own Image, the Image being to anſwer the Archetype: and that Religion therefore that doth approve of *falſarii*, and which cannot have the true God for its Founder, and in which every honeſt man may juſtly ſay to the *Deity* of its worſhippers, *Stand by thy ſelf, come not near me, for I am holier then thou*, (as the Scripture expreſſion is) muſt expect to be exterminated out of the *Knowing* World. Such worſhippers can be no more judged parts of the *Eccleſia Catholica*, than *Pick-pockets* in *Churches* are of the *Cœtus fidelium* there, and as when theſe *petty Larceners* are there diſcovered, they are glad ſilently thence to ſteal themſelves away, ſuch perhaps will the fate of thoſe grand Impoſtors too be after their detection to march out of the Church, and that without the *Parade*, perhaps of *noiſe of Trumpet*, or *beat of Drum*. There needs no battering Ram againſt Fraud, but Detection. And theſe *Arbiters* of *Calumny*, that like the Month of *March* came into the World as a *Lion*, may perhaps go out of it like a *Lamb*, and their Morallity *naturally* come into the number of *Pancirols, Res deperditæ*, and as not worthy of any Humane care to conſerve, after it has with ſo much violence been labouring in vain to deſtroy that old great *invention* of God, the Law of Nature. Let any great *Eaſt* or *Weſt-India Company* in the World, but once as a Public *Society*, renounce the obſervation of Faith, or Patronize Cheating, and no other Company need envy their growth or Continuance, or pick holes in their Charters, and retain the loudneſs of Lawyers to diſſolve them. And ſuch is the fate like to be of any Religionary *Society*. None need ask where are the Fighters, or where are the Diſputers of this World, to confound an order whoſe Caſuiſts make Lying lawful; and yet make it lawful to kill one that gives the Lye.

And the truth is, it is already through the Providence Divine, and likewiſe the Providence and Circumſpection of Men ſo effected, That theſe *lewd Moraliſts*, that call themſelves the *Fellows* of the *Holy Jeſus*, theſe *crafty Companions* are ſo detected in the Church, not only as *Cheats*, but as having the *Plague*, that they are avoided by many of the *Orders* that own the Pope as their *Chief*, who will neither admit them to *Prattique* nor *Quarrentine*, and they are in a manner reduced to the ſtate of thoſe Princes, who force a Trade at home, and only drive one with their own Plantations abroad. They are already come to the *ſtate* of *Beſſus* his *Collegues* in the *Comedy*, a ſort of military *pretenders*, who after their Buffetings and Spurnings they had took from ſo many, did ſupport their Credit only by this *Combined* Determination, namely, *that they were valiant among themſelves*: and this is the *preſent ſtate* of theſe *expos'd* Caſuiſts of the Church Militant that have been ſo long *impoſing* on the World by force and fraud, 'tis agreed on by them that *they are Juſt among themſelves*.

With the help of all that Nature and Art can do, they can never recover the wounds that have been given them, by the publication of the *Les Provinciales*, or *the Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm diſcovered in Certain Letters written on occaſion of the differences at* Sorbonne *between the* Janſeniſts *and the* Moliniſts,

niſts, *with additionals*, and were Printed in the *Engliſh* Tongue in the Year 1658. And that Great *Court of Conſcience* that is a *Court* alwayes open (and where the Judges are too many to be all brib'd or aw'd however ſome may ſleep) which I may call *Conſcientia humani generis*, having arraign'd and condemn'd their Caſuiſtical Tenets as infamous, they are after an Impeachment and Sentence in that Court to expect no pardon: the World will never forgive nor forget their making *Calumny* a Venial Sin; nor their particular bringing into the Field for the ſervice of the art of *ſtrongly calumniating* Battalions of Fathers, Schoolmen, Divines of other Orders by *Guimenius*: who in that Book of his before mentioned, brings in a multitude of *great names* of thoſe *great ranks* not only to Juſtify, but even to Sanctify the Crimes charged on them in thoſe Letters: and as 'twas ſaid of old, *Citius efficies Crimen honeſtum, quam turpem Catonem*, ſo in *Guimenius* we do not ſee any raſcall Deer who were Juſtly markt or wounded, thrown out of the herd of the Jeſuits, but we ſee Men who were beſmear'd with their own filth and the Dirt the World threw on them, out-braving the light, and to cleanſe themſelves from imputed guilt running into the Crouds of Caſuiſts of their own and other Orders, as likewiſe among the Fathers, Divines and Schoolmen; and ſo Magnanimouſly Impious was he, as to make Acts of Cheating and Calumny to be patroniz'd by *holy Church*, and openly to excuſe the putting Gods *Mark* on the Devils *Merchandize*, and to ſtamp in effect a legitimacy on them with an *effrontery* only to be parallel'd with that which *Tully* tells us concerning *Antony* the *Oratour, who being to defend a Perſon accus'd of Sedition, boldly went to prove that Sedition was no Crime, but a very Commendable thing.*

But after all their long Caſuiſtical *weighing* of the *Dirt* of *Vice in Auruficis ſateràs*, or rather in *Eſſay-Maſters* Scales which turn with the 300th part of a grain, and as ſome contriv'd by an honourable Perſon of the Royal Society, will turn with the thouſandth part of one, it Can never be forgot that they tell us this *Dirt* is *Gold*.

Nor can or will the bold Artifices of the Jeſuits before mentioned in eluding the Popes Decree of the 2d. of *March*, 1679. againſt their unmoral Divinity, and of which *Declaration* the Cloud contains Thunderbolts of Excommunication againſt their Tenet of lawful Lying and Perjury, and Equivocating, and of Diſſembling in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, be ever forgot even by many thinking Papiſts, or indeed the thinking part of Mankind.

And Proteſtants may well ask all Papiſts that Call thoſe damn'd Tenets of the Jeſuits by the Name of Religion, *Where was your Religion before the birth of* Luther? for *Luther* was born above half a hundred years before the birth of the Society of the Jeſuits.

Nay ſince that Religion has been damn'd by that *Decree* of the *Popes*, we may ask them, *Where is your Religion now, where is the Popes Infallibility ſo much avow'd and Idoliſed by the Jeſuites heretofore? What, is not the Pope infallible in his Chair, in the Inquiſition? was his Chair in the Apoſtolic Palace in the Vatican, and attended there by the moſt Eminent and moſt Reverend Lords the Cardinals of the holy Roman Church, being ſpecially deputed by the holy Apoſtolic See, to be the General Inquiſitors for the whole Chriſtian Common-wealth againſt all heretical pravity, I ſay, was that Chair the Chair of Peſtilence? Are not you as Heretics ſelf-Condemn'd in having procur'd your infallible Popes Condemning Decree to be ſuppreſſed in* France *as coming from the Pope in the Court of Inquiſition?* Alas, do not we know that 'tis all one as to the value of the Coin, Let the Prince's Mint be kept in this place or the other; and that 'tis the Sanction of the Pope either in the *Conſiſtory*, or in the *Inquiſition* at *Rome*,

that

that gives the *ſtandard* of weight and fineneſs to any Doctrinal Propoſitions, and that makes them *current*? Do we not know it out of the *Hiſtory* of the *Councel* of *Trent*, that the Pope told the *Cardinals* in Conſiſtory, that they had only *Conſultive Voices* to put things to his conſideration, and that the *Deciſive* Voice belong'd only to him? Do we not know out of that *Hiſtory*, Book 7th, that *Laynez* the *General* of the *Jeſuites ſpake with great vehemence and Maſter-like in the Councel about two hours, proving that the Power of Juriſdiction was given wholly to the Pope, and that none in the Church beſides hath any ſpark of it but from him, and that while Chriſt liv'd in the fleſh, he govern'd the World with an abſolute Monarchical Government; and being to depart out of the World, he left the ſame form, appointing his Vicar St.* Peter *and his Succeſſors to adminiſter it as he had done, giving him full and total Power and Juriſdiction, and ſubjecting the Church to him as before to himſelf: That in Councels be they never ſo frequent, if the Pope be preſent, he only doth decree, neither doth the Councel any thing but approve, and therefore it has been always ſaid* Sacro approbante Concilio; *yea even in Reſolutions of the greateſt weight (as was the Depoſition of the Emperor* Frederic *the Second in the General Councel of* Lions) Innocent *the Fourth, a moſt wiſe Pope, refus'd the approbation of that Synod, that none might think it to be neceſſary, and thought it ſufficient to ſay* præſente Concilio? *How comes the Caſe now alter'd, when we behold the Jeſuites now crucifying the Decree of their King the Pope, after all their former* Hoſanna's *to him, while he was mounted on the World as his Aſs, and after all their deafning of the World with Bleſſing him in* nomine Domini, *and ſee them now putting but a reed of Infallibility in his hand, and ſee his Scepter in theirs, and ſee their fourth Vow to the Pope annull'd, and what performance then can Heretichs expect from any Promiſes they make to them? and might not the Jeſuits with the ſalvo of a Proteſtation againſt the Inquiſition, or with a thouſand Expedients, if they had pleas'd, allow'd Receipts from the Inquiſition, to rid the World of a Peſtilence, as frankly as Proteſtants uſe the* Jeſuits Powder *againſt Agues, and without intending more Honour to that Court, than the Sacred Writ did to the Devil, in recording for our inſtruction ſeveral things by him ſpoken? And have not we a candid account of this Arcanum in a very Ingenious Diſcourſe lately Tranſlated into* Engliſh, *and call'd,* The Policy of the Clergy of *France* to deſtroy the Proteſtants of that Kingdom, *and writ in the way of a Dialogue between a* Pariſian *and* Provincial, *where* p. 67, *and* 68. Le Cheiſe *and the Jeſuits Party are ſaid to have effected the ſuppreſſion of the ſaid Decree in* France, *upon pretence that it iſſued from the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, and that in the Draught of an Order of a Parliament in* France, *for the ſuppreſſing the Publication of this Decree, theſe words were put,* viz. *Tho that theſe Propoſitions are juſtly Condemned, and that Father* Le Cheiſe *caus'd theſe words to be razed out, and has put in their ſtead, That even the good things which come to us from the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, ought not to be receiv'd?*

But if upon occaſion of what was diſcours'd by that Author, it be further ſaid, that the ſetting up of thoſe unmoral Caſuiſtical Tenets in France, *was the erecting a Pillar of ignominy againſt God, I will ask if one who is* revera *an incompetent Judge ſhall go to demoliſh any ſuch Pillar ſet up againſt my Father, and I have already own'd that that Judge doth infallibly know the bounds of his Juriſdiction, and have obliged my ſelf to him by the foremention'd fourth Vow, that what thing ſoever he ſhall Command that belongs to the profit of Souls,* and the *Propagation* of the *Faith,* I will without any tergiverſation or excuſe execute, as far as I am able (for this is the Jeſuits fourth Vow to the Pope) ſhall I then be active in the *hindring a Decree of this Nature,* given by this Judge from being executed, at the *ſame time, I Proteſt againſt it, ſhall I make no Proteſtation for the honour of my Father? And do you think in this Inquiſitive Age the Cheat*

of

of an Inquiſition, will elſewhere paſs long, ſince that Court that is uſed by ordinary Inquiſitors for the torturing the Bodies of Chriſtians, and mutilation of the Image of God, cannot be allow'd to ſhew ſeverity to the body of Sin, to the Image of the Devil in depraved Minds, and that while your unerring Judge of Law and Fact is in Perſon there præſiding? Are not you that ſurpreſs the Dictates of your own Univerſal Paſtor ſuch unreaſonable Men as we may well pray to be delivered from?

All our Jeſuited Papiſts muſt ſtill expect Expoſtulations of this Nature. Their Head was before at *Rome*, and their Brains too; but if they now make a *Schiſm* from the Pope himſelf, they will come under the Denomination of *Acephali* (the Name of ſome ancient Heretics) that is, the People without a Head, unleſs they will own the *Hydra* of the Jeſuits for their Head, which it ſeems the *Hercules* of *Rome* could not ſubdue. I believe many of them will conſider what *ſure footing* they have where they are, while they ſee their *Moſes* flying from his own *Staff when made a Serpent*, I mean his Order of Jeſuits, and ſee the Colluſive or Sham-Serpents of the Jeſuits devour thoſe of their *Moſes*, and Juglers by *Deceptio Viſus* and lying to impoſe on the eyes of the World againſt the *ſence* and *reaſon* of *Mankind*, and even of the *Pope* himſelf, and 'twill be very ridiculous for them, who have been cheated out of their own Religion, to think that ſome who are the Jeſuits *Bubbles* can cheat us of ours, and that while they are grown *Seekers*; they ſhould make us *looſe* our *Church*; and that when the Spiritual *Monarchy* of the Pope is in a manner Run Down by the *Republic* or *Society* of the *Jeſuits*, they ſhould think to cheat us of our *King* and *Church*, and that our Religion can be run down by ſuch *Spiritual Outlaws*, and Rebels againſt the Pope himſelf, and ſuch as perhaps the Pope may in time be induced to oblige the World by ſuppreſſing after their Injuring all Morallity, and the moſt vital parts of Chriſtian Religion, and the great avow'd uſe of his Power in the whole Chriſtian Common-wealth, by their Suppreſſion of his ſaid *Decree*. I hope while the *Fan is in his hand he will throughly purge his floor*, and eſteem the Diſpoſals of rich Benefices in *France* to be poor *Regalia ſancti Petri*, for him to vindicate in Compariſon of the lives of the Souls of his Flock, that he, and all ingenuous Knowing Mankind, Know muſt be deſtroy'd by ſuch Caſuiſtical Principles; and without his doing which, he cannot in the leaſt deſerve the Title of *his Holineſs*.

For the determining the truth about ſuch Principles, he need not ſay as one of his *Predeceſſors* did about the *Janſenian Speculations*, *that he had no skill in Divinity*. A very little skill in *Natural Divinity* (and ſuch as may be had by the Reading a few Lines in *Tully's Offices*) would accompliſh any one with what would demonſtrate the things allowed by the *Caſuiſts* to be unworthy both of the *Divine* and *Humane* Nature; and all the Jeſuit's *Skill* in *Divinity* will never be able to render them otherwiſe to the World.

I muſt ſeriouſly profeſs, that *one* ſaying of the Great *Cicero* in that little *Book*, viz, *Ea deliberanda omnino non ſunt, in quibus eſt turpis ipſa deliberatio*, i.e. *Thoſe things are not at all to be deliberated wherein the Deliberation it ſelf is filthly*; has in it I think more *frank* generous *Morality* included, and that which is more worthy of the ancient *Roman* and Primitive *Chriſtian ſimplicity*, then what all the Libraries ſtuff'd with *Bauny*, *Eſcobar*, *Layman*, *Le Moine*, *Navarrus*, *Azorius*, *Molina*, *Tanuerus*, *Leſſuis*, *Emanuel Sa*, *Henriquez*, and other Numerous Caſuiſtical Jeſuits have furniſhed the world with, wherein they do ſo *nicely* and *infinitely divide* the *body* of *Sin in ſemper diviſibilia*, and indeed make it an *infinite Nothing*. But the world I think will not long *deliberate* what to do with this Caſuiſtical Divinity, of which no truer Deſcription can

be

be given, then that *'tis a Deliberation of Sin.* I do not know any that would eate or drink with another that he thought did *deliberate* to Poiſon him. *Dum deliberant* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *deſciverunt*: i. e. *While they do deliberate whether they ſhould revolt, they have revolted: their very deliberation and conſulting was* ipſo facto *a Revolt.*

I doubt not but many Pious Chriſtians of the Roman Catholic Communion have Complain'd of the effect of their ſubtle and innumerable diſtinctions deſtroying Chriſtianity, in that *ſtyle* of the *Woman in the Goſpel, They have taken away My Lord, and I know not where they have Layd him*; and that Conſidering thoſe Caſuiſts had ſo far ſear'd their Conſciences and brazen'd their Foreheads as in the Patronizing of *Calumny* and other Impieties to defy not only *Chriſts Goſpel*, but the *Pope*'s own *Canon Law*, many *Papiſts* importun'd the *Pope* with their Zeal ſutable to that of the *Pſalmiſt's*, to give that decree, ſaying, *It is time for thee to work, for they have made void thy Law.*

'Tis *notorious* that the Canon Law (as bad as it is) is very ſevere againſt *Calumny* and *Calumniators*, and eſpecially againſt Clergy-men that are ſuch, and pronounceth a Clergy-man *infamous* who is convicted of defaming another: and 'twas very well worthy the Vigilance of the Pope, not to let the Jeſuits ſteal away his Canon Law from him.

But this muſt needs be very *diverting* to this *inquiring* Age, to ſee Proteſtants as well as Papiſts accounting the Popes reducing ſome immorallities to the *Teſt* of his own *Canon Law*, a piece of *Reformation*, and the Pope ſtruggling to effect it, and hindred by the Jeſuits therein.

According to the former expreſſion, *it is time for the Pope to work* and to *Null* that *Order* that thus *nulls* his aforeſaid *Decree* in the ſight of an *awaken'd* World, and is elſe likely to Null his Church, the *Patience* of Mankind being the leſs able longer to bear the weight of Jeſuitical *Calumnies* by its having endured them ſo long.

The truth is, the Great and Original Cauſe of the founding of that *Order* being to cut Heretics Throats, (for at this plain rate we muſt ſpeak and call a Spade a Spade when they are digging our Graves with it) it was neceſſary for them to uſe the art of *blackening* of Heretics by Calumnies as the Prologue to that Tragedy, the which would cauſe the Heretics to fall unpity'd; and 'twas neceſſary to make that *black art* as lawful as they Could, that ſo they might have their *quietus* from the World for the arrear of their paſs'd frauds, and not fear accounting for future ones.

But as theſe men *will not recede from their Art*, ſo neither will *Nature recede* from it *ſelf*, and our Critical Engliſh World now having occaſion to paſs Judgment of their Calumnies, is *naturally* enforced to Conſider their former *Shammes* in States and Kingdomes to aggravate their preſent ones, as Judges ſtill in the Caſe of Malefactors are obliged to take notice of their having been formerly branded for the ſame Crimes.

The execrable *Shamme* made againſt the *Admiral* and others as conſpiring to kill the *King* of *France*, and giving provocation to the *Pariſian Maſſacre*, will never be forgot; nor the *Shamme* that was provided to have charged the *Puritans* with the *Gun-Powder Treaſon*; nor that of the *Iriſh* Rebels, who were ſo outragiouſly impudent as to pretend the Commiſſion of our *Royal Martyr* for their Butcheries: Nor yet that of the Jeſuites having effected heretofore in *Bohemia*, and lately in *Hungary*, that *Counterfeit* and *forged Letters* ſhould be found in the Cuſtody of the Proteſtants, to charge them with Crimes againſt *Cæſar*. The *Memorial of the Sufferings of the Proteſtant Miniſters in* Hungary *at the Inſtigation of the Popiſh Clergy there, printed for* William Nott, *in the* Pallmall, 1676. ſhews it at Large, where 'tis ſaid,

They did not (againſt the Miniſters) inſiſt much on the Particulars that relate to Religion, but great endeavours were uſed to prove them Complices of the Rebellion, the which their Advocates and Councel did manifeſtly diſprove, and the Reſident of the States of the United Provinces at Vienna *did afterward in a Memorial to the Emperour fully and ſolidly refute. Tho the Miniſters were indicted in form of Law, for having aſſiſted the Rebels by their Councel, and ſupply'd them with Proviſions, and for having Made way for the* Turks *to Come in and waſt that Kingdome, yet none of them (as that Diſcourſe ſets forth) was convicted thereof, nor one clear Teſtimony brought to prove that any one was a Complice of that Rebellion.*

That diſcourſe ſhews that the *Advocatus Fiſci did exhibit everal Letters to prove all the Miniſters Complices of that Rebellion, but that many and great preſumptions evinced that theſe Letters were never produced, tho it was frequently demanded by the Miniſters and their Advocates that they might be, and that yet they could never obtain any thing but a printed Copy of them; and thô the Advocates for the Miniſters did often preſs the Fiſcal to declare when, where or how he came by theſe Letters, yet that was never done.*

That Author having p. 10. mentioned the vile art of Calumny, That the Jeſuits try'd to *exterminate* the Proteſtants out of *Hungary* by, ſpeaks in p. 11*th.* of the effects of their endeavours, ſaying, that *upon a Juſt account it can be made appear that at ſeveral times before and after the Citation againſt the Proteſtants,* (meaning the Citation to that vile Proceſs) *there were above* 1200 *Churches of them ſuppreſſed.*

It muſt needs then appear very Ridiculous to the World, that when there is not a third part of *Hungary* (that old *Bulwark* of *Chriſtendom againſt the Turks*) remaining in the Emperor's hands, (for ſo Dr. *Brown* in his late Travels there Computes it) that theſe *Nominal* fellows of Chriſt by *nominal* crimes charged on real Chriſtians, ſhould endanger the *exterminating* of *Chriſtianity* out of the *European* World, and the making the Emperor not long ſo much as a *Nominal* King in *Germany* it ſelf, and that the Emperor ſhould be more afraid of the *Itch* of his remote Subjects, then of the *plague* of his nearer Foes, and that the Jeſuits diſliking the *Itch* after new *Doctrines* in the *Hungarians* ſhould be reputed good adviſing Doctors, who counſel him to paſs the time in ſcratching and lancing with his nails his own members, when many Thouſands of armed men are deſigning againſt his Life and Crown, and when his Empire is brought to ſuch a ſtate, that as 'twas ſaid of the *Roman Empire* when devolv'd on *Germany*, that one might *quærere Imperium in Imperio*, that the danger now hangs over it of the *German Empire being there ſought too*, and all by the true Real *Imperium in Imperio* of the Jeſuits there.

And indeed the *biceps aquila*, which is the *Inſigne* or *Arms* of the Empire, might be properly of late referr'd to the *diviſum Imperium* the Emperor had with the Jeſuits, whom to every *abecedarian* in *Politics* 'tis known to be more his intereſt during the preſent grandeur of *France*, to diſmiſs from his *Councels*, than ever 'twas the *Venetians* to deal ſo with the *Eccleſiaſtics.*

My Lord, I ſhould not have thought it good manners to have been ſo copious in the exerciſe of your Lordſhips Patience with the particularities of the unmoral or unmannerly doctrine of the Caſuiſts as to the Point of *Calumny*, but that I thought ſome *Oyl* of theſe *Scorpions* that you have not the leiſure to extract out of their dead *Authors*, might be uſeful to you in the repelling the venom of their ſtings ſooner then you are aware.

And indeed as 'tis obſerved, that the *Laſt* bitings of ſome *dying animals* are moſt fierce, ſo is it likely to be with their laſt efforts, namely thoſe of their Calumnies againſt Proteſtants, which I believe will likewiſe be their *derniers Reſort*,

Reſort; and 'tis therefore your Lordſhips and every Proteſtants Concern, who is a Lover of Juſtice, to know that you wrong'd any Jeſuited Papiſts, if in Capital Cauſes you did believe them not to *practice* in that caſe the *Principle* they *profeſs*, namely the making *Calumny* venial, a thing ſo expreſsly own'd in the 15th *Letter of the Les Provinciales*, that they were Call'd by ſome of the *Sorbon* on that account *Quintadecimani*, in alluſion to the *Quartadeciman Heretics* of old.

'Tis ſaid in that 15th *Letter*, *That this is ſo notorious a Doctrine of their Schools that they maintained it not only in their books but alſo in their public Theſes, which certainly is the height of Confidence, as among others in their Theſes of* Louvain *of the Year* 1645. *in theſe termes, It is only a venial Sin to Calumniate, and impoſe falſe Crimes, to ruine their Credit who ſpeak ill of us:* quidni non niſi veniale ſit, detrahentis authoritatem tibi noxiam falſo crimine elidere? *and this doctrine is ſo much in vogue among you, that you treat him as an Ignorant and Temerarius perſon, who preſumes any way to oppoſe it:* and preſently after, tis related how Father *Dicaſtellus ſaid, that to prove that twas no Mortal Sin to uſe Calumny though grounded on abſolute falſities, againſt a Calumniator, he had brought a Cloud of their Fathers to witneſs it, and whole Univerſities Conſiſting of them all whom he had Conſulted, and among others the Reverend Father* John Gans *Confeſſor to the EMPEROR, all the public and ordinary Profeſſors of the Univerſity of* Vienna, (*conſiſting wholly of Jeſuits*) *and that he had likewiſe on his ſide Father* Pennaloſſa *a Jeſuit Preacher to the Emperor*, &c.

But the aforeſaid *probable opinion* of *Calumny* will never be received in this *Age* of *Demonſtration*, and ſince the old Roman Laws enjoyn a *Juramentum Calumniæ, an Oath of Calumny*, (as was before remark'd) whereby every litigant was to invocate God as *Witneſs* and *Revenger* about his not uſing any *falſe proof Knowingly*, the Chriſtian World in this Knowing Age will Know thoſe who make the uſe of falſe proofs *knowingly* to be a *Venial Sin*, and it muſt certainly appear ridiculous to *Judges* and *Jurors* to give the leaſt reſpect to ſuch gameſters *Oaths* who trumpet forth that Principle that 'tis a Venial Sin to uſe falſe Dice of the Law to make true ones of Proteſtants Bones.

My Lord, I am not ſo unjuſt and uncharitable as to caſt a brand on the Body of the Papiſts, as not being capable of the *Dignity* of *Witneſſes*.

I doubt not but there are in the external Communion of the Church of *Rome* very many Thouſands who by Divine Grace are kept from Communicating with that Church in many of its Principles and Practices, and that invincible ignorance may render many of them excuſable, and that the great mortifications and auſterities and zealous devotions not only among many perſons of their Religious Orders, but of the Common people, ſhewing them heroically Vertuous, do entitle them to have their teſtimony in any matters of fact received with honour equal with that of the beſt Proteſtants.

And as to many of our Papiſts in *England* it muſt be with Juſtice acknowledged, that their having deſcended from antient Families, and having had ingenuous Education, and plentiful Fortunes, and their having ſeen the World abroad, where they have obſerved many of the Principles of the Jeſuits as much deteſted by *Papiſts* as they can be by *Proteſtants*, and their generous inclinations to ſerve Vertue and Morality, may well ſecure us from fears of their being impoſed on by *Jeſuits* to uſe little or great unholy Shammes and *Calumnies* for the good of *holy Church*, a ſort of *Penance* that muſt needs ſeem odious in Nature to well-bred Gentlemen and Men of *Eſtates*, not tempted like little *hungry Greeks to leap up to Heaven*, or down to Hell for *bread*, under the which mean *claſſe* of Mankind (according to my *intelligence*) thoſe Papiſts

piſts have generally fallne who have been famous for Shamming and Subornation as to the late Plot.

'Tis therefore no wonder that *Papiſts* in the *Low-Countries* are not tempted to uſe any *Shammes* to promote their Religion, it being neceſſity that compels men to turpitude, and the very *Alms-men* there not being *ad incitas redacti.*

And againſt ſome of our *Engliſh* Papiſts, being allowed to be dignitaries as to faith of teſtimony, whom I have before deſcribed, I ſhall never except.

But for any *Engliſh* Papiſt who is a believer of the *Tenets* of the *Jeſuits*, and ſome other *Caſuiſts* to Expect to be believ'd againſt any that honors not their Society, (which none that upholds humane Society and would not have Mankind trick'd out of the Light and Law of Nature can do) is to render a man irreverent to himſelf and his Maker, and to ſhew his want of a *Curator* by the *prodigallity* of his *Faith*, eſpecially when he ſhall call to mind how *Del Rio* the *famous Jeſuit* affirm'd that *the Dominicans* ought not to be allowed as *witneſſes* againſt the *Jeſuites, a charge* that *Guymenius* p. 127,& 128. in vain Contends to evade.

But this their *dernier Reſort* (as I call'd it) of their *uſe* and *application* of their *erroneous* or rather *diabolical doctrine* of *Calumny*, muſt certainly be *fatal* to them; according to that *Proverb* in the *Goſpel* about the *laſt error*, *& erit noviſſimus error pejor priore.* The *High Prieſts and Phariſees* came to *Pilate* ſaying, *Sir, we remember that that deceiver ſaid while he was yet alive, After three dayes I will riſe again; Command therefore that the Sepulchre be made ſure till the third day, leſt his Diſciples come by Night and ſteal him away and ſay to the people he is riſen from the dead: So the Laſt error ſhall be worſe than the firſt:* and they Judged right enough of the *Laſt* error Confounding more than the *Firſt*, as it is the force of the Laſt motion from a *Precipice* that breaks a man in pieces; and this effect of the *laſt* error was preſently exemplify'd in themſelves; for they having caus'd the holy Sepulchre to be very ſtrongly guarded, and the Door of it to be barricado'd with a very great Stone, and that Stone to be ſeal'd, and the Lord of Glory after all this overpowring the Grave and Guards, they had a Conſult and gave the Guards Money to ſpread that *Shamme* in the World, that his Diſciples did ſteal him away while the Guards ſlept, and ſaith St. *Mathew, this is reported among the Jews to this day.*

And lo, as Chriſt did *riſe for our Juſtification*, ſo did this Subornation uſed by thoſe *Impoſtors juſtify* the truth of his Reſurrection, which elſe could not ſo well have confronted the Worlds incredulity: for if after his Reſurrection his Diſciples believed not *Mary Magdalen, Joanna*, and the Mother of *James*, who told them that he had appear'd to them, and if the two Diſciples that told the Reſt that he had appear'd to them going to *Emmaus* were not believ'd by them, and if when he appear'd in the midſt of Ten of them at once and ſhew'd them his hands and his ſide, *they believ'd not for joy*, and if when he appear'd to the Women and bade them tell the Diſciples and St. *Peter*, that according to his Promiſe they ſhould ſee him in *Galilee*, and if the Eleven Diſciples went into *Galilee* to a Mountain which he had appointed them, and yet when they ſaw him there *they worſhip'd but ſome doubted*, and if Chriſt almoſt in his Laſt words *upbraided* them with their *unbelief*, becauſe they believ'd not them who had ſeen him after he was riſen, the *Pagan* and *Jewiſh* World would not have been brought ſo eaſily as they were to the belief of his Reſurrection, the great *hinge* on which the Chriſtian Religion turns, and without which the Preaching of the Croſs would not ſo much have ſeem'd *fooliſhneſs* as been *madneſs.*

Thus did that *laſt* Jewiſh *error* prove moſt *fatal* to Judaiſme, and as Hea-

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ven was extracted by the Divine Power out of the Helliſh act of Murdring the *holy Jeſus*, ſo was the propagation of the truth of his Reſurrection out of the Calumny, Subornation and Bribery uſed to ſuppreſs it, thoſe artifices being ſo odious in the eye of the Law of all Nations, that they make any that uſes them to gain infamy and looſe his Cauſe, and to make ſure of the hatred of one very Conſiderable Enemy, namely Mankind; and juſtly, for againſt that great Body is every one that profeſſeth *Calumny* an *aggreſſor*, and has *proclaim'd* War.

And Granting that Nature is Conſtant to it ſelf, and that concluſions of the working of the Paſſions in humane Nature in future times may be made from the paſs'd, Our *Quintadecimani* (thô their Order ſeems in many political Principles to be *cloſe compacted* like the *ſcales* of *Leviathan*,) by the publiſhing of the Tenets before mentioned and conſtant practice of them have brought themſelves into the *ſhallows*, and they are like *Whales* on ground gazed on by the Critical World, and there labouring under the fatality of their own weight.

It has been obſerved by that deep Enquirer into Nature, *Monſieur Deſcartes*, that *Le bon ſens eſt choſe du monde, mieux partagè* &c. *Nothing is more equally diſtributed by Nature among Meu than Underſtanding and Reaſon, for every Man thinks he has enough:* and of this opinion was Mr. *Hobbes* in that *Chapter* in his *Leviathan*, of the Natural condition of Mankind, Where he ſaith, *That as to the Faculties of the Mind there is a greater equality among men then that of ſtrength: for prudence*, ſaith he, *is but experience which equal time beſtowes on all men in thoſe things they equally apply themſelves to.*

That which perhaps makes ſuch equality incredible, is but a vain conceit of ones own wiſdom, which all mortal men think they have in a greater degree than the Vulgar, that is then all men but themſelves and a few others whom by fame or for Concurring, with themſelves they approve: for ſuch is the Nature of men, that howſoever they may acknowledg many others to be more Witty or more Eloquent or more Learned, yet they will hardly believe many ſo wiſe as themſelves: for they ſee their own witt at hand, and other mens at diſtance.

But this proves rather that men are in that Point equal than unequal: For there is not ordinarily a greater ſign of the equal diſtribution of any thing, then that every man is Content with his ſhare.

Admitting this great obſervation of thoſe two great Maſters of Witt and Philoſophy to be true, One would ſuppoſe that *Nature* did not in vain *implant* in men ſuch a *general* notion of their equality in Wiſdome, nor without an intent of promoting the good of humane Society thereby. The God of Nature hath not only not given us any members of our bodies, but not the very *hair* of our eye-browes, nor even the *hairs* of our *eye-lids* in vain; for our eye-lids are fortify'd with thoſe little ſtiff *briſtles* as with *paliſado's* againſt the aſſaults of *Flyes* and ſuch like bold *animalcula*: and I may ſay, that that *general* Notion doth defend the *Eyes* of mens Minds from being too eaſily impoſed on by particular Notions and Shammes occurring to us from any.

And as to that notion ſo *univerſally* planted in mens Souls by Nature, one may well imagine that what a Gardiner plants in every bed of his Garden, is no *weed*; and perhaps one great End of Nature in the general implantation of this principle in men may be The ſhewing them the folly and danger of their attempts, who think to *engroſs* that great *Staple* Commodity of the *intellectual* World call'd *Wiſdome*, and to force others to buy that Commodity of which they think they have enough of their own by them, and eſpecially when they ſee that others would force a trade on them by counterfeit Wares, and have been already branded for ſo doing.

The truth is, every man's life who pretends to a greater ſhare of Wiſdome than his Neighbour, is in the better ſtate of ſecurity by this Notion beforementioned; for if a man thought others by their Wiſdome could render his ineffectual for his preſervation, he would fear and hate them for their ability to hurt him: and as Toads thô not Known to do any hurt are kill'd ſome times for the imagin'd pretious Stones in their heads, ſuch might be the fate of men for the value of their Brains, and which *depretiate* the worth of others. I conclude therefore that any Order or Society muſt take what followes from being thought *Nuſances* and *Enemies* to Mankind, and prepare for a political death or diſſolution, who think themſelves able by artifices to deveſt men of the property they have in their Underſtandings, and to *outwit* their *wiſdome*, and who both hang out to the World a new light, and proclaim a new Law of *Nature* contrary to the old, (notwithſtanding the out-cry of Nations that *nolumus legem naturæ mutari*,) and who *Calumniate* all that allow not the doctrine of *Calumny*, and *invent* Crimes to Cut off the heads that will not ly at their feet, thô yet they can invent no crimes (even Regicide not excepted) but what the *Invention* of their *Theology* has made lawful, and think that an *hypotheſis* may *renitente mundo* call it ſelf *Religion* or *Politics*, which if it were univerſally receiv'd, would not leave the World one minute out of a *ſtate* of *Warr*, for it *ipſo facto* diſſolves all *Factions*, and cancels all *Allegiance*, and nulls all hopes of *Protection*; inſomuch that in a *Gaming-houſe* that *agreed* on *cheating*, the *play* could not be worth the *candles* at a days end, and each of the cheaters muſt be reduced *to cheat by himſelf*; and thus too any one that makes fraud venial, cannot be ſure that any participants with him in Sedition will keep their word; and he muſt rebel by himſelf too againſt an irritated world, that was never made only for any to play in and with, and which muſt needs with inconceiveable regret ſee thoſe men who make all accuſations and teſtimony in nature *uncertain*, inſtrumental in the inflicting of the puniſhment of *Certain* death thereupon, and ſee a Religion that is dying a *Natural* death, make any Religious men dy by a *violent*, and obſerve that its inventors do in a *poſitive* and *dictatorian* way propound Principles that ſuch *ſturdy propounders* cannot themſelves believe, till like *Geta*, a Citizen of *Rome*, who having long as a *diſguiſe* wore a patch over one of his Eyes, he loſt the uſe of it for ever, they have by habituating their Underſtandings long to *diſſimulation*, loſt the uſe of their faculty of diſcerning.

And this is the Caſe between Mankind and the *Jeſuits*, neither better nor worſe, and is like to be the fate of theſe, and eſpecially Conſidering that their Principles have both Weight and Numbers to Conteſt with, I mean the weight of Arguments, and the Numbers of their own and our Religion.

There is no Reſiſting the Power of Nature where thoſe two things meet.

We ſee by frequent obſervation in our own Land, that the very *breath* of the people like that of a *Canon Bullet* proves deſtructive, aud what then will not the breath of incenſed Mankind do?

They have Numbers to Conteſt with that their Principles have infected with *Calumny*, who think it ſcarce a *Venial* Sin to pay any man in the falſe Coyn that was received from him, and who will be making it as lawful as they Can, not to play upon the ſquare with falſe Gameſters: and as the ſtrong are naturally apt to repel force by force, ſo are the weak, to repel fraud by fraud, and will be tempted to make an ill uſe of the *lex talionis*, and to account the purſuing of them with wild defamatory Reports to be but following them in their own Wild-gooſe-chace.

Jarrigius

Jarrigius in his Book printed together with that call'd *the Jeſuits on the Scaffold*, ſaith, *While there was any thing of the League left in* France, *all the ſlight the Jeſuits had to weaken the authority and elude the unavoidable accuſations of the Paſquiers, the Servines, the Arnauds of that time was to perſuade the Credulous people, that thoſe incomparable Men were fautors of Calviniſme, and thereby imagin'd themſelves ſufficiently vindicated as to the horrid Crimes and execrable Parricides wherewith they were charged by thoſe illuſtrious Officers of State in* France, *if in ſome wretched anſwers they accuſed them of hereſie.* So *ſtale* and ſenſeleſs has that humour of the *Jeſuites* been to call all that oppoſed them, *Presbyterians.*

But any who reads the very Learned *Epiſtle* of the *Biſhop of Lincoln* to the diſcourſe of the *diſcovery of the Gunpowder Treaſon Printed in the Year* 1670. will find that he there Cites *Alphon. de Vargas Toletanus* for ſaying, *That all the Univerſities of* Spain, *in a Book againſt the Jeſuits printed and ſent to the King of* Spain, *give this Character of them, that they are fraudulenti mendaces, veritatis interverſores, Infamatores virtutis, Impoſtores Pietatis Velo operti, lupi in veſtimentis ovium, Novitatum amici, Sanctorum Doctorum Contemptores,* Lutheri & Calvini *partiarii, ac de hæreſi ſuſpecti, pacis publicæ perturbatores, Diabolicæ Induſtriæ homines, ſerpentes, ipſiq; Cacodæmones ac ab omnibus Cavendi ac fugiendi: fraudulent, lyars, Corrupters of truth, defamers of Virtue, Impoſtors under a veil of Piety, Wolfes in ſheeps clothing, lovers of Novelties, Contemners of the holy Doctors, partners with* Calvin *and* Luther, *and ſuſpected of hereſie, troublers of the Public Peace, men of Diabolical induſtry, Serpents, and very Devils, and to be ſhun'd and avoided, or fled from by all men.*

Thus their *hands and heads* being *againſt every one,* by a tacit Paction and Confederation of Nature almoſt all mens are ſo againſt them.

They and other Caſuiſts and Jeſuited Papiſts have complain'd of Shammes and Calumnies put on them by Proteſtants in *England* ſince the Plott; and no doubt if they have not ſuffer'd in that kind, they may expect it, all Proteſtants having not attain'd to the temper of *St. Michael the Arch-Angel to forbear Railing accuſations,* nor to the holineſs of *St. Bartholomew,* who 'tis ſaid by *continual Prayer had his Knees as hard as a Camels.*

I have read of an Antidote againſt the Poyſon of *Calumny* and *falſe teſtimony* beyond what Proteſtants could Compaſs, namely, *an Indulgence granted by Pope Innocent the* 8th *to every man and woman that bears upon him or her the length of Chriſts Nails wherewith he was foſtned to the Croſs, (the Juſt length of which was Nine Inches) and worſhips them daily with five Pater-Noſters, and five Aves and a Creed, that he or ſhe ſhall have granted them, theſe great gifts: the firſt is that he ſhall never dye a ſudden, nor evil death: the ſecond is that he ſhall never be ſlain with the Sword or weapon: the third is, his Enemies ſhall never overcome him: the fourth is poyſon, nor falſe witneſs ſhall never grieve him.*

By my Conſent every Proteſtant and Papiſt ſhall in this Peſtilential time of Shammes Carry this Antidote about him; but whether this be a *Shamme-Indulgence* or no, and put upon the Pope, and invented by Some non-Papiſts; I know not. My Author for it is Mr. *John Gee, Maſter of Arts* of *Exeter Colledge* in *Oxford,* in his *Book* 4to Call'd *New Shreds of the Old Snare,* p. 103. *Printed at London* in the Year 1624. In any ſuch wretched Contention between the *fæx Romuli* and any of the Proteſtants here who ſhould become moſt impure by Calumny, as the Proteſtants being much more Numerous than the Papiſts would be able to out-ſhamme them, and to make the more plain detections of the Shammes contriv'd by their Adverſaries, it would likewiſe go the harder with any Sect, that the Majority of Numbers would thus run

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down with Shammes in this Nation at this Conjuncture of time, when the many ſwarms of thoſe who *offer* at *Wit*, and think they merit the being call'd *Witts*, by doing the exerciſe in a Coffey-houſe, Call'd *Baldring*, that is, with a ſerious grave face, telling idle feign'd Stories *farced* with particular Circumſtances to enſnare the belief of the Credulous, which kind of ungenerous triumphing over weak Underſtandings by ridiculous *Shammes*, is a falſe ſort of *wit* and *humour* below not only the gravity of the *Engliſh* Nation, but the levity of the *French*, and uſed by none but *Fools* who ſtand for the place of being *Knaves*.

There is no doubt but the talent of theſe fooliſh Shammers as their intereſt and dependances or humors incline them to wiſh well either to Popery or Proteſtancy extending to abuſe the belief of the unthinking Vulgar with little *romantic Stories* concerning thoſe Religions, helps to Convey them into the *Preſs* which gives wings to theſe Shams preſently to fly round the Kingdome.

If the Papiſts think the Preſs hath not in any of the Pamphlets it dayly ſpits, charged them with *Calumny*, and of Such a Nature as to bring univerſal odium on them by alarming the Kingdom almoſt as much as it could be by forrain invaſion, and occaſionally laying a Tax on men to buy what Arms for their defence the Law allowes, I will ask them what they think of one of our *printed Intelligences* that Came out on the 26th of *February* 168$\frac{7}{8}$, wherein 'tis ſaid, *Laſt* Fryday *came a Letter from* Stafford, *directed to one* Bacchus *Tenant to the Lord* Stafford *from one* Wilſon *in* Cheſhire, *but ordered to be left with one* Finny *of* Stafford *to be ſent to the ſaid* Bacchus : *but* Finny *obſerving Letters ſo directed to paſs through his hands, and apprehending they might relate to ſome dangerous Correſpondence, took the liberty to Open this, and therein to his great ſurprize found directions to* Bacchus *for burning of* Stafford *and ſeveral great Towns : upon which making a ſpeedy diſcovery to a Magiſtrate*, Bacchus *was ſent for, who after ſome evaſions did confeſs he had received Letters to that purpoſe. And juſt now the ſaid* Wilſon *is apprehended and committed, and confeſſeth he was by the order of a Certain Lord, to fire* Stafford, Drayton, Shrewsbury, Nantwich, Cheſter, Congerton, New-Caſtle Under-Line, *and two more, and that he was to have* 900 *l. for fireing thoſe Nine Towns.*

I having never heard of any Proclamation or proceedings either of the Magiſtracy or Lievtenancy of this Kingdom after ſuch an alarm of public hoſtility and of a Rebellion hatch'd in the Kingdom, nor of the laſt puniſhment inflicted on the pretended Certain Lord that was the General of thoſe *Incendiaries*, did look on them under the Notion of an *Army in diſguiſe*.

But whatever ground the Proteſtant Religion hath got or ſhall get by theſe poor means, I deſire that it may go to the Next occupant; for not only the ayr it exhales is Peſtilential, but it includes that ayr in it which may produce Earthquakes, which dangers therefore the New Popiſh or Jeſuited Religion muſt be expoſed to by the ayr of Shams and Calumnies.

My Lord, I ſhall here entertain your Lordſhip with ſomewhat very Remarkable out of the *Book* of *Father Parſons* of the *Succeſſion*, whereby you will ſee that inſtead of Allowing the *oportet eſſe hæreſes*, he doth in effect tell us, that while the Kingdom has two Religions in it, *oportet eſſe Calumnias* : that *great* Jeſuite having with much agility danced on the high rope as to the *Caſuiſtical* part of the *Queſtion* of the *Succeſſion*, affects to do it too in the *Politics*, but miſs'd his *Center* of *gravity* in his motion both as a *Divine* and a *States-man*, and did ſhamefully *fall* in either Capacity, as your Lordſhip will find by the reading of his words. He ſaith, *p.* 217. being near the Concluſion of the *firſt* part of his Book, *And thus much now for matter of Conſcience.*

ſcience. But if we Conſider Reaſon of State alſo and worldly Policy, it Cannot be but great folly and overſight for a man of whatſoever Religion he be, to promote to a Kingdom in which himſelf muſt live one of a Contrary Religion to himſelf: for let the bargains and agreements be what they will, and fair promiſes and vain hopes never ſo great, yet ſeeing the Prince once made and ſettled, muſt needs proceed according to the Principles of his own Religion, it follows alſo, that he muſt Come quickly to break with the other party, tho he loved him never ſo well (which yet perhaps is very hard if not impoſſible for two of different Religions to love ſincerely) but if it were ſo, yet many jealouſies, ſuſpicions, accuſations, Calumniations, and other averſions muſt needs light upon the Party that is of different Religion from the State and Prince under whom he lives, as not only he Cannot be Capable of ſuch Preferments, Honours, Charges, Government and the like, which men may deſerve and deſire in their Commonwealth, but alſo he ſhall be in Continual danger, and ſubject to a thouſand moleſtations and injuries, which are incident to the Condition and ſtate of him that is not Current with the ſame Courſe of his Prince and Realm in matters of Religion; and ſo before he be aware, he becomes to be accounted an Enemy or backward man: which in Mind he muſt either diſſemble deeply, and againſt his own Conſcience make ſhew to favour and ſet forward that which in his heart he doth deteſt, which is the greateſt Calamity and Miſery of all other, tho yet many times not ſufficient to deliver him from ſuſpicion; or elſe to avoid this everlaſting perdition, he muſt break with all the temporal Commodities of this life, which his Country and Realm might yield him; and this is the ordinary end of all ſuch men, how ſoft and ſweet ſoever the beginning be.

This *Jeſuite* (who was before mention'd to have been Call'd *one of the greateſt Men that his Order has produced*) was here (it ſeems) a *States-man in his heart*, and no More: and has very honeſtly foretold all Proteſtants that ſhall live under a Prince of another Religion, how diſhoneſt Roman Catholics will prove to them. The Jeſuite was here an *Almanac-maker*, who predicted nothing to Proteſtants but *Lightning* and *Thunder*, and too the Continual *Raining of Snares upon them during* ſuch a Conjuncture, and the cauſing each of them to be with the *darts* of *Calumny* and obloquy forever ſtuck round like the figure of the *man* in the *Almanac*: but how fooliſh *Father Parſons* was to write this when the *Proteſtants* had the Ball at their foot, and when he could not be ſure that the Papiſts would ever arrive at the ſtate, to have it alwayes at theirs, let any one Judge. He had before uſed that rhetorical expreſſion, that *ſo the Ship be well and happily guided, I eſteem it not much important of what Race or Nation the Pilot be*, but he was extremely impolitic, by ſo early and public an alarm to notify it to many who thought that *embarqued* in the Civil Government of a Prince of any Religion, they might be ſafely tranſported from this World to the Next, that Popiſh *Maſters* of the Ship have determin'd before-hand to throw all heterodox Paſſengers *overboard*, and their own Oaths and engagements to them likewiſe.

But what ever perſon takes a *promiſſory* Oath with an *intent* of not keeping it, may well be Concluded as actually guilty of perjury in the Court of Heaven, as he who knowingly takes a falſe *aſſertory* Oath. They have both equally preſumed to try by ſolemn lying to *weather* the fear of Divine Omniſcience and Omnipotence; and both their *aſſertory* and *promiſſory* Oaths are of equal weight in the ballance of humane judgment.

And becauſe I think the Argument will hold from the falſity of their Oaths *promiſſory* in this their *dernier Reſort* aforeſaid, to the obtaining the Worlds Sentence againſt the truth of their Oaths *aſſertory*, I ſhall entertain your Lordſhip with an inſtance of one of the Church of *Rome*, of whom it may be ſaid, that a *Greater* than *Father Parſons* is here, to vindicate the

making of Oaths *promiſſory* with an intent of breaking them, and 'tis *Pope Clement* the 8th, of whom *Danæus* ſaith in his *Chronology* of Popes, that he was πολιτικώτατος, the 'O *Politician*, as I may ſay, of whom *D'Oſſat* in his Third *Book, Letter* 81, *viz.* to *Villeroy* in the Year 1597, ſpeaking there how *he had diſcover'd the Popes Inclinations, that the King of* France *ſhould break with* England, *and that he told his Holineſs that the King's making a particular profeſſion to keep his word would not ſuffer him to break that Alliance that had been ſo lately renew'd and ſworn,* ſaith, *that the Pope thereupon reply'd, That that Oath was made to a heretic, and that his Majeſty had made another Oath to God and the Pope*: And further mentions *what the Pope had told him at other times and in the precedent audience, That Kings and Soverain Princes did permit to themſelves all things that turn'd to their profit, and that none blamed them for it or took it ill from them, and alledged to that purpoſe a Saying of* Franciſco Maria *Duke of* Urbin, *who was wont to ſay, That if a plain Gentleman broke his word he would be diſhonour'd by it; but that Soveraign Princes for Reaſon of State without any great blame might make Treaties and break them, and* Mentir, trahir, & toutes telles autres choſes, *i. e. Ly, and betray, and do all things of that nature*: whereupon ſaith *D'Oſſat, I had but too much to reply to that, but I did not think it my duty there to ſtay my ſelf in a place ſo ſlippery.* But toward the cloſe of the *Letter* he adds, *By what is aboveſaid you ſee tho the Pope has no diſreſpect for the King of* France, *nor any love for the King of* Spain, *yet the hatred that he has for Heretics, tranſports him ſo far, that he lets fall from his Mouth (tho under the Name of another) ſome pernicious Maximes unworthy of an honeſt man, and that the Pope accounts all ways good for his Majeſty to break with his Allyes, becauſe they are not Catholics, altho thoſe ways are infamous.* I am ſo far a Concurrer with that Pope, as to think that according to the Law of Nature and Nations, the Oath and Promiſe to the firſt of any Prince's Allies is moſt obligatory; and therefore the Pope doth very honeſtly notify his opinion, that *Harry* the 4th intended not to keep any promiſſory Oath Contrary to that made to God and himſelf. But the *Pope* miſtakes the *factum* of that Great *Prince*'s Oaths; and 'tis for the honour of the Roman Catholic Religion, that it has left to Poſterity ſo great an inſtance of a Proteſtant Prince turn'd a Papiſt, and Continuing kind to the perſons of Proteſtants. But they owed no thanks to the *Pope* or *Jeſuites* for his making or keeping Promiſes and Alliances with Proteſtants. The *Bohemian Hiſtory* tells us how *Ferdinand* about the *Year* 1617, *before he was poſſeſt of that Crown, did by Oath bind himſelf, that* Matthew *being alive he would not meddle with any of the affairs of* Bohemia, *much leſs with Religion: but immediately after his Coronation, he going into* Moravia *to receive homage, the Jeſuites erected at* Olumacium *a Triumphal Arch, and painted on it among the Arms of* Auſtria, *the Lion of* Bohemia *tyed to it with a Chain, and the Eagle of* Moravia *with a ſleeping Hare lying with open Eyes, and this Emblem writ under it,* I have practiced. *But the Year following, a new erected Academy of Jeſuites ſpoke out in Print, that tho* Ferdinand *at his Coronation took an Oath to the Heretics, yet firſt he left it in the Veſtry of the Church, that he would not ſuffer Heretics to prejudice the Rights of holy Church.*

But I believe I may without offending any Candid Papiſts, ſay of that *Pope*, that when he diſcours'd as that *Letter* mentions; the *glory* of his Infallibility ſhined not out of his Mouth, as *Porphry* ſaid that *Plotinus his Soul did when he ſpake.*

The *Story* is *trite* concerning a *Popes* Excommunicating a *Biſhop* of his Church, for owning that there were *Antipodes*; but there is a ſort of *greater Excommunication* that any Jeſuited Papiſts are to expect that are the *Antipodes* to *ingenuous* Mankind, and who make *Aſſertory* or *Promiſſory* lying to

be

be venial, or lawful, and that is thus to be *excluded* from the *Communio fidelium* (tho without the Ceremony of lighting Torches and extinguiſhing them), namely, by Gentlemens forbearing to keep them Company, and *eſteeming them worſe than Publicans or Heathens*, and accounting it neither ſafe nor honorable to Correſpond with the Enemies of Mankind; and this is the Sentence, namely that of a kind of *Civil Excommunication* or ſecluſion from ingenuous mens *Converſation* that they are likely to obtain in *England* after all their charge and pains in their *dernier Reſort*, and the having ſeen the *birth* of their Plott confounded, and the *after-birth* of it, namely its Shams thrown away.

Since No *injury* wounds ſo much as a *Contempt*, and ſince they by trampling on our Underſtandings with More pride than ever *Bajazet* walk'd over the dead heads of Chriſtians, affect to try to bring us implicitly to believe their Shammes, they are to thank themſelves for our not giving decent burial to any of their undeeent Plotts, and for the exaſperating any Proteſtants by *deſpiſing* them, and endeavouring to *impoſe* on their Underſtandings as ſome did on a *raw* young Country Gentleman, whom one day treating at a *Puppet-ſhew*, they perſuaded that the Puppets were living Creatures, and after he had found out his groſs ridiculous miſconceit therein, they on the following day attending him to the *Theatre*, engaged him to believe that the *Actors* were *Puppets*: *I mean*, their endeavoring to make us believe that Sham-Plots were real ones, and that a real one was *Shamme*.

I ſhall never wonder at the encreaſe of the paſſion of anger incident to humane Nature even in great and generous Souls, on the occaſion of groſs Calumnies invented againſt them about a matter of weight, when I conſider the Example of the Great *Royal Prophet*, a Perſon of a great Underſtanding, and of ſo great *Courage, that he was not afraid of Ten thouſands of men who ſet themſelves againſt him round about, and tho an Hoſt ſhould encamp againſt him, his heart would not fear*, and a Man that had in his Nature and temper the Gentleneſs of a Lamb mixt with the ſtoutneſs of a Lyon, and one to whom the Divine Promiſe had enſured a Kingdom; and yet was he by the *Sycophancies* and little *Shammes* rais'd againſt him by *Saul's* great Courtiers, wrought to ſo high a pitch of anger, that he did with exquiſite forms of *imprecation*, and ſuch as perhaps are not to be found in any other Story, frequently devote thoſe Calumniators to the moſt dire Miſeries his fancy could lead him to expreſs. But the Cauſe of his being ſo highly provoked by thoſe *that would turn his glory into ſhame, and did ſeek after leaſing, and whoſe deceitful tongues uſed all-devouring words, as he ſaith to* Doeg *the* Edomite *in one of his Pſalms*, (*and whoſe tongue he there ſayes did deviſe miſchiefs, like a ſharp razor working deceitfully*) may be aſcribed to the *Shammes* of his Enemies wounding him in the moſt *ſenſible* Part, namely the Reputation of his *Loyalty* to his *Prince*, whoſe Life he ſpared when 'twas in his power to deſtroy him, and who was ſo far from the uſe of Shammes againſt him, that he doom'd the *Amalekite* to dy, that ſhamm'd himſelf the author of *Saul's* death.

And therefore No marvel if the Calumnies of Jeſuited Papiſts attaquing Proteſtants in that Caſe too of their Fidelity to their King, render the paſſion of anger in them againſt thoſe Shams ſo intenſe and vehement. And tho the *Engliſh* Courage or a very little Philoſophy would help them to beſtow only a generous neglect on other Calumnies, they can never forget thoſe that ſtrike at the heart of their allegiance, and conſequently of their Religion that ſo ſtrictly enjoyns it. Nor if according to the Example of that *great man after Gods heart*, who ſaid, *Away from me all ye that work vanity*, and who would have *No lyer tarry in his ſight*, is it to be admired if every true *Engliſh* Proteſtant

teſtant ſhall ſay too, *odi Eccleſiam malignantium*, and ſhall ſeclude all *dictators* of Calumny from his company, and baniſh them home to their own.

And tho the abuſe of Excommunication by the Papal Church and Presbyterian hath been ſo horrid, that the primitive uſe of it is in a manner loſt and grown obſolete, yet will that which includes ſomewhat of the Nature of it be ſtill kept alive in the World by *private* perſons who practice the Chriſtian Religion they profeſs, (and to whom tho the Precepts of the New Teſtament have not given that hateful thing to humane Nature in charge, namely to be Informers, or Promoters, or judicial accuſers of any of Mankind, accordingly as under the *Moſaic* oeconomy 'twas ſaid, *Tu non eris criminator*, yet have they obliged them *to withdraw themſelves from men of corrupt minds, and deſtitute of the truth, and not to eat with any one who is call'd a Brother and is a railer, and to turn away from men that are truce-breakers, and to mark thoſe who cauſe diviſions, and to avoid them, and to reject a Heretic who is ſubverted and ſelf-condemned,*) and by men of Cultivated educations and tempers, who value themſelves on the Company they keep, and on it are valued by the World, and will therefore abandon or excommunicate from their Converſation ſuch *Monſters* of *men*, who have renounced the obligations of humane ſociety, and who are guilty of Notorious *Contumacy* in matters that concern the very Salvation of Souls, and the Safety of Kingdoms. The being *ſtaked* down therefore to a Narrower *Tedder* in Converſation, or being Civilly Excommunicated from Proteſtants Company, muſt by neceſſity of Nature, in my opinion, be the *fate* of our Jeſuited *make-bates* and *criminators* of Proteſtants that have been ſo unweary'd in raiſing Jealouſies between the King and his People, and between Proteſtant and Proteſtant; and all ſuch that go to part *whom God and Nature and Intereſt have joyn'd*, will probably come at laſt to be the *derelicts* of humane Society when they ſhall Come to be *underſtood*, and eſpecially when there ſhall be that good *underſtanding* between Proteſtants here of ſeveral perſuaſions that may be expected to ariſe from their having found out the authors of their diviſions, and ſeen how ridiculous *Proteſtants* have been in the view of the World while they have appear'd like the *Cat* to draw one another through the Pool, and the Jeſuits and their Penſioners ſtood behind undiſcern'd, and pull'd the Rope.

My Lord, I know we may juſtly fear that *Popery* may during ſome *turbid* intervals gain ground in *England*, and as the Renowned Hiſtorian of our Reformation hath in a public Sermon Judiciouſly obſerved, that *Sure none believed themſelves when they ſay we are not in danger of Popery, and none can think it but they who deſire it.*

But without preſuming to make my ſelf one of Heavens Privy Councellors, and without pretending to a ſpirit of Prophecy, I ſhall on the *baſis* of the Courſe of Nature ground this affirmation, *That whatever alterations Time can Cauſe, yet while the* Engliſh *Nation remains entire and defended from Forraign Conqueſt, the Proteſtant Religion Can never be exterminated out of this Kingdom, nor the public profeſſion of it ſuffer any long interruption therein.*

I will grant it poſſible that hereafter under a Prince of the Popiſh Religion, Popery may like the *vibration* of a *pendulum* among Certain perſons have the greater extent in the return of it, as *Becket's Image* was by *Gardiner* ſet up in *London* μέτα πολλῆς φαντασίας, with *much pomp* in *Queen Mary's time*, after its being pull'd down in *Harry* the Eighth's, and himſelf unſainted, and ſome people may undertake devout Pilgrimages hereafter to ſome ſuch Images and Reliques as my Lord *Herbert* ſaith were in *Harry* the Eighth's *time exploded*, and we may again hear of our *Lady's Girdle ſhewn in eleven ſeveral places, and her*

Milk

Milk in eight, the Bell of St. Guthlac, *and the Felt of St.* Thomas *of* Lancaſter *both Remedies for the head-ake; the Pen-knife and Books of St.* Thomas *of* Canterbury, *and a piece of his Shirt much reverenc'd by great belly'd women; the coals that roaſted* St. Laurence; *two or three heads of* St. Urſula, Malchus *his Ear, and the paring of* St. Edmund's *Nails, and likewiſe the trumperies of the Rood of Grace at* Boxly *in* Kent, *and in* Hales *in* Gloceſterſhire, *things named as trumperies* in *p.* 495, and 496, by *Herbert* in that *Hiſtory*, and as *adjudged* to be ſuch by *H.* the 8*th.*

And no doubt but the Number of ſuch would be very great, who having great Summs of Money given them, would be content to offer ſmall ones in Devotion to ſuch Images; and many Candidates for preferment, among ſome that now look big for, and among Diſſenters that look big againſt the *Church* of *England*, would produce *Certificates* of their *Conſtant good affection and Zeal* for the Roman Catholic Church; and any *Legate* that came to reconcile us to the Church of *Rome*, would be thought by many to have brought the *Holy-Ghoſt* in his *Sumpters*, thô we know what the Inſide of *Campegius* his was made of.

It is moreover poſſible that Proteſtant writers may come not to have that freedom of the Preſs that Popiſh now have, and all the luxury and wantonneſs and humor of the Preſs in ſending forth innumerable Pamphlets againſt Popery, in this Conjuncture, may perhaps prove but like the jollity of a *Carnival* to uſher in a long melancholly *Lent.*

I will grant, that 'tis poſſible the Writ *de hæretico Comburendo* being now Aboliſhed that deſtroyed ſo many Proteſtants by *retail*, certain bloody men may find ſome Invention to deſtroy them by *wholeſale*, and to ſomething of that nature Biſhop *Uſhers* Prophecy referred, of the Raging Perſecution of Proteſtants yet to come and not laſting, and when their enemies will *ipſam ſævitiam fatigare*: and in the *violence* of ſuch predicted cruelty not being *long laſting*, that great Prelate erred not from the Nature of things more then he did when he Prophecy'd of an *Iriſh* Rebellion Forty years before it hapned, for that uſually happens once in ſo many years through the force and numbers of the *Iriſh* within that time outgrowing the *Engliſh*, and their allowing themſelves the repoſſeſſion of their Eſtates by that time as a *Jubile.*

I will further grant, that the *diſcipline* of our *Church* (of which I think the *Conſtitution* is the beſt that the world can ſhew) may be Cruſht, as I ſaid before, and our *Diſſenters* then in vain wiſh that they had the *tolerabiles ineptiæ* (as your Lordſhip knows who imperiouſly call'd them) in the Room of the intollerable abominations of the Maſs; and *'tis poſſible* that divine *Juſtice* and *Power* may permit the doctrine as well as diſcipline of our Church to be ſuppreſt totally and finally in this Realm, and that the prediction of that Great *Man of God* whô ſince his death has been as generally ſtyl'd *the Judicious*, as *Lewis the Juſt* was elſewhere ſo vogued (I mean Mr. *Hooker*) may impreſs a deep horror and a too late repentance on us, who in his 5th *Book of Eccleſiaſtical Polity* in the end of the 79th *Paragraph p.* 432. of the *old Edition*, ſpeaking of the ill affected to our Church, ſaith, *By theſe or the like ſuggeſtions receiv'd with all Joy and with all ſedulity practiced in Certain parts of the Chriſtian World, they have brought to paſs that as* David *doth ſay of Man, ſo it is in hazard to be verify'd concerning the whole Religion and Service of God, the time thereof peradventure may fall out to be Threeſcore and Ten years, or if ſtrength do ſerve, unto Fourſcore: what follows, is likely to be ſmall joy to them whatſoever they ſhall be that behold it.* Mr. *Hooker* did firſt print his 5th *Book* in the year 1597. (the firſt four of his *Polity* being before printed in the year 1594) and ſo the *period* of *Fourſcore Years* in his prediction was in the *Year* 1677.

Thô that good man pretended not to be a Prophet, yet according to the old saying μάντις ἄριστος ὃς εἰκάζει καλῶς i. e. *he is the beſt Prophet who can gueſs well*, both our *Church* of *England* and the *Diſſenters* and *Papiſts* too have found that Mr. *Hookers prudence* had ſo much *divination*, and his *divination* ſo much prudence, that the ſmall joy with which they have beheld the external face of Religion here ſince 1677. hath ſhew'd us that he *gueſs'd* ſhrewdly.

I have only affirm'd, that *humanly ſpeaking*, and according to the common *courſe* of *nature*, Popery cannot be the overgrown *National Religion* of *England*, but am not ignorant that the *ſacred Code* hath given us inſtances of Omnipotent *power* puniſhing even Heavens *peculiar* people by the Courſe of Political and Eccleſiaſtical Power running out of the common Channel of the *Nature* of things, and particularly by a ſucceſſion of Ten evil Kings one after another. For thô humane Nature is ſo inconſtant, and men generally ſo apt to reel from one extream to another, that the World growes as weary of the prevalence of Vice as of Virtue, and after a long age of Diſſoluteneſs and *Luxury*, a Contrary humour reigns as long in the World again, a humour that then excludes all *Voluptuaries* from Public Truſts for an Age together; (and a humour of which I think we now ſee the Tide Coming in) and thus ordinarily ſcarce any Kingdom hath more than two or three good or bad Princes ſucceſſively for any conſiderable ſpace of time; Yet after the *Ten Tribes* had made their *defection* from the Line of the Houſe of *David*, they were puniſh't by a Succeſſion of Ten Kings, and not one good one in the whole number, thô ſome of them were leſs ill than others; ſo that no Marvel if the *weight* of the impiety of ſo *many* ſucceſſive ill Princes ſunk them into the power of the *Aſſyrians*: and to this their doom, that paſſage in the *Prophecy* of *Hoſea* refers, which the vulgus of the *Scriblers* againſt *Monarchy* ſo Miſerably detort and *wracke* (as I may ſay) *to their own deſtruction*, namely, *I gave thee a King in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath*; for the Prophet there had not his Eye on *Saul*, or on a particular Perſon, but on the whole ſucceſſion of *Kings* after their Rent from *Juda*, from *Jeroboam* to the Laſt under whom the Cataſtrophe of their Captivity was. Such Kings were given them by Heaven as were proper Inſtruments of *Divine* wrath; and when they were took away from the Stage, 'twas that other worſe might enter and make their Condition more Tragical.

But *ſecret things belonging to God*, I pry not into the *Book* of *Fate*, but Confine my ſentiments alone to the Book of *Nature*.

In an *Excellent Sermon* of the *Dean* of St. *Pauls*, 'tis with great Piety and Prudence ſaid, *We have liv'd in an Age that has beheld ſtrange Revolutions, aſtoniſhing Judgments, and wonderful Deliverances.*

What all the Fermentations that are ſtill among us may end in, God alone knowes.

I only as a Philoſopher Conſidering that the Properties of humane Paſſions have as Neceſſary effects in Minds, as gravity or lightneſs have in Bodies, and that let men intend what *male adminiſtration* they *will*, *things* will not be *ill adminiſtred*, do think that the *fermentation* now in the Kingdome will not *end* but with Popery it ſelf here *ending*. And that I may not ſeem to ſtand *alone* in this my opinion, I ſhall entertain your Lordſhip with that of An Excellent *Philoſopher* and *Divine*, the *Author of the Hiſtory of the Royal Society*, who there having ſaid, *that experimental Philoſophy will enable us to provide before-hand againſt any alteration in Religious affairs which this Age may produce*, he goes on thus, *If we Compare the changes to which Religion has been alwayes ſubject with the preſent face of things, we may ſafely conclude, that whatever Viciſſitude ſhall happen about it in our time, it will probably be neither to*

the

the advantage of implicit Faith, nor of Enthuſiaſme, but of Reaſon: the fierceneſs of violent inſpiration is in good Meaſure departed: the Remains of it will be ſoon chaced out of the World, by the Remembrance of its terrible footſteps it has every where left behind it.

And although the Church of Rome *ſtill preſerves its Pomp, yet the Real authority of that too is apparently decaying. It firſt got by degrees to the Temporal Power, by means of its Spiritual, but now it upholds ſome ſhadow of the Spiritual by the ſtrength of the Temporal dominion it has obtain'd. This is the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendome: It is impoſſible to ſpread the ſame Cloud over the World again.*

The Univerſal diſpoſition of this Age is bent upon a Rational Religion. And therefore I Renew my affectionate requeſt, That the Church of England *would Provide to have the chief ſhare in its firſt adventure, that it would perſiſt as it has begun to encourage Experiments which will be to our Church as the* Britiſh *Oake is to our Empire, an Ornament and Defence to the Soil wherein 'tis planted.*

This *Author* therefore with ſuch Vigour of Reaſon paſſing his ſentence concerning any Viciſſitudes here not happening that will probably Conduce to the *advantage* of *Popery* or *Enthuſiaſme*, I hope your Lordſhip will acquit me both of *Singularity* and *Enthuſiaſme* as to the *opinion* I have given, eſpecially ſince I only profeſs it to be founded on Natural Reaſon, and do only Conſider the *God of Nature*, when I think that a *Religion* that is *of God will ſtand.*

'Tis not unknown to Your Lordſhip, that *Columbus* being in chace of the *New World*, and Caſt among ſome barbarous *Ilanders* that deny'd him the *hoſpitality* of their *Port*, and freedom of Commerce, he Knowing that they worſhipt the *Moon*, and that it would ſhortly be *Eclips'd*, thô he was neither *Prophet nor Prophet's Son*, aw'd them out of their inhumanity, by *foretelling* that the *Moons* deity would be ſhortly obſcur'd: and when ever I acquaint any Roman Catholics with my Judgment of the Nearneſs of their Religion to an *Eclipſe*, I intend no more enthuſiaſme in my prediction, then *Columbus* did in his, and deſign nothing worſe neither by mine then he by his, namely the reconciling them to humanity and a fair entercourſe with Mankind.

'Twas in the middle of the Worlds long *night* of barbariſme and ignorance that Popery was in its Meridian, and for *hundreds* of years all the *Learning* that buſy'd the World referr'd *to Judicial Aſtrology, Rabinical Resveries, School-Divinity*, Latine *Rhimes* in praiſe of the Saints, Compiling of *Legends*, to *Monks Hiſtories* of Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and the times they liv'd in (but ſo *partial* and ſo full of ridiculous and incredible Stories, that we have a better and truer account of the times when *Alexander* and *Julius Cæſar* liv'd, then of the times of *Conſtantine* and *Charlemain*) *to gelding* of the *Fathers* writings, and *purging* away their *Gold, Regulating* the Hoods, and Hoſe, and Shoo's of *Monks, to* inventing of *Ceremonies* and myſtical veſtments, and fantaſtic geniculations, *to* the making of the *Popes* brutiſh *Canon* Law, and the *Commenting* thereon in *barbarous* Latine by *Doctors* of the *Decrees* and *Decretals*, and *to* the *Commenting* on *Ariſtotle* by thoſe that could not *read* his *Text*, and the *Commenting* likewiſe on the *New Teſtament* by ſuch as knew no *Greek* (inſomuch that 'twas then a proverbial ſaying among thoſe illiterate Writers, *Græcum eſt, non poteſt legi*) to *quiddity, eſſeity, entity* and ſuch *titivilitium*, and *to eus rationis*, that did (as I may ſay) deſtroy the *being* of *Reaſon, to* the improvement of one ſort of *Mechanics*, *Viz.* by making *Images* in Churches with little engines and librations turn the eyes and move the lips like the forementioned *Rood of Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent* (and which was by Biſhop *Fiſher* expoſed as a cheat at *St. Pauls Croſs* at the time of its being there

there broke in pieces) while their great *Real* Deſign was to make the Layety but the Churches *automata*, as brute Animals may not improperly be ſaid to be God Almighties, to the Compoſing *Paſchal Epiſtles* about the time of the Celebration of *Eaſter*, a Controverſy (as our great Mr. *Hales* ſaith) *that cauſed as great a Combuſtion as ever was in the Church, and in which fantaſtical hurry all the World were Schiſmatics*, and about which Monk *Auſtin* was ſo quarrelſome with the *Britains*, when the difference was not in *doctrine* but in *Almanac Calculations*, and about which after the infallibility of the General *Councel* of *Nice* had given a *Rule* in the *Cauſe*, the World was yet ſo much in the dark, that the Biſhops of *Rome* from year to year were fain to addreſs to the Church of *Alexandrias's* Mathematicians for directions as to the week *Eaſter* was to be kept in.

And during this long *night*, Millions of mankind were brought into the World only to ſleep out their ſpan of time, and to have day-dreams of Knowledge, or rather a profound *Docta Ignorantia*; and men were by dignities rewarded proportionably for their ſleeping longeſt: according to what the *Chronicon Frideſwidæ* mentions of *Guimundus* a *Chaplain* to our King *Henry* the *Firſt*, who in the Celebration of holy offices reading before the King that place of *St. James*, *non pluet ſuper terram annos* III, *& menſes* VI, thus ridiculouſly *diſtinguiſhed* the *Notes* in his reading, *non pluet ſuper terram, annos, unum, unum, unum, & menſes quinque unum*, and the *King* asking him afterward, why he red ſo, he anſwered *quia vos in ita tantum legentes beneficia & epiſcopatus Confertis.*

No marvel then if during that *long* groſs and palpable Darkneſs of the World, the *Pope traveſty'd* thoſe words in *Scripture* about Gods *making the two great lights*, to ſerve his turn againſt the *Emperor*, tho yet the attempt to prove the *Popes* Supremacy out of the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, is as extravagant as his who would prove the *Circulation* of the blood out of the firſt Chapter of *Litleton.*

And as the Roman *Breviary* tell's us of *S. Thomas* very *gravely*, that when once he was vehement in prayer before a *Crucifix* at *Naples*, he heard this voice *bene de me ſcripſiſti Thoma*, none likewiſe in that age *laught* at the Pope for ſaying *bene de me ſcripſiſti Moſes.* The world then brought no *quo warranto* againſt the Popes *Charter* derived thus in his Canon Law from *Moſes*, nor that *gloſs* on it which ſays *Since the Earth is ſeven times bigger then the Moon, and the Sun eight times bigger then the Earth, the Papal Power muſt Conſequently be fifty ſeven times bigger then the Regal dignity.*

Our *Engliſh* World will no more allow of the logical Conſequence of that *doughty* argument of *Bellarmine* (*Lib.* 1. *de Pont.* ca. 2. *ſect. denique, & ſect. ſed.*) *There is one King among Bees, therefore there ought to be one Commander, chief Teacher and viſible Monarch in the Univerſal Church*, then they would allow that *argument* of the *Bees* to give our neighbour Monarch a right to an *Univerſal* Temporal Monarchy. The Popes vociferating of that Text *Behold two Swords*, and while their adherents held ſo many Thouſands in their hands, might then paſs muſter for as good an argument of his *right* to Spiritual and Civil power, as the words, that *the Lillies ſpin not*, did for the *Salic* Law with the help of another Army then one of *Commentators.*

The *Renewall* of the Popes *Charter* by *Paſce oves*, was not then diſallowed either for the *fleecing* of many *Millions* of Chriſtians or killing ſome *hundreds of thouſands* in the *German Empire*, according to what has been obſerved by the *famous Eraſtus* in his *Theſes*, p. 72. *& propter excommunicatos Imperatores & Reges, aliquot Centena millia hominum trucidata ſunt in imperio Germanico.*

And

And perhaps the *Popes plea* for making the *World* a great *Slaughter-houſe*, might then be admitted by the authority of the *Text*, *Ariſe* Peter, *kill and eat*.

Conculcabis ſuper aſpidem & baſilicum then went for a claim of Divine Right, to make the *head* of the *World* to be trampled on by the *foot* of a bald-pated Fryar.

But if the *Papacy*, the *light* that was in the World *then was darkneſs* (as the Scripture Expreſſion is,) *How great was that darkneſs*!

And as the Popes continued *art* was then to Conceal *Nature*, ſo 'twas not then held *tanti* for art in others to be Curious in following Nature, when an Opinion was imbibed that the Pope could change the very Nature of things, according to that ſaying, I have been ſhewn in the *Canon Law*, *glo.* in C. *propoſuit. de Conc. præb.* c. 5. de *tranſl. ep. Papa mutare poteſt rerum ſubſtantialia & de Juſtitia injuſtitiam facere, mutando & Jura corrigendo, adebq; quadrata æquare rotundis et rotundis quadrata.*

And for my part, I ſhould not have repined at the Popes aſſuming to himſelf the honour of the *light that rules by day*, if he could have *illuminated* the World with the *demonſtration* of the *quadrature of the Circle*, which that *gloſs* pretends to; a great *Knowable* thing, as *Ariſtotle* ſaid, tho not *known*, and which ſecret all the *penetrating* Mathematicians from *Archimedes* down to Mr. *Hobbs*, have *wooed* with very great *paſſion* and could not *enjoy*.

But during the *Egyptian plague* of *darkneſs* that many Ages then lay under, our famous Countreyman *Wicliff* alarm'd the Lethargic World: and he aſſail'd ſeveral groſs Errors of Popery with its own weapons of *Metaphyſics* and School Divinity, and by means of the noiſe his Two hundred Volumes made in the World, he diſpers'd a great *terror* in that dark Age; and as one ſaith, Sir *John Old-Caſtle*, Lord *Cobham* and the *Lollards being awaken'd out of their firſt ſleep, were deſirous to riſe before it was day, and before the appointed time was Come for the Reforming the abuſes in the Church: and between that time and morning, moſt men fell aſleep again as faſt as ever*: but yet long before the *dawn* of the Reformation, the doctrine of *Wicliffe* had made ſuch a *fermentation* in our *Engliſh* World, that in the *Tear* of our *Lord* 1422, that great States-man *Chichley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in a *Letter* to Pope *Martine* the Fifth, Complain'd, *That there were then ſo many here in* England *infected with the hereſies of* Wicliff *and* Huſſe, *that without force of an Army they could not be ſuppreſt*: Whereupon the *Pope* ſent two Cardinals to the Arch-Biſhop to Cauſe a *Tenth* to be gather'd of all Spiritual and Religious men, and the money to be Laid in the Chamber Apoſtolic; and if that were not ſufficient, the reſidue to be made up of Chalices, Candleſtics, and other implements of the Church, as the *Acts and Monuments* Atteſt.

And it is not unknown, that long before, *viz.* in *Harry* the Fifth's time, *Chichley* foreſeeing that a Storm was coming from the *Commons* on Church-Lands, diverted it, by engaging *England* in its darling popular War with *France*, and caus'd the *Clergy* to contribute very liberally to it.

But that fermentation that *Chichley* ſaid could not in the Year 1422 be checkt in peoples Minds otherwiſe then as aforeſaid, ſoon out-grew the power of any Army to allay; for in leſs than Thirty years afterward, the *Invention* of *Printing* came into the World, by which one man could tranſmit more notices of things in a Day, then another could by writing in a Year, and which did as much out-do the publication of notions by the Gooſquill, as the *invention* of *Gun-powder* did the killing Force of the *gray-gooſe-wing*, and which did, as it were, revive the old *Miracle* of the *Gift* of *Tongues*, (and *Cloven* too I may Call them, for their being *divided* from the *Sentiments* of the Papal Holy Church) and made Learning begin to *fly* like *lightning* through the

World to the Controuling and detecting of the Popes Excommunicating Thunder, and which ſhew'd the World its true face in the ſtream of time, and ſhew'd the greet *Fiſherman* of *Rome* dancing in the Nett, and which was the true *ſpeaking* Trumpet, whereby a ſingle Author could preach to the *dioceſs* of the World.

And that great birth of Fate the taking of *Conſtantinople* within three years after the *Invention* of Printing, occaſioning the World's acquiring the knowledge in the *Weſt* that it loſt in the *Eaſt*, and diſperſing the *Learned* Greeks, *Theodore Gaza*, *John Laſcaris*, *Manuel Chryſaloras*, and many others to teach the Greek Tongue where they went, the *Preſs* was thereby furniſhed, with *Glad* tidings for the Curious World, and *Eraſmus*, and many learned Papiſts, did ſoon imbibe the knowledge of that learned Language, and he complained in a Letter to the *Archbiſhop* of *Mentz*, *That the Friars would fain have made it Hereſy to ſpeak Greek.*

So pleaſant was it then to conſider that that barbarous Generation inſtead of knowing Hereſy to be *Greek*, voted *Greek* to be Hereſy, and that they who had murdered ſo many thouſands for being *Heretics*, knew not what the very word in its original language imported.

The Sagacity of *Eraſmus* could not then but eaſily ſee through the *Cobwebs* of the *School-Divines*: *totam Theologiam a Capite uſque ad Calcem retexuerunt, & ex divina Sophiſticam fecerunt aut Ariſtotelicam*, ſaith he *in vitâ Hier. præfixâ ipſius operibus. And Doctor* Colet *the Dean of St. Paules*, (*whom* Eraſmus *often* in his *Epiſtles* calls *præceptorem unicum & optimum*) did as *Eraſmus* ſaith in his *life*, account *the Scotiſts dull Fellows and any thing rather then ingenious, and yet he had a worſe opinion of* Aquinas *then of Scotus.* And tho *Luther* had angred *Harry* the 8th. by ſpeaking contemptibly of *Thomas Aquinas* whom that King ſo highly magnifyed that he was call'd *Rex Thomiſticus*, *Collet* was not afraid to Pronounce in that caſe as *Luther* did.

And here it may not by the way be unworthy of your Lordſhips obſervation as to the *concert* that is between the *Genius* of one great *Witt* and another, that *Eraſmus* and Mr. *Hobbs* had the ſame ſenſe of School-Divinity and School-Divines: For Mr. *Hobbs* in his *Behemoth or Hiſtory of the Civil-Wars* ſpeaking of *Peter Lombard* and *Scotus* ſaith, *That any ingenious Reader not knowing what was the deſigne of School-Divinity* (which he had before ſaid was with unintelligible diſtinctions to blind Men's eyes while it encroach'd on the Rights of Kings) *would judge them to have been two the moſt egregious blockheads in the World, ſo obſcure and ſenſleſs are their Writings.*

The *New Teſtament* was no ſooner open'd and read then in *Eraſmus* his tranſlation and in the *Engliſh* Tongue, but the Popes *Cards* were by the Clergy that playd his game thrown up as to all claim of more Power here by the word of God then every other forreign Biſhop had; and both our Univerſities ſent their judgments about the ſame to the King, which methinks might make our Papiſts approach a little nearer to us without fear of infection; for we allow the *Biſhop* of *Rome* to have as much Power by the Word of God as any other *Biſhop*; and 'tis pitty but that Judgment of our Univerſities were ſhewn the World in Print, and ſent to the *French* King, and particularly the *Reſcript* or *Judgment* of the Univerſity of *Oxford* as not being any where in Print (that I know of) but in an old Book of Dr. *James*'s againſt *Popery*.

Cromwel the *Vicegerent* to *H.* the 8th. had (as *Fuller* ſaith in his *Church-hiſtory*) *got the whole New-Teſtament of* Eraſmus *his tranſlation by heart:* but the ſore Eyes of many of the Clergy were ſo offended with the *glaring*-Light the New-Teſtament in Print brought every where, that inſtead of Studying it as that great *Primier Miniſtre* did, they only ſtudy'd to ſuppreſs it: and

thus

thus *Buchanan* in his *Scotch Hiſtory* ſaith that in *H.* the 8*ths* time, *tantaque erat cæcitas ut ſacerdotum plerique novitatis nomine offenſi, eum librum a Martino* Luthero *nuper fuiſſe Scriptum affirmarent ac vetus teſtamentum repoſcerent. i. e. They look'd on the New-Teſtament as writ by* Martin Luther, *and call'd for the Old Teſtament again.*

And the truth is, if *Luther* had then ſet himſelf to have invented and writ a *model* of *Doctrines* againſt *Juſtification* by works, and *redeeming* our vexation from wrath divine by Summs of Mony, and againſt implicit *Faith* and many groſs Papal Errors, he could not poſſibly have writ againſt them *in terminis terminantibus* more expreſly then the Writers of the *New-Teſtament* did.

But the *New Teſtament* was then *newly* opened, and the *legatees* permitted to read the whole *Will* over tranſlated into a language they underſtood, after they had been long by fraud and force kept out of their *legacies* by the *Biſhops Court* of *Rome*, whoſe Artifice had formerly in effect *ſuppreſſed* that *Will:* and that ineſtimable *legacy* of *liberty* from all impoſitions humane being particularly ſhewn to Mankind, there was no taking their Eyes off from this *Will*, nor taking it out of their hands, nor ſuppreſſing the ſtudy of the *Greek* language it was originally writ in.

King *Harry* the 8*th.* had received his Legacy thereby, who before was but a *Royal Slave* to the Pope; and the triumph of an εὕρηκα was eccho'd round his *Kingdom*, like that of *Archimedes*, when he had detected the *Impoſture* that had mingled ſo much droſs in the *Sicilian* Crown.

'Tis true he retained the profeſſion of ſeveral Papal Errors, and ſuch as he being vers'd in School-Divinity knew would ſtill keep themſelves in play in the World with a *videtur quod ſic*, & *probatur quod non*, accordingly as the learned Dr. *Jones* has obſerv'd in his *Book* call'd *the Heart and its Right Sovereign, that Image-Worſhip, Invocation of Saints, Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory are and will be learnedly and voluminouſly defended on each ſide to the World's end.*

Harry the 8*th* therefore did in his Conteſt with the Papacy *Ferire faciem*, and *did fight neither againſt ſmall and great but the King of Rome*, as I may ſay. He attaqued the Pope in his claim of authority over all Chriſtians, the authority that *Bellarmin* calls *Caput fidei, the head of the Catholic Faith.*

'Tis therefore very well ſaid in a *Book* call'd *Conſiderations touching the true way to ſuppreſs Popery in* England, *Printed for Mr.* Broome *in the Year* 1677; *Whatever notions we have of Popery in other things, the Pope himſelf is not ſo fond of them, but that to gain the point of authority, he can either connive, or abate, or part with them wholy: though no doubt he never doth it but inſidiouſly, as well knowing that whatever confeſſion he makes for the eſtabliſhing his authority, he may afterward revoke,* &c. And ſo the Author ſaith, *p.* 12. *That* Harry *the* 8th *for having caſt of his obedience to* Rome *was therefore judged a heretic, and that was look't on by* Rome *as worſe than if he had rejected all its errors together. He was a thorough Papiſt in all points but only that of obedience, in compariſon of which all the reſt are but talk.*

I account therefore in *Harry* the 8*ths* time Poperies moſt *ſenſible* and *vital* part, viz. the *Popes ſupremacy* did end in *England per ſimplicem deſinentiam.* The radical heat and moiſture it long before had was gone: like a *ſenex depontanus* it was held uſeleſs in a wiſe *Senate.* He eſtabliſh't the doctrine of his own ſupremacy without a Battel fought, nor did any Rebellion riſe thereupon but what he confounded with a general Pardon.

Many of the Scholars of the Univerſity of *Oxford* did *mutinouſly* oppoſe the introducing the knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue there, and were thereupon call'd *Trojans*, and others of the Schollars were as *robuſt* and loud for

that

that Language, who were therefore called *Græcians:* but by a *Letter* writ by *Sir Thomas More* to that Univerſity and by the Kings Command (which Letter is extant in the *Archives* of the public *Library* there) the Schollars being admoniſhed to lay by thoſe names of *diſtinction*, and likewiſe all *animoſity* againſt the *Greek* Tongue, and to encourage the learning of the ſame, it was there at laſt peaceably receiv'd.

The day-break of learning then in the world had put a period to the *night* of ignorance in which the Beaſts of Prey had domineer'd, and to their Monaſtic *denns* themſelves. The enlighten'd part of mankind was weary of growing pale among papers and ſometimes red hot with arguing about *terms* of *art* (and all thoſe barbarous too, that had formerly hid the God of nature) and would no longer account *implicit* faith the only *juſtifying* one, and could not more eſteem the impoſing of ſuch a *blind* faith commendable that was made previous to mens queſt after *pabulum* for their Souls, then that practice of the *boy* of *Athens* who did put out the eyes of birds, and then expoſe them to fly abroad for food.

The *Learning* then introduced into the world ſhew'd that the hierarchical *grandeur* of the *Roman* Church was not extant formerly in the learned times when the old Roman Empire flouriſh'd, but was contrived in the times of ignorance between the Biſhops of *Rome* and the Leaders or Princes of the *Barbarians*, and that it had its beginning from the Inundations of the *Northern* people (ſo that with Mr. *Colemans* leave by the way, *Popery* may be call'd too a peſtilent *Northern hereſy*) and that to the end that thoſe *Barbarians* might not find out the original of the papal power, and ſee how narrow the ſtream of it was at its fountain when every Biſhop was call'd *Papa* (as every woman is now with us call'd *Madam* and *Lady*) that the *Pope* by affronting the *Emperors* power effected a ſtrangeneſs between the *Greeks* and *Latines*, by means whereof the *Barbarians* being brought up in prejudice againſt the *Græcians* neglected their Language, to the decay whereof in the world not only the decay of the purity of the *Latine* Tongue may be imputed, but alſo of *Hiſtory*, *Geography*, *Geometry*, *ſkill in antiquity*, and even the worlds not knowingly then converſing with the *Latine* Fathers.

It was in an age of *non-ſenſe* when a *Canoniſt* venturing to be a Critic told the world concerning the Greek word *Allegoria*, *iſtud vocabulum fit ex duobus vocabulis*; *ab allo*, *quod eſt alienum*, *& goro ſenſus*; and when an old *Schoolman Thomas de Argentina*, thus gave the derivation of *latria*, *iſtud vocabulum fit ex duobus vocabulis*, *à La*, *quod eſt laus*, *& tria*, *quod eſt trinitas*: *quia latria*, *eſt laus trinitatis*. But the very underſtanding of two ordinary Greek words, namely ἴσα πρεσβεῖα, *equal priviledges* in eccleſiaſtical matters to the *Biſhops of Rome and Conſtantinople* allow'd by a General Councel, that were obvious to every enquirer into *hiſtory*, did quite *blow* up all pretences of the Popes *ſupremacy*; and one *verſicle* in that long unknown *Greek Book* μετανοιαν διαδηκην viz. *Luke* 24.47. which ſhews, *that the teaching of Repentance and remiſſion of ſins in the name of Chriſt by his own order began at Jeruſalem*, did ſurprize *thinking* men with amazement, when they heard a *Pope* and General *Councel* calling *Rome* the *Mother and Miſtreſs of all the Churches*, *and anathematiſing all who think otherwiſe*, and ſaying further *extra hanc fidem nemo poteſt eſſe ſalvus*, for this the *Trent* Councel did.

Thus then the abolition of the papal power here brought the world at the firſt ſtep out of a blind *Chaos* into a *Paradiſe* of Knowledge, and help'd Chriſtians to demonſtrate to themſelves and to Jews, and Pagans the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, for the certainty of the doctrine of which during that time of papal darkneſs the world had only the aſſertion of the preſent age that call'd it ſelf the *tradition* of the Church; but by the introduction of the

Greek

Greek Tongue and other learning, Chriſtians had the ſenſe of the *Greek* and *Latine Fathers*, and thoſe *hiſtorical Records* that brought down to them the certainty of the Miracles that were wrought in the founding of Chriſtianity; from the Primitive Chriſtians, who ſaw them. 'Twas the reſtoration of learning in general, help'd them to ſay with *Tertullian fidem colimus rationalem*, and with St. *Paul, I know whom I have believed*, and without the introducing of humane learning, the Proteſtant Religion could no more have been advanced to its height in the world, then men can be perfected in *Aſtronomy* without the knowledge of *Arithmetic*. *Luther* came into the field arm'd with the Knowledg both of the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Tongues, when he was to conteſt with the Errors of the Papacy; and he having for his Antagoniſt Cardinal *Cajetan*, who was the Legate in *Germany* and an eminent School Divine, and who made a home thruſt at *Luther* out of the Scripture according to the *Vulgar* Latine tranſlation, *Luther* told him in plain terms, That that tranſlation, was falſe and diſſonant to the original: and hereupon the *Cardinal*, thô he and the Papacy too had one foot in the grave, *Cato* like fell eagerly on the ſtudying of *Greek*, that he might be able ſo confute *Luther* and his followers out of the Scriptures, and was put to it to make his weapon when he was in the field.

And can any one think now that in this preſent ſtate of *England*, when we ſee ſo many that are Critical Maſters of Experimental Philoſophy, and who by means of the great uſeful pains formerly taken by *Eraſmus*, Sir *Thomas Moore* and others, in reſtoring Philological Learning, have now entire leiſure to devote their Studies to the ſubſtantial Knowledge of *things*, and whoſe Motto is, *Nullius in verba*, and who know, that if they would have every one truſt them, they muſt take nothing on truſt from any one; and who know, that ſince truth doth always fail in ſight of error, they muſt all the way go *ſounding* by *experiment*; I ſay, can any one think that it was leſs eaſie for the *Sun* to go back Ten degrees on *Ahaz* his *Dial*, then 'tis to make this Age run back to implicit faith and ignorance and barbariſme?

And is it to be thought that men who weigh *Silver* in Scales, will not weigh *Gold*; I mean, not examine notions of Religion with care, when they are ſo cautious in others? Can we think that men who will not part with thoſe Notions that *ſalve* the *phænomena*, will quit thoſe that *ſave* their *Souls*, and eſpecially conſidering the proverbial addiction of the Engliſh *genius* to Religion, and conſidering too, that men by long uſe and Cuſtom have been habituated to the profeſſion of a rational Religion, and that it can plead here a hundred years preſcription?

It is certainly more eaſie to unteach men the uſe of the *Sea-Compaſs* in *Navigation*, then the uſe of Reaſon in Religion; and the inclination of the Needle to the *North*, is not likely to be more durable then the tendency of mens affection in *England* to the *Northern hereſy* ſo call'd; and it is more eaſie to teach all Mankind the uſe of Letters, then to unteach it to any one man; and when the temper of an inquiſitive Age is like a *Trade-wind* carrying men toward Knowledge and toward a rational Divinity, they may by ſome accidents be made to caſt Anchor, or they may be ſunk, but they cannot be forced to go back.

When a man hath long been compell'd to creep with Chains on him through a toilſome dark *Labyrinth*, and having extricated himſelf out of it and being come to enjoy his liberty in the light of the *Sun*, the perſuaſion of words cannot make him go back again.

My Lord, I lately mentioned the *Motto* of the *Royal Society* of *England*, of which your Lordſhip is a Member, and I look on the very conſtitution of that *Society* to be an inexpugnable *Bulwark* againſt Popery: In which *Society*

many of our choice *Engliſh Witts* have ſhew'd as much ſubtilty and curioſity in the Architecture of *Real* Science, and ſuch as tends to the edification of the world, as any of our Countrey men heretofore did in thoſe curious but uſeleſs Cobwebs of holy Church call'd School Divinity.

And the conſtitution of that *Society* hath not only been uſeful in encreaſing the Trade of Knowledge among its members by a joyned ſtock, but moreover hath tended to the raiſing in the Kingdom a general inclination to purſue *Real* ſcience, and to contemn all *ſcience falſly ſo call'd*: and the Raiſing of this inclination I will call a *Spirit* that can never be *Conjur'd* down, nor can the knowledge that depends on number, weight and local Motion, be ever *exterminated* by *Sophiſms* or *Canting*, or *terms* of *Art*; Nor will they who have from this *Society* learned to *weigh* Ayre, give up their Souls to any Religion that is all *Ayre* without *weighing* it, or (notwithſtanding any hard name that may come to be in *vogue*) ever forget that *bread* is *bread*.

His *Majeſty* by the founding of this great Conſervatory of knowledge preſently after his Reſtoration (wherein his great *Miniſter* then the *Earl of Clarendon*, was an honourable Member) did convey real knowledge and a demonſtration of his being an Abhorrer of Arbitrary Power, to all that can underſtand Reaſon, and affect not the ridiculous Treaſonableneſs of *Bradſhaw*'s Court, to ſay, *that they will not hear reaſon*; for had he like the *Eaſtern* King's affected Arbitrary Power, he would have uſed their artifice of endeavouring to caſt miſts before the underſtanding faculties of his Subjects, and to detain them from knowledge by admiration, and to deprive them of *ſight*, like horſes that are ſtill to drudge in the *Mill* of Government by blind obedience; But to ſhew that he abhorr'd both ſuch obedience and implicit Faith, and that he intended to eſtabliſh his Throne as well in the heads as in the hearts of his Subjects, he preſently ſetled this Great Store-houſe of Knowledge, that ſhew'd it was his deſire and ambition by the general Communication of Knowledge in his Dominions, to Command Subjects whoſe heads were with the *Rays* of *Science* crown'd within.

And therefore I think His Majeſties Munificence to the Royal Society in giving them *Chelſey-Colledge* at their firſt inſtitution, was very Conſiſtent with the Primary Intention of the erecting that *Colledge*, which was to be a Magazine for Polemical-Divinity wherewith to attaque the Writers for Popery: for the very planting of a general diſpoſition to believe nothing contrary to Reaſon, is the cutting of the graſs under Poperies feet; and His Majeſty providing for the growth of reaſon did apparently check the growth of Popery, as well as of Arbitrary Power, without the *prop* of which, Popery can never run up to any height more then the *Sun-flower* without a ſupporter: and the ſetling in men an humour of *Inquiſition* into the truth and nature of things is, as I partly ſaid before, an everlaſting barricade againſt the Popes darling Court of the *Inquiſition*.

That great and noble notion of the *Circulation* of the *blood*, took its firſt riſe from the hints of a common perſons enquiring what became of all the blood that iſſued out of the heart, ſeeing that the heart beats above Three Thouſand times an hour, thô but one drop ſhould be pump'd out at every ſtroke: and if any one ſhall tell me that he believes that Popery with its retinue of implicit faith and ignorance can over-run us, I will ask him what will then become of all that knowledge the vital blood of the Soul, that hath iſſued from the heads of inquiſitive Proteſtants, and been *Circulating* in the World for above a Hundred and Fifty years, and I doubt not but it will be in mens Souls as long as *blood* ſhall have its *Circular* Courſe in their bodies; and *maugre* all the Calumnies caſt on the *Divines* of the Church of *England* for being fautors of Popery, I ſhall expect that our learned *Colledge* of *Phyſi-*

cians

cians will as ſoon be brought to disbelieve the *Circulation* of the blood, of our *Royal Society* to take down the Kings *Standard* that they have ſet up againſt implicit faith, as our learned Convocation the learnedeſt that ever *England* had, be brought to believe the principles of *Popery*.

I know, *My Lord*, 't is obvious againſt this my *hypotheſis*, of the unpracticableneſs of Popery being here the *State-Religion*, to ſay that in little more then Twenty years time Four great changes in Religion happen'd in *England*, and that the generality of the people then like dead Fiſhes went with the ſtream of the Times: but I ask, if the generality of the people had been throughly enlighten'd in the rationality of the Proteſtant Principles Twenty years together, would they have return'd to the belief of the Popiſh? Will they now do it after the eſtabliſhment of a *Rational* Religion for above a Hundred years together? Can Popery now find the way into moſt Mens brains here preſently after the whole *Nation* almoſt were *Preachers*, and when all our great and little unruly diſagreeing Sects yet agreed in this as a *fundamental*, that *the Biſhop of* Rome *is the Antichriſt*? If *Printing* had been free in *Turky* for a Hundred years, and a *libera Philoſophia* and *Theologia* had been there in faſhion for a Hundred years, and every man had been allow'd his Judgment of diſcretion ſo long about the ſenſe of the *Alchoran*, or of the holy Scripture, and of all Books of Religion, could ignorance even there come into play again? or if the *Turkes* had drank Wine for a Hundred years together, could any one Conjure the glaſſes out of their hands by telling them there was a *Devil* in every grape?

If that Law in *Muſcovy* that makes it death for any Subject to travel out of that Kingdom without the Emperors *Licence*, leſt his Subjects having ſeen the freedome of other Countreys, ſhould never again return to the Arbitrary Power in their own again; I ſay, if that Law had been repeal'd for a Hundred years, and multitudes of oppreſs'd mankind had thence found the way to breath in the ayre of Liberty like men, could they be perſuaded to return to the *Yokes* of *Beaſts* again?

When a *floating* Iſland has been a Hundred years fixt to the Continent, can any teach it to ſwim again? *Conſulitur de Religione*, is likely to be the eternal buſineſs of *England*, and in caſe of a *Prohibition* to any mans little *Court* of *Conſcience* in that cauſe, he will certainly give himſelf a *conſultation*.

The very *humour* of the *Engliſh* Nation long hath and ſtill doth run againſt what they think but like Popery, or makes for it, and that with ſuch a rapid current of Antipathy, as is never likely to be ſtem'd: and nothing is more out of faſhion then a kind of *Sir-poſitive*, or *Dictatorian* humour in common diſcourſe; much leſs then will a dogmatical Popes infallibility ever be digeſted here, while he makes himſelf a *St. Poſitive*.

The *gentile* humour of the Age here that abhorrs *hard* words as loathſom *pedantry*, will never be reconcil'd to one certain *long hard* word in *Popery*; namely *Tranſubſtantiation*; nor to another namely *Incineration*, or burning men for not underſtanding the former word (according to the ſtyle of the *Hiſtorian*, *Imperator ægrè tulit incinerationem* Johannis Huſſe) and people will account their Proteſtant *Bibles* more agreeable to them then the *Engliſh* one Publiſhed by the *Colledge* of *Doway*, where the Tranſlator ſtudied for hard words in the room of plain ones, as for the *Paſſeover*, *phaſe*, for foreskin, *præpuce*, for unleaven'd bread, *azyms*, for high places, *excelſes*, and other ſuch words we have in the Engliſh *Rhemiſh Teſtament*, viz. *exinanite*, *paraſceue*, *didragmes*, *neophyt*, *ſpiritualneſs of wickedneſs in the Celeſtials*.

In our Buſy *Engliſh* world while men are moſt yary after profit and pleaſure and the ſtudy of things, if very few or none can be brought to learn the

the *universal real character*, and which would tend to the propagating *Real* Knowledge among the Nations of the World (accordingly as the excellent propounder of it in Print with great modesty saith in his *Epistle* dedicatory, *that he had slender expectation if its coming into common use*) our *Ingenios* or *Witts* (which all men pretend to be now, as they did in the Late times to be *Saints*, tho yet as few are Witts now, as were Saints then) will not care for troubling their brains with the studying of the Religion whose pretended *universality* appears but a kind of *universal character*, and not *real*, and tending to obscure the knowledge of things in the World.

If they should see here a Religion that was full of pageantry, and seem'd to be wholly *theatrical*, they would think it was as much their *birthright* to *censure* it, as 'tis to be eternal talking *Critics* in the *Pit* to *damn* Playes, and would think *two Supremes* in a Kingdome to be of the low nature of two *Kings* of *Branford*, and rather then part with their money and stake down their Souls for seing such a *Moral Representation* of an absolute spiritual and absolute temporal power on the stage of the Kingdom, they would be too apt with Mr. *Hobs* to thrust the whole Nation of Spiritual Beings out of the world; I mean rather then they would be to their faces cheated and harras'd by a spiritual power: and our people inspir'd with witt as well as those with the zealous spirit of Religion would cry out, *conclusum est contra Manichæos*; *I*, and against the *Schoolmen* too, I mean our Romanist *Manichæi* who make two *summa Principia* in every State.

In this age where the lower or Sixth *rate* Witts do so over-value themselves on turning every thing into *ridicule*, the Mass would have here a Reception according to what the *gloss* in the *Canon* Law observes, *that when a place had layen long under an interdict, the people laughed at the Priests, when they came to say Mass again.* Nor would any Papal *interdiction* unless it could *interdict* us from the use of *Fire* and *Water* be of any moment. The World would now laugh at any *Prize* that should be *play'd* between the *Two Swords*, the very *glossator* on the *Clementines* saying occasionly that *resipiscente mundo*, the World being grown wiser, there must be no longer striving for both *Swords*. And any one that would obtrude on us *gross* exploded errors in Church or State will appear as ridiculous as St. *Henry* the *Dane*, who as the Martyrology mentions, *when worms craul'd out of a corrupted Ulcer in his Knee put them in again.*

My Lord, I will further offer it to your Lordships consideration, That if it be found so hard to keep up the external polity of the Church of *England*, thô in it self so rational and so meriting the name of λογικὴ λατρεία, after the Twenty years discontinuance of it, insomuch that Dr. *Glanvile* in the first page of his *Book* call'd the *Zealous and impartial Protestant*, hath these words, *the first occasion of our further danger that I shall mention, is the present diminution, not to say extinction of Reverence to the authority of the Church of* England, *&c.* (and he *p.* 4. writes largely to that Effect,) what quarter can Popery expect here from an Age of sense and reason when it should break in upon both, after the forementioned Hundred years discontinuance?

According to the foresaid Argument of the *Bees* for the Popes spiritual Monarchy, we see it improbable for him ever to bring us to a *Rendevouz* in his Church again; for the sad experience we have had of the Sects here that left the *Hive* of the Church of *England*, not gathering together into any one *new* Hive, but dividing into several swarms and hives, and never returning to the old, may shew the *Hive* of holy Church how little of our Company 'tis to expect.

Having

Having ſaid all this about the miſts of Popery, being to contend with knowledge in its meridian, I think I ſhall comply with the meaſures taken by our *Philoſophers* in this Critical Age, in founding their obſervations upon *Experiments*, if I further add, that the former *Experiments England* hath had of Poperies being pernicious to its external *Polity* and Grandeur, will perpetuate and heighten the *fermentation* in the minds of our angry people againſt it.

All our *Monkiſh Hiſtorians* do atteſt the experience our Kings had in being bereav'd of great Sums of Money, while they enrich'd the Pope here by giving him the *Office* to keep the *Theological Thiſtle*, which he *Rail'd* in with ſo many *cenſures* and *diſtinctions*, and *non obſtantes*, that our *Kings* could not paſs to their *Palaces* but by his leave, and on his terms.

An *Engliſh* King then was but the Popes *Primier Miniſtre*, and yet paid great wages too for the being a Servant to the *Servus Servorum*.

King *John* uſed to ſay, That *all his affairs in the World were unproſperous, and went croſs and untowardly after he had once ſubjected himſelf and his Kingdom to the Church of* Rome: His words were, *Poſtquam me & mea Regna* Romanæ *ſubjeci Eccleſiæ, nulla mihi proſpera, omnia contraria advenerunt.* And 'tis obvious to conſider on the other hand, what a great figure *Henry* the Eighth made in the World, after he had manumitted himſelf and his Kingdoms from the Papal Uſurpation: And how he held the *Balance* of the World in his hand, and *trod* on the *Baſiliſc* of the Papal Supremacy, and notify'd it to the Nations of the Earth that *England is an Empire*, that being the *Style* of the *Statute* of the 24*th* of *H.* 8. *c.* 12. *Viz. That this Realm is an Empire, and that the Crown thereof is an Imperial one:* And the words of *Kings and Emperours of this Realm*, being then attribued in our *Statutes* to the Monarchs of *England*; and as the great expreſſion in the *Propheſie* of *Ezekiel c.* 16. *v.* 13. is applyed by God to the *Jewiſh* ſtate, *And thou didſt proſper into a Kingdom*, it may be juſtly ſaid that *Harry* the Eighth's defying the Popes Uſurpation, made *England proſper into an Empire.* 'Twas his doing that made him *hors de page*, and 'tis only the doing it that will make the *French* King truly ſo too: For 'tis only Air that any feed a Monarch's fancy with, who would *amuſe* him with an *Univerſal* Empire abroad, till he hath obtain'd one firſt at home; as no Man is to expect to govern his Neighbours Family, who is *Control'd* in his own.

And like a Maſter who imagines himſelf great, while he is feared by none but ſome of his own Servants, ſo how little terrour did *Queen Mary*'s Reign give to any parcel of Mankind, but a few of her own Subjects, of which the number that ſhe burnt and made to languiſh in Priſons, and ſuch as left her Kingdom by *migration* to forreign parts, would eaſily have kept *Callais* for her, and prevented the ignominy of her *Politics*, in loſing the *Real Key* of *France*, while ſhe was finding the Imaginary *Keys* of the Church!

But 'tis a truth not conteſtable, That Queen *Mary*'s Reign (in which her perſecution of her Subjects was ſo barbarous, and ſuch a *ſcandal* to Government, That Dr. *Heylin himſelf* applyes to it in the *Title Page* of his *Hiſtory of Queen Mary* that paſſage in *Paterculus, Hujus temporis fortunam, ne deflere quidem quiſpiam ſatis digne potuit, nemo verbis exprimere poteſt*) ſerved only as a *foile* to the luſtre of *Queen Elizabeth, whom all Generations ſince have called bleſſed*; and who was not more lov'd by the *Engliſh*, then ſhe was feared by the *French*, and was offered *Calice* if ſhe would but have connived at the continuing of the *French* forces in *Scotland*, and who ſent to the great *Henry* the Fourth a *Mandamus* to build no more Ships, and had more money offered her by her Subjects then ſhe would accept; and yet (as is ſaid in *Towſend*'s *Hiſtorical Collections*) *had ſpent a Million of Money*

in her Wars with Spain, *and laid out* 100000 l. *to ſupport the King of* France *againſt the Leaguers, and* 150000 l. *in defence of the Low Countries, and diſcharged a debt of Four Millions ſhe found the Crown indebted in.* Nay, our *Hiſtorians* tell us, that *She payed the very Penſions that were in arrear in her Father's, and Siſter's time to divers of the Religious perſons ejected out of Abbeys.*

It was Queen *Elizabeth* who by all her *Alliances,* and eſpecially her Offenſive and Defenſive one with the *States* of the *United Provinces* in the *Year* 1578. laid ſuch a deep and ſure foundation for a vaſt trade of the *Engliſh* Nation to be built on, that it's *overbalance* is ſaid to have brought to be Coined in the Tower of *London,* from the firſt of *October* 1599, in the 41*ſt Year* of her Reign, to *March* 31*ſt* 1619, (being 19 years) 4,779,314 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d,* And from *March* 31*ſt* 1619, to *March* 31*ſt,* 1638 (being 19 years) 6,900,042 *l.* 11 *s.* 1 *d,* And from *March* 1638, before *May* 1657 (being 19 years) 7,733,521 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d*; *England* alone by verture of that her *Alliance,* having till the *Peace* of *Munſter* 1648, enjoyed almoſt the whole Manufacture, and beſt part of the Trade of *Europe*: And it was but juſt for Heaven to puniſh in *England* the greateſt villany that could be wrought on Earth, I mean the murder of the beſt of *Kings,* by ſuffering the Trade of *England* to have its fatal decay in that year 1648. For then, I count, our overbalance of Trade for the laſt mentioned *Nineteen* years had its *Period,* and 'twas by the effect of that *Peace* that both *Holland* and *France,* and *Spain* cantonized the power of our Trade, and the moſt Soveraign of our Manufactures. Till that black year 'twas to be aſcribed to the reſult of Queen *Elizabeth's* politics, and not to the conduct of the *Long Parliament,* that *England* did, as to Trade, both do its buſineſs and play, and as to its Commanding the Trade of the World, did *Sail* with a *Trade-wind*; and during that Wind, it could not happen that any ſhould meet us, or overtake us in our motion, whatever mean *Pilots* were at the *Helm.*

It was for the completing the laſt *ternary* of the Coinage, that I mentioned, the ἐννεαδεκαέτηρις, or *nineteen years,* ending in 1657. For I believe that both *Aſtrea* and *Trade* left our Land in that fatal *Criſis* of 48, of which the *Month* of *January* produced the *Signing* of that *Peace* at *Munſter,* and the horrid Arraignment, and Martyrdom of that matchleſs Prince.

'Tis therefore not to be admired, That Queen *Elizabeth's* provident *Enſuring* ſuch a plenty of Traffick and Riches to her Kingdom, both for her own and future time, ſhe had what *præmium* of *Taxes* from her Parliaments ſhe pleaſed, accordingly as King *James* tells the Parliament *Anno* 1620, *That Queen* Elizabeth *had one year with another above* 100000 l. *in Subſidies*; *and in all my time I have had but four Subſidies, and ſix Fifteenths*; *and he ſaid his Parliament had not given him any thing for Eight or Nine years.*

England did thrive apparently while it was to Queen *Elizabeth,* a *Puteus inexhauſtus* : But while it was ſuch an one to the *Pope,* was in a miſerable and conſumptive ſtate, as any one muſt neceſſarily conclude, who conſiders that the *nutritive juyce* of the wealth of the Kingdom was diverted from cheriſhing its own *Head* to pamper the *Bellies* of Forreigners. Deplorable then was the condition of the *Engliſh* Crown, when (as we are told by the *Antiquitates Britan.* f. 178.) in the Reign of *Hen.* 3*d. Repertus eſt Annuus reditus Papæ talis quem ne Regius quidem attigit* : And when according to *Matthew Paris* f. 549, in the *Reign* of that King, *Anno* 1240, *it was complained of, That there remained not ſo much Treaſure in the Kingdom, as was in three years extorted from it by the Pope.*

But what is more ſtrange, we are told in *Cotton's Collections* p. 129 of the times of *Edward* the Third, *That the Taxes paid to the Pope for Eccleſiaſtical*

ſtical dignities did amount to five times as much as the People paid the King per annum. One would wonder that ſo martial a Prince, the Scene of whoſe Reign lay almoſt in continual War, ſhould be ſo careleſs of the *Sinews* of it, as to permit ſo much of the wealth of the Kingdom to be miſapplyed, and that too while all manner of *Experiments* of Taxes were tryed on his Subjects, who payed him toward his charge of the War with *France Wool* and *Grain*, as not having Mony enough to ſupply him wholly therewith: and when, as it is ſaid in *Cotton's Collections*, *A long Bill was brought in by the Commons againſt the Uſurpation of the Pope as being the Cauſe of All the Plagues, Murrains, Famine and Poverty of the Realm, ſo as thereby was not left the third Perſon, or Commodities within the Realm as lately were, and the Commons did deſire that it might be enacted, That no Mony might be carried forth of the Realm by Letters of Lombardy, or otherwiſe on pain of forfeiture and impriſonment.*

But the *Pope* knew, it ſeems, there was mony to be had out of *England*, though the Commons grudged it him, and that a complaint of the Commons of the decay of Trade was no proof of it, but rather in his caſe an indication of the contrary, for that 'tis *Proverbial* with Rich Men when they have no mind to part with their mony, to ſay, *they have none*; and it appears out of *a balance of Trade* on *Record* in the *Exchequer*, that in the 28*th* year of *Edward* the Third, the *Sum* of the *over-plus of the Exports above the Imports* amounted to 255214 *l.* 13 *s.* 8 *d.*

This however ſhews ſufficiently the *Indignation* of a Popiſh *Houſe of Commons* at the *Pope* and his *Lombard-ſtreet Bankers*, who convey'd his mony for him hence by *Bills of Exchange*; and if our late Parliaments have not thought fit to comply with the demands for ſatisfaction of Proteſtant *Bankers* there, much leſs will future ones favour any of the Popes *Lombards.*

That the *Pope* formerly had as much mony here from the publick as the King, we may well believe poſſible, ſince 'tis generally held that *Wolſey*'s Revenue equalled *Harry* the Eighth's.

Matthew Paris tells us, *Anno* 1240, *Miſit Papa Pater noſter ſanctus quendam exactorem in* Angliam Petrum Rubeum, *qui excogitata muſcipulatione infinitam pecuniam a miſeris* Anglis *edoctus erat emungere.* i. e. *Our holy Father the Pope ſent an exactor* Peter Rubeus *into* England, *who with a kind of Mouſe-trap trick wiped the poor* Engliſh *of infinite Sums of Money.* And the expreſſion of *Wiping the* Engliſh *of infinite Sums of Mony* was in faſhion among all eminent later Writers of ours againſt the Papal Uſurpation: and 'tis particularly uſed by *Parker* in his *Antiq. Britan.* where he ſaith, *Præterea indulgentiarum, diſpenſationum, ſimiliumq; fraudum immenſâ copiâ infinitis pecuniis* Anglos *emunxerunt.*

Nothing leſs then *infinity* of Treaſure out of one Iſland could ſupply the great *exacter* of *Rome*, who it ſeems reſembled him that *Cicero* brands by ſaying, *infinitum genus invenerat ad innumerabilem pecuniam Corripiendam.* But there is now no *catching* a Nation in *Mouſe-traps.*

As the Pope has never thought it worth his while to ſend Emiſſaries to *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and ſome other *Northern* Countreys, to ſpunge Mony out of them, which he knows that great *ſpendor* called *War* that ſo generally infeſts them, makes them have none to ſpare for the Popes uſe (and *Curia* Romana *non vult ovem ſine lana*) ſo will the future vaſt charge too likely to be for ever incumbent on *England*, and other parts of the World, in providing and maintaining *Capital* Ships, effectually provide againſt the *profuſion* of any on the *Projector* of Religion at *Rome*, and againſt *Romes* being to us as *Matthew Paris* called it of old, *barathrum proventuum.*

And

And any who conſiders that his Majeſty hath not without difficulty obtain'd *Supplies* of Mony from late *Parliaments*, and that they have been all *appropriated* to certain publick uſes, may well give the Pope *City-ſecurity*, that he ſhall have no Mony from *England*; and no Man I think now ſuppoſeth that any thing that time can cauſe, can make the Pope get much Mony out of the Exchequer of *England*, but one who (as *Charon* ſays) was *born in a Bottle, and never ſaw the World but out of a little hole.* But if according to the *Calculations* that have been by ſome made, the currant Coin of the Nation doth not now exceed *Six Millions*; and the publick Revenue in times of Peace has amounted to ſomewhat near one Third of that, and if the *Pope* ſhould be allow'd here to have a *ſpiritual income* equal to the *King*'s, and the reſtored Abbots and Monks, and the other *Clergy* be allow'd another *Third*, (for ſo the *accounts* of their *proportion* were *totted* by ſome Critical *Calculators*) the whole Laity would be *nichil'd*, as the *Exchequer* word is.

King *Edward* the Firſt, as the *Antiq. Britan.* mention, ſent ſome of his Courtiers to treat with the *Clergy* about the *Quota* of their ſupplying him, *viz, Miſit ex aula ſuâ Nuntios qui ſuo nomine agerent cum clero, quoniam eorum & tranquillitas Major & fructus atque reditus annui tunc eſſent longe uberiores quam populi, ut ad Regem in his bellicis anguſtiis adjuvandum ſe oſtenderent promptiores.* And it appears out of *Cotton's Collections*, That in the fourth *Year* of *Richard* the Second, *The Clergy confeſs'd they had a Third part of the Revenue of the Kingdom, and therefore then conſented to pay a Third part of the Taxes.* But in thoſe ancient times of Popery, beſide the Clergies ſhare in the *Ballance* of *Land*, it might be juſtly added to the *Inventory* of their Wealth, That they generally engroſſed the higheſt and chiefeſt *Offices* in the Kingdom, and that from the Office of Lord High *Chancellor*, to that of the very *Clerks* in *Chancery*, and other *Clerks* places (whence to this day the officiating *Regiſters* of Courts are called *Clerici* or *Clerks*) whereby they *caught* in a manner the whole Kingdom in a *Purſe-net.*

'Tis therefore no wonder that the great affluence of the Riches of the Clergy drew to them that Popular eſteem, that (as the *Antiquaries* obſerve) the *Engliſh* word *Sir* was affixed to the *Chriſtian Names* of Clergy-men, from King *John*'s time down to the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and which was alſo expreſs'd in *Latine* by the word *Dominus*, as for example, in the witneſſing of a Deed, *Teſtibus Domino* Willielmo de Maſſy, *perſona de* Bowden, *Matheo Hale*, &c. And of the people calling their *Pariſh Prieſts* by the name of Sir *William Maſſy*, and the like, as in ordinary Communication we call Knights, we have the inſtance of the firſt *Chriſtian* on whom here for his Religion *incineration* was practiſed, *viz.* Sir *William Sautre, Pariſh Prieſt* of the Church of St. *Scythe* &c. in *London* in *Henry* the Fourths time: for ſo he is *Styled* in the *Acts and Monuments.*

Biſhop *Sanderſon* who in his *profeſſion of Divinity* was greater then any praiſe, was likewiſe ſo accurate an obſerver of the weight of what he affirmed in the Pulpit, though it was not of a point of Theology, that every thing he there ſaid has a Title to be regarded: And he in his *Sermons in fol. ad Populum*, on 1 *Cor.* 7. 24. *pag.* 195, and 196, ſpeaking of the Monks, ſaith, *It is well known in this our Land, how both Church and Common-Wealth groan'd under the burden of theſe heavy Lubbers: The Common-wealth, while they became Lords of very little leſs (by their computation who have travelled in the ſearch) then one half of the temporalties of the Kingdom: and the Church while they engroſſed into their hands the fruits of the beſt Benefices of the Realm, allowing ſcarce ſo much as the Chaff to thoſe who tread out the Corn.*

This profeſſion is God be thanked long ſince ſuppreſſed: There is nothing of them now remains but the rubbiſh of their Neſts, and the ſtink of their memories, unleſs it be the ſting of their Deviliſh Sacriledge, in robbing the Church by damnable Impropriations. He had before ſaid they were κακα θηρια, and *Slow-bellies, Stall-fed Monks and Friars, who liv'd mew'd up in their Cells, like Boors in a Frank, pining themſelves into Lard, and beating down their bodies till their Girdles crackt.*

But though it hath been truly obſerv'd, That the not providing for the *augmentations* of the poorer Livings in *England*, was a ſcandal to our *Reformation*, in that it made ſo many ſcandalous Livings, and conſequently ſo many ſuch Miniſters, and it has been in one of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Parliaments, notify'd by Dr. *James* (as *Townſend*'s *Collections* mention) that *of Eight Thouſand and odd Pariſh-Churches then in* England, *but Six Hundred did afford a competent Living for a Miniſter*: And it has been publickly aver'd by Archbiſhop *Whitgift, That there were Four Thouſand Five Hundred Benefices which are not worth above Ten Pound a Tear in the King's Books*; yet the diſperſing of ſo much of the Church Revenue among the Laity hath had this effect, namely, to engage the poſſeſſors of ſo great a proportion of the Land of *England* to be Champions againſt Popery; and one other good effect within my own obſervation it produced in the late times, when *Tithes* themſelves were thought *Delinquent*, namely, that the *Impropriate Tithes* ſaved the *others*: And the not *augmenting* the poorer ſort of Livings (the which moſtly were in Cities and Corporations in the Countrey) hath not however prov'd any *augmentation* to the intereſt of Popery: For though the Reliques, and Images, and Shrines of Saints there, that brought a concourſe of Offerers and Offerings thither enrich'd thoſe places, and the Churches, and had the effect of *Staple* Eccleſiaſtical *Commodities*, and *Harry* the Eighth's aboliſhing them, reduced the value of the Livings there almoſt to nothing, they grew by occaſion thereof afterward to be receptacles for heterodox *Divines*, who ſeiz'd on the Livings there in a manner *derelict*, and finding the *Genius* of Trading people averſe from Ceremonies did repreſent the few and innocent, and indeed decent ones of the Church of *England* as odious to them, and therefore were ſure of pleaſing their *auditors* by conſtant declaiming againſt thoſe of Popery, that were ſo many, and cumberſome, and had cauſed ſo much blood-ſhed, and were known to be *Ceremonies* both *mortuæ & mortiferæ*.

And as *Doleman* alias *Parſons* obſerved in his time, that the ſtrength of the *Puritans* lay in thoſe Corporate Towns and Cities, there will the hatred of the Principles of the Papiſts, probably for ever encreaſe.

I have for this purpoſe found it truly obſerved in a *Diſcourſe* in octavo, concerning *Liberty of Conſcience*, Printed for *Nath. Brooks* at the *Angel* in *Cornhil*: That *the* Puritan *Preachers by their diſeſteem of Ceremonies and external Pomp in the worſhip of God, were the more endeared to Corporations, and the greater part of perſons engaged in Trade and Traffic, who hate Ceremonies in general, and what does unneceſſarily take up time: And that perſons who nauſeate Ceremonies in Civil things, will loath them likewiſe in Religious, as a man who has an antipathy againſt Muſcadine in his Parlor, cannot love it at the Sacrament. And that if we reflect on thoſe who did moſt love Ceremonies heretofore in our Nation, we ſhall find them to have been perſons of the greateſt Rank and Quality (who did effect Ceremonies in Civil things) or of the pooreſt ſort, who did get their daily bread by the Charity of the other. So natural is it for men to Paint God in Colors ſuitable to their own fancies, that I do not wonder at Trading Perſons who hate Ceremonies, that they thus think God in reſpect of this hatred altogether ſuch as themſelves.*

That *Diſcourſe* had before ſet forth, *That 'tis natural to Men, who live by Trade and whoſe being rich or beggars depends much on the honeſty of their Servants, to be enamour'd on that Preaching that is moſt paſſionate and loud againſt what looks like luxury, and is apt to occaſion unneceſſary expences to them*: And therefore no humane *Art* will ever Reconcile them to one *Caſuiſtical Tenet* that is *ſo ſo* branded in the *Pope*'s ſaid *Decree* of the ſecond of *March*, viz. *Servants of either Sex may ſecretly ſteal from their Maſters, for the value of their ſervice, if it is greater than the Salary which they receive.*

The *Myſtery* of *Jeſuitiſm*, *letter* 6, *pag.* 80, cites for this *Tenet* Father *Bauny*'s Summary *p.* 213, and 214 of the ſixth *Edition*, viz. *May Servants who are not content with their Wages advance them of themſelves, by filching and purloining as much from their Maſters as they imagine neceſſary to make their Wages proportionable to their ſervices? On ſome occaſions they may, as when they are ſo poor when they come into ſervice, that they are obliged to accept any proffer that's made to them, and that other ſervants of their quality get more elſewhere.*

At the rate of this Moral Theology no Tradeſman knows what Mony he has either in his Pocket, or Compter, or what Caſh in his Cloſet, nor indeed any King what Treaſure he has in his *Exchequer.*

But notwithſtanding the averſion of many perſons of high Birth and Breeding, and who are lovers of Pomp and Ceremony in matters Civil, and likewiſe in Religious, from the contrary humour of Trading Men, yet is there one thing that hath and always will (in ſpight of all differences in Religion) occaſion an entercourſe of Civility between the former *Claſs* of Mankind here, and the latter, and 'tis, that neceſſity of nature that makes *the Borrower a Servant to the Lender*, namely, that the expenſive former *Claſſe* taking up Mony at intereſt from the more frugal latter, obligeth them to give the Lenders the reſpect of fair quarter: And thus according to that *Bull* in *Tacitus*, That *in ſome parts of* Scotland *the Sun ſhines all night long*, there will ſtill during the contrariety of their tenets, and humours, and which are as oppoſite as light and darkneſs, occaſionally ariſe a clear underſtanding between them.

And of the Redundance of Money, the *Puritans* party had in the late times, and of their deſigned employing it for the greatning the intereſt of their party, the eſtabliſhment of *Feoffees* by them for *purchaſing Impropriations*, is a great inſtance: Of their great progreſs wherein we have an account in *Pryn's Compleat Hiſtory of the Tryal of Arch-biſhop* Laud, where he ſaith, *And had they not been interrupted in this good work, they would probably in very few years have purchaſed in moſt of the great Towns and noted Pariſhes Impropriate in* England *in Lay-mens Lands*: And which had they effected, they might have ſettled ſuch a *Bank of Land* on the *Fond* whereof to have brought into their poſſeſſion the greateſt part perhaps of the mony Currant in *England*, and that party without any but Silver weapons, have acquired ſuch an *arbitrage* of the intereſts of all others in *England*, as to have uſurped *Harry* the Eighth's Motto of *Cui adhæreo præeſt.*

But though the *Livings* in theſe great Corporate Towns are ſo ſmall, and the value they had by oblations be evaporated every where but in the *King's Books*, (where it remains ſtill to enhance their payment of *firſt Fruits and Tenths*) the heterodox *Divines* there find Harveſts of oblations rich enough, and ſo will the *Divines* of the Church of *England*, if ever a ſtorm of Popiſh Perſecution ſhall drive them there for ſhelter to be Paſtors of the *Monied Men*; and if the worſt comes to the worſt, they will there find ſome fat gathered Churches better then lean *Biſhopricks*, (as perhaps ſome heterodox *Paſtors* do now there experiment them) and the *ambient* heat of

ted,

State-favour that call'd out ſome of the inward one of Religion, being abated, they will probably grow more exemplary in auſtere vertue, and thereby attract ſo much reverence from their flocks as to become *Confeſſors*, as well as *Preachers* to them, for ſo the Non-conformiſt Divines there now in a manner are; and as *Confeſſion* under Popery proved the only *Guaranty* to the Prieſts for their being paid their *Perſonal Tithes*, and as then people at their deaths expiated their omiſſions in the payment of their Tithes, by valuable *Legacies*, thus too will it probably happen to the Miniſters of Chriſt's *New Teſtament*, and often, to be *Executors*, or at leaſt *Legatees* in *Chriſtians Wills*; the very *duſt of whoſe feet is thought beautiful* by all Men, generally when their return to their own duſt is approaching.

And the perſecution deſign'd them will but reduce their ſtate in the Eye of the World, to look and be like that of the *Primitive* Chriſtians, who made the *Apoſtles* their *Bankers*, and the depoſitaries of their wealth; and whoſe Succeſſors likewiſe in the adminiſtration of the Goſpel during the following Ages of Perſecution had good livelihoods, on the *Fond* of *Oblations*. And as for *Tithes* we hear nothing of them for many *Ages* in the Primitive Church. In the *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Univerſæ* publiſhed by *Juſtellus* (the moſt *authentick* Book in the World next the Bible, and which contains the *Canons* received by the Univerſal Church till the year 451) there is not one word of *Tithes*. The Clergy were then liberally maintained by the free *oblations* of the people, which were called προσφοραὶ: And there was no ſuch *Proverb* heard of in the World abroad as *laici ſemper ſunt infenſi Clericis*, till there was another *unlucky* one, *Eccleſia peperit divitias* &c. and till the *Goths* and *Vandals* being Proſelyted to Chriſtianity, expreſt the natural zeal of new Converts by vaſtly endowing the Clergy with *Lands*, who had (as I may ſay) *ſetled Heaven* upon them, and whoſe great proportion in the balance of Land neceſſarily made them afterward one of the *Three Eſtates* in the Chriſtian World. And moſt worthy of Chriſtian Princes care it was to endeavour to ſecure the profeſſion of Chriſtianity in future times as well as their own, by providing that the Clergy ſhould not be of the *meaneſt of the people*, nor depend on *benevolence*; which in the proſperous condition of Chriſtianity might perhaps grow cold, as under Popery the Charity of *Oblations* had done, but for the Artifices before mentioned of *Saints*, *Shrines*, &c. and *Reliques*, and the fear of *Purgatory*.

Of the *Oblations* of the people here in *England* decreaſing toward the *Paſtors* of *Independent* Churches, when *Independency* became the Darling Religion of the *State*, we had an indication in the late times, when ſome of the moſt eminent of them obtain'd the poſſeſſion of great Livings and their Tithes, and others of them retreated from their Churches to *Headſhips* of Colledges. Nor has there been any failure of the return of the old Exuberance of *Oblations* from ſuch *Churches* to ſuch *Divines*, who have again returned to them when they were diſlodged from thoſe preferments.

I find not that the Piety of our Anceſtors had eſtabliſhed any Revenue to the Church from Tithes in *England*, till about the end of the Eighth or middle of the Ninth *Century*; nor was the *diviſion* of *England* into *Pariſhes* before the time of *Honorius* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 636, till which time there could not be Parochial Tithes. About that time as 'twas ſaid that the *meaſure* of *donations* to the *Church* was *immenſitas*, ſo was the *modus* of their Artifices to preſerve them *ſine modo*, it being incident to humane Nature, to be reſtleſs in the acquiring of riches, for without the perpetual acquiring of more, no Man is ſure to preſerve the *Quota* of what he hath.

'Twas

'Twas thence that *Sacriledge* of the *Monks* aroſe, that tore the Bread out of the Mouths of the Pariſh Prieſts by the Name of *Appropriations*, which ſhewed the *Preſident* to *Wolſeys alienation* of Religious Houſes, that was the *Preſident* to *Harry* the Eighth's. And it may well be ſuppoſed that the Deſign of the Monks in robbing the Parochial incumbents by *Appropriations*, was to propagate ignorance among the Laity thereby, and to leave the Age as dark as they found it, or rather to be able generally to let in or keep out what quantity of light they pleaſed.

Yet had thoſe *Appropriations* been made in an Age of knowledge, they would then have met with that Nick-name of *Impropriations*, that was born many years afterward: and it would then have appeared *improper* to all that the Monks ſhould *Muzzle the mouth of the Ox that did tread out the Corn*; and that old natural Zeal for Religion, ſo anciently radicated in *Engliſh* minds, that *Popes* have formerly complained they were addreſt to with more queſtions about Religion from *England* than from all the World beſide, would have inclined the reſpective Pariſhioners according to their abilities to contribute a liberal maintenance to their Pariſh Prieſts; and even in St. *Paul*'s words, *To have plucked out their own Eyes, and have given them*, but that they ſaw that devotion that brought the fore-mentioned concourſe of Spectators, and Offerers to the Images and Shrines, and to the Altars there made the Vicars at leaſt competently to *live by the Altar*.

And if that *Claſſe* of heterodox Paſtors in *Corporations* who as to skill in *Theology* and the *Encyclopædy* of Arts and Sciences, requiſite to Crown a Divine, are generally but *Images* in compariſon of the excellent Divines of the Church of *England*, have been how ever ſo much *adored* there, and had ſuch *offerings* from their adorers, the ſubſtantial and learned *Divines* of our Church there, may on occaſion well ſay, *quid non ſperemus?*

During that late perſecution of the *Divines* of the Church of *England* in the times of the Uſurped Powers, who therein exerciſed all the cruelty they durſt, it might be truly ſaid of the Doctrine of that Church, and the fire of the zeal of the Laity in providing for the liberal maintenance of many of its Clergy, as it is of *Lime* in the *Emblem*——*Mediis accendor in undis*. What *burning and ſhining lights* then in the midſt of a perverſe Generation were among others of the Church of *England* in *London*, Biſhop *Gunning*, Biſhop *Wild*, Biſhop *Moſſom*? Nor did their numerous Congregations in the leaſt, for want of plentiful *Oblations* to them, ſtarve the Cauſe of Religion. The laſt forementioned perſon at the *Funeral* of Biſhop *Wild*, in a Printed *Panegyric* of his *Life*, takes occaſion to ſpeak of the *Oblations* in thoſe times afforded him, and ſaith, *p.* 7. *And whereas ſome good* Obadiahs *did then hide and feed the Lord's Prophets, it was his care to Communicate to others what himſelf received for his own ſupport. Many Miniſters ſequeſtred, many Widows afflicted, many Royaliſts impriſoned and almoſt famiſhed, can teſtifie the diffuſive bounty of his hand, diſpenſing to others in reliefs of Charity, what himſelf received of others in offerings of Devotion.*

And as if that Iron Age had been the Golden one of the Church of *England*, he doth ſo pathetically repreſent the internal glories of that Church in that conjuncture, that any one who would draw an Hiſtorical Painting of the State of the Primitive Church to the exactneſs and bigneſs of the life, might beſt do it by the Church of *England* ſitting in that poſture he deſcribes. Theſe are his words, *p.* 6, *And here I cannot but recount with joy amidſt all this Funeral ſorrow, what were then the holy ardours of all fervent devotions, in Faſtings and Prayer, and ſolemn Humiliations: Ay, in Feſtival and Sacramental Solemnities. O the lift up praying, and yet ſometime down caſt weeping Eyes of humble Penitents! O the often extended, and yet as often enfolded*

folded arms of ſuppliant Votaries! Upon days of Solemnity, O how early and how eager were the peoples devotions, that certainly then, if ever, the Kingdom of Heaven ſuffered violence, ſo many with Jacob *then wreſtling with God in Prayer, not letting him go till he gave them a bleſſing*, &c.

Thus was that great Magazine of Learning and Piety Dr. *Hammond* in the late time of the Perſecution of the Church of *England*, the Magazine then likewiſe of mighty Alms, inſomuch that *Serenus Creſſy* ſaith, in his Epiſtle *Apologetical* Printed in the year 1674, *p.* 48. *Dr.* Hammond *in thoſe days inviting me into* England, *aſſured me I ſhould be provided of a convenient place to dwell in, and a ſufficient ſubſiſtence to live comfortably, and withal, that not any one ſhould moleſt me about my Religion and Conſcience. I had reaſon to believe that this invitation was an effect of a cordial Friendſhip, and I was alſo inform'd that he was well enabled to make good his promiſe, as having the diſpoſal of great Charities, and the moſt zealous promoter of Alms-giving that liv'd in* England *ſince the change of Religion.*

Thus while as noble *Confeſſors* they forſook *Houſes and Land*, they according to the Evangelical promiſe, received the effects of *Houſes and Lands*, and prædial Tithes *an hundred fold in this Life*, with the Goſpel *Salvo* (as I may call it) of *Perſecutions*: And as in the primitive and beſt times, when the Chriſtian Paſtors had no *Tenths* but the *Decumani fluctus*, or *Ten Perſecutions*, and many Chriſtians were *decimated* for Martyrdom, that Community of Goods that was never read of to be practiſed but in *Utopia*, and that Renunciation of that dear thing called *Property*, (for the defence whereof Political Government is ſuppoſed to have been chiefly invented) did ſo much glorifie the Chriſtian Morality, to the confounding all examples of the moſt ſublime Morals of the Heathens, that the Paſtors had the Chriſtians *All* at their Feet, and did tread on Oblations at every ſtep they took, ſo likewiſe thoſe great *Divines* beforementioned, and many others, found that *Primitive* Temper, revived in ſome of the Lay-Members of the Church of *England* by their generous Offerings and Contributions, which *adorn'd the Goſpel*, and ſupported its Miniſters, and which Laity, though cruelly *decimated* by the Uſurpers, yet were then *Rich in good works, ready to diſtribute, and willing to Communicate*; and by their forementioned great liberality in Oblations, exceeding the rate of *Tenths*, did *lay up in ſtore a good Foundation againſt the time to come* for the Paſtors that ſhall be their *Succeſſors* in Perſecution, that may ſecure their expectations of good *Paſtures* in our *Cities*, and of *having a Table prepared for them in the preſence of their Enemies*, come what can come from *Popery*.

Moreover by ſuch an accident only can the great *Cities* in *England* be freed from ſome illiterate Paſtors of gather'd Churches, who without having their Quarters beaten up by Penal Laws, will diſappear there, when the excellent try'd *Veterans* of the Church of *England* ſhall come to Garriſon them. Thoſe little *Sheep-ſtealers* of others *Flocks* will then no longer attempt there to have *Common of Paſture without Number*, but will by all be *numbred, and found too light*. 'Twill be viſible to all that the Divines of the Church of *England* can with eaſe Preach in as plain a manner as the other, and that the other can not, with pains, Preach as Learnedly and Rationally as they.

We ſee that many ridiculous Lay-Preachers, who in the late times did ſet up a kind of *Religion-Trade* in great Cities, and did gather Churches, and likewiſe gather there ſome maintenance, have thence ſilently took their march on the occaſion of the more Learned Presbyterian Divines ejected from their Livings, retiring thither, and there having conſtant auditories, partly reſembling the *guiſe* of gathered Churches: And the diſproportion

in intellectual Talents being generally as great between them and the Divines of the Church of *England*, as is that between them and the Lay-Preachers, they must there prove Bankrupt necessarily as the others did.

Dr. *Glanvil* in his Book called, *The Zealous and Impartial Protestant*, did but right to the Episcopal Clergy of *England*, when he ascribes to them the honour of having by their Learned Writings *Confuted, exposed, triumph'd over the numerous Errours of Popery*, and there names Bishop *Jewel*, Bishop *Morton*, Bishop *Andrews*, Archbishop *Laud*, Bishop *Hall*, Bishop *Davenant*, Archbishop *Usher*, Archbishop *Bramhal*, Bishop *Taylor*, Bishop *Cozens*, Dr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Chillingworth*, Mr. *Mead*, Dean *Stillingfleet*, Dean *Tillotson*, Dean *Lloyd*, Dr. *Henry More*, Dr. *Brevint*: And speaking of the Episcopal Clergy of the City of *London*, saith, *How many Learned, Substantial, Convictive Sermons have they Preach'd against the Popish Doctrines and Practice since our late fears and dangers? 'Tis true, some few others have written something, Mr.* Baxter *and Mr.* Pool *have laboured worthily*: Dr. Owen *hath said somewhat to* Fiat lux, *and there are some Sermons of the Presbyterians extant, Morning Lectures against Popery: these are the most, and the chief of their performances I ever heard of.*

The Conjuncture of the *few and evil days* of Popery would occasion another good effect, a thing that is always to be wished, but (considering the general present ferment in Mens minds, and past'd mutual exasperations) never else to be hoped for, and that is this; the common Calamity would cause such an Union between Protestants of several perswasions in Religion, as would put a *Period* to that dreadful state of dissension among them, which has so much *horrour* in it, that all those subtle miscreants who have been able to cause it here, and make so many of them almost ready with the *ferity* of the *canes sepulchrales* to devour one another, can never in words express. Nor can my imagination paint out to me any thing of the kind like it in the past course of time, without my recollecting the description of the fears of the *Doctor of the Gentiles*, given by himself concerning the *State* of the *Church of Corinth*, to which he applies the words of *debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults*, and without my considering the *fermentation* in the City of *Jerusalem* when near its fatal destruction. But there will be a *finalis concordia* among the now implacable Protestants, if ever Popery should set up to be the State-Religion: And then any one who will give *advice to a Painter* to draw *The present State of the Protestant Church of* England, may make a good Copy from the great Original of that *Prophesie* in *Scripture*, The *Wolf and the Lamb shall feed together*, &c. *They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy Mountain*, &c. And perhaps without going so far for a *Mountain* that may represent to ones fancy that *State* of *English* Protestants, he may find one in *England* to do the work, one that several of our *Historians* speak of, telling us that in the *Year* 1607, *When by the Irruption of the* Severn *Sea, the Country in* Somersetshire *was overflown almost Twenty Miles in length, and Four Miles in breadth; it was then observ'd that Creatures of contrary natures, as Dogs and Hares, Foxes and Conies, yea Cats and Mice getting up to the tops of some Hills, dispensed at that time with their antipathies, remaining peaceably together without sign of fear, and without any violence used toward one another.*

Nor do Men in great Towns supposed qualified only as *the Children of light*, but as the *Children of this World, and as wise in their Generations*, and as projecting their own wealth, and the encreasing of their Trade, and of the *value* of their *Rents*, by eminent *Oblations* provide for such Divines planting there; and 'tis obvious to every thinking Man, that the erecting of

Free-

Free-Schools, and encouraging excellent *Divines* to live in any particular Town, turns ſufficiently to Mens account in this World as to the ends aforeſaid by attracting inhabitants. For it will be natural to Chriſtians there, when they do not barely hear of a Chriſt *Tranſubſtantiated* into a dull Wafer, but ſee one (as I may ſay) *Tranſfigured and ſhining as the Sun* in the Preaching of the Goſpel, to ſay *Lord it is good for us to be here*, and for them there *to make Tabernacles*, and provide Oblations not for dead but living Saints; and as *a living Dog is more valuable then a dead Lyon*, ſo I believe that in any times of Popery here that can come, any one Corporation and a holy learned *Divine* of the Church of *England*, will get more by one another, then all Towns where Shrines and Images of dead Saints ſhall be ſet up, will mutually gain thereby.

Then will the *Clergy* and *People* being *benefactors* to each other be naturally ready to *pray* for each other, and the former being believed from their hearts to ſay *O Lord ſave thy people*, will find both an *Oral* and *Cordial* Reſponſe from the latter, *And bleſs thy Clergy*.

But while I am thus accompanied by the *Guide* of Natural reaſon, travelling in the Region of future time, the time that only is the object of humane ſollicitude, and from which anxious minds are too apt to fear that every days birth may be a Monſter, : I have by conſidering the former Revenue accruing to the Church by Oblations, took occaſion to Corroborate my great affirmation, of its not being naturally poſſible for Popery to exterminate the Proteſtant Religion in *England*, a Religion that Popery can never take by *aſſault*, or making of its profeſſors Martyrs, nor yet by *Siege*, in *ſtarving* its *Paſtors*.

'Tis true, that ſuch a great impoſt as Popery may occaſion to Proteſtants by Oblations, may in one ſenſe ſeem to have the nature of a puniſhment, namely, becauſe 'twill not be a burden to which all Subjects, or indeed all Proteſtants will be equally liable, and it will chiefly light on the devouter ſort of Proteſtants: And in like manner it may be ſaid that the gain that aroſe from Oblations in the times of Popery to the Pariſh Prieſts of great Towns, was in effect an unequal impoſt on the Popiſh Laity, as being a *Tax* only on the more Ignorant and Superſtitious of them. But any one who has in the leaſt conſidered matters of State cannot but know that any great inequality of Taxes, that lights on the Subject as a miſchief, doth prove to the Prince an inconvenience, to whom the Subjects preſſure makes him unable to afford that *Subſidium* he otherwiſe could, and perhaps would cheerfully for the Publick ſafety. Thus may the great ſuppoſed charge to be incumbent on the more devout Proteſtants by Oblations, probably tempt them to uſe all the means the Law will permit, to render the Government of a Popiſh Prince uneaſie to him, and certainly diſable them from paying in that proportion toward the public Levys upon emergent occaſions, they elſe might do.

It may therefore here be affirm'd, that the gain of Popes ariſing from *Indulgences*, which was ſo vaſt, that *Popes* would boaſt *That they could never want mony while they could command Pen and Ink*, and which *Klockius* in his Book *de Contributionibus* obſerves, did yield the Pope in Common Years *a hundred Tuns of Gold*, i. e. a Million of pounds Sterling, (and which being an unequal *Tax* on Papiſts, and not preſſing the *debauchees* of that Religion but only falling heavy on the more Pious and devout ſort, made them the leſs able to ſupply the holy See with mony on extraordinary occaſions, or to pay their Taxes due to the Popiſh Princes they lived under, and particularly thoſe due to the *Pope* as a Temporal *Prince*) has ſince in a manner dyed a natural death, the light of *Learning* having no ſooner come into the

the World, then that poor *Hermit Fryer* Martin Luther *ſcourged the* Popes *Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple*, with as much eaſe almoſt as our *Saviour* did the *Jewiſh*.

Any one who ſhall conſider the burden of *Oblations*, that the devouter Roman Catholicks in *England* lye under, as to their *Prieſts* (which we may ſuppoſe to be very heavy, according to Mr. *John Gees* account in his *Book* called *The foot out of the Snare*, p. 76, where he ſaith, *That the Popiſh Paſtors ordinarily had a fifth of the Eſtates of the Laity allowed them, and that he knew that in a great ſhire in* England, *there was not a Papiſt of* 40 l. *per annum but did at his own charge keep a Prieſt in his houſe; ſome poor neighbours perhaps contributing ſome ſmall matter toward it*) may well think our Laity will bid as high for *Engliſh* Prayers, and for Wares they underſtand, and ſee, and weigh, as the Popiſh Laity doth for *Latine* ones, and Merchandize they are not allowed to examine; and he who conſiders that the Prieſts of that Religion, though thus pamper'd with Oblations, yet knowing them burthenſom to the Laity, do feed themſelves and them with hopes of the Reſtitution of Tithes to holy Church, and even of that ſort of Tithes alien'd from it in the times of Popery, may reaſonably conclude that our *Divines* whenever forced to fly to the *aſylum* of *Oblations*, will be reſtleſs in being both Heaven's and Earth's *Remembrancers*, of their claim of Tithes appropriated to the Proteſtant Religion by the Laws in being, and that a violent Religion, and illegal Goſpel will be but a Temporary barr againſt the collecting of Tithes, from a Land only during an Earth-quake.

I ſhall here acquaint your Lordſhip with a paſſage in the late times relating to the *Clerical* Revenue in *England*, worthy not only your knowledge, but poſterities, and that is this: A Perſon of great underſtanding, and of great regard of the truth of the matters of fact he affirmed, and one who made a great figure in the Law then, and in the Long Parliament from the beginning to the end of it, related to me occaſionally in diſcourſe, *That himſelf and ſome few others, after the War was begun between the King and Parliament, were employed by the Governing party of that Parliament to negotiate with ſome few of the moſt eminent Presbyterian Divines (and ſuch whoſe Counſels ruled the reſt of that Clergy) and to aſſure them that the Parliament had reſolved, if they ſhould ſucceed in that War, to ſettle all the Lands, Iſſues and Profits belonging to the Biſhops and other dignitaries upon the Miniſtry in* England, *as a perpetual and unalienable maintenance, and to tell them that the Parliament on that encouragement expected that they ſhould incline the Clergy of their perſwaſion by their Preaching, and all ways within the Sphere of their Calling to promote the Parliaments Cauſe; and that thereupon thoſe Divines accordingly undertook to do ſo: And that after the end of the War, he being minded by ſome of thoſe Divines, of the effect of the Parliaments promiſe by him notified, did ſhortly after ſignifie to them the anſwer of that party, who had employed him in that Negotiation to this effect*, viz. *That the Parliament formerly did fully intend to do what he had ſignified to them as aforeſaid, and that the publick debts occaſion'd by the War diſabled them from ſetling the Biſhops Lands on the Church: But that however he was authorized at that time to tell them, that if it would ſatisfie them to have the Deans and Chapters Lands ſo ſettled, that would be done: And that then thoſe Divines, in anger reply'd, They would have ſetled on the Miniſtry all or none: repreſenting it as Sacrilege to divert the Revenues of the Biſhops to Secular uſes, and that thereupon they miſſed both, the Deans and Chapters Lands being ſold.*

Thoſe *Divines* it ſeems had a preſenſion that the proſperous Condition of their Church, would diminiſh the Charity of Oblations, and therefore did not impoliticly try to provide for the duration of their *Model*, by dividing

viding both the Biſhops *Power* and *Lands* among their Clergy: And no doubt but in the way of a *fac ſimile* after this Presbyterian Copy, the Popiſh Prieſts will in *concert* with the Pope, even under a Popiſh Succeſſor as well as now, combine to leſſen the *King's* power, and advance the *Pope's*, on promiſes from the *Holy See*, that they ſhall have the Church Lands reſtored to them.

And I doubt not but a *Popiſh* Succeſſor will ſupport a Popiſh *Clergy* with what maintenance he can, having a reference to the *Law* of the *Land*, and likewiſe to the *Law* of *Nature* that binds him firſt to ſupport himſelf; and perhaps by keeping *vacant* Biſhopricks long ſo (a thing that by *Law* he may do) he may have their *Temporalties* to beſtow on whom he ſhall pleaſe, and perhaps by iſſuing out new *Commiſſions* about the *valuation* of the *Clerical Revenue*, a larger ſhare of *Firſt-fruits and Tenths* legally accruing to him, may enable him to gratifie ſuch *Eccleſiaſticks* as he ſhall favour. But as I likewiſe doubt not that ever any accident of time will leave the diſpoſal of ſuch a great proportion of the *Church Revenue* at his *Arbitrage* as the Uſurpers had at theirs, ſo neither do I of his affairs ever permitting him to allow ſo large a ſhare of that Revenue to his Clergy as the Uſurpers did to theirs, whom as thoſe *Powers* durſt not wholly diſoblige (and therefore unask'd ſettled on them toward the *augmentation* of their Livings the *Impropriate Tithes* belonging to the *Crown*, and to the *Biſhops* and *Deans* and *Chapters*, though yet nothing of their *Terra firma*) ſo neither durſt thoſe *Preſbyterian* Divines *who followed them for the Loaves*, and who once in a ſullen humour reſolved not to have half a Loaf rather then no Bread, reject the *Impropriate Tithes* given them, becauſe they ſaw a new Race of *Divines* called *Independent* ready to take from thoſe *Powers* what they would give, and who were prepared by their Religion to ſupport the *State-government*, and ſome of whom had already acquired Church-Livings, and others of whom in the great *Controverſie* among all thoſe Parties (which was not generally ſo much *de fide propagandâ* as *de pane lucrando*) would with the favour of the times eaſily have then worſted the *Presbyterian* Clergy in the *ſcramble* for that thing aforeſaid, that though *Moreau* in his learned *Notes* on *Schola Salerni*, ſaith, *no Book was ever writ of*, yet I think few have been writ but *for*, namely *Bread*.

But herein on the whole matter the *Uſurpers* Policy was ſo ſucceſsful as that ordering the great Revenues of the Church as they did, and *Appropriating* the *Biſhops* and *Deans* and *Chapters* Lands to the uſe of the *State*, they by the augmentations ariſing from the *Fond* of the Impropriate Tithes to their *Clergy* (and eſpecially to thoſe of them they planted in great Towns and Cities) ty'd them to their *Authority* (as I may ſay) by the Teeth, and kept them from barking againſt it, or biting them, which elſe they would have been likely to have done, being diſappointed as to their *gratiæ expectativæ* of the *Lands* of the *Biſhops*, had they been let looſe to have depended on maintenance by *Oblations* in ſuch Towns and Cities, and where they would have probably tryed with a diverſified *Curſe ye* Meros, to fly in the faces of Maſters who would not feed them.

I have before ſaid how the Parliament ſweetned them into obedience by the luſcious power of oppreſſing their fellow Subjects: But neither by any Revenue adequate to thoſe Impropriate *Tithes*, nor by any ſuch power of oppreſſing (that prerogative of Devils, to torment) can it be imagined that a Popiſh Succeſſor will ever be able to enſure the obedience of his Clergy to himſelf. His Biſhops and Dignitaries will be like the Popes *Trent Titulars* without a *Title*, I mean one to a *Dignity* or *Benefice*, and the burden of the Clerical Papiſts maintenance, lying ſtill on the laity, will make Popery ſoon viſibly grow weary of it ſelf.

I ſhall here take occaſion to obſerve that Tithes were firſt called *Impropriate* by the *ſarcaſm* of the diſlodged *Monks*, who thought that the Tithes *Appropriated* (for that was the Antient Law-term for them) were improperly placed on *Lay-men*; but both the preſent poſſeſſors, and all that know that 'tis neceſſary for *England*'s being a *Kingdom* and no *Province*, that its Riches accruing by the number of its Inhabitants, and by improvement of its Soil, ſhould keep its weight in the *Balance* of Chriſtendom, eſpecially conſidering the growth of *France*, will for ever think it very *improper*, that ſo much of its Land and Wealth and Populouſneſs ſhould be ſacrificed to Religious *Idlers*, and that according to Biſhop *Sanderſon*'s account, almoſt half of the Land ſhould be turn'd into *Franks* for *Boares*, or as I may ſay, Sties for ſuch as are *Epicuri de grege Porci*, or ſuch as were call'd *Barnevelts* Hoggs, he having called the Monkiſh *Herd* by that name, of whom if *any angers one they all riſe againſt him, and if he pleaſeth them all, there is nothing to be got but Briſtles.*

That *Herd* was not a little moleſted, as Mr. *Fox* tells us, by a private Gentleman one Mr. *Simon Fiſh* in the *Year* 1527. who writ a little Book called *The ſupplication of Beggars* addreſt to the *King*, and it had the honour to reach his Eyes, and to be lodged in his Boſom three or four days, and to bring its Author to be embraced by the King, and to have long diſcourſe with him, as Mr. *Fox* affirms, who *Prints* that Book, wherein the *Author* with much laboured curioſity attaques the Revenue of the Monks with *Arithmetick*, a Science neceſſary for the ſtrengthening of Political no leſs Military Diſcipline.

He ſaith there in the beginning *That the multitude of Lepers and other ſick People and Poor, was ſo encreaſed that all the Alms of the Realm ſufficed not to keep them from dying for hunger: And that this happened from counterfeit holy Beggers and Vagabonds being ſo much encreaſed. Theſe* (ſaith he) *are not the Herds but Wolfes*, &c. *Who have got into their hands more then the third part of your Realm. The goodlieſt Lordſhips and Mannors are theirs.* Beſide this he ſets forth that *They have Tithes, Oblations, Mortuaries*, &c. And he therein ſaith, That *there being in* England 52000 *Pariſhes, and Ten Houſholds in every Pariſh, and five hundred and twenty Thouſand Houſholds in all, and every of the five Orders of Fryers receiving a peny a quarter, that is Twenty Pence in all yearly from every one of theſe Houſholds, the Total Sum was* 430333 l.—6 s.—8 d. *Sterling.* He further ſets forth, *That the Fryars being not the four hundredth Perſon of the Realm, had yet half its profits.*

There were in that little Book many things ſo pungent, and ſo confirm'd by *Calculation*, that the *Clergy* put no meaner a Perſon then Sir *Thomas More* on the anſwering it in Print; and it occaſion'd the Biſhop of *London*'s publiſhing an *Edict* to call in that little Book, and the *Engliſh* New Teſtament, and many Books writ againſt the exceſſes of the Prieſts. Well therefore might Sir *Thomas More* be favour'd with a *Licenſe* to *read Heretical Books*, when he was to be at the fatigue of anſwering them. Sir *Thomas* in his *Anſwer* to it makes a juſt exception to Mr. *Fiſh*'s eſtimate of the number of *Pariſhes* in the Realm: But admitting there were then Ten Thouſand *Pariſhes* in *England*, and about Forty *Houſes* in one *Pariſh* with another in the *Country* (beſide what were in great Towns and Cities) he might modeſtly *Calculate* 520000 Houſholds in all.

Nor is it to be much wondered at, That a private Gentleman ſhould err in the exceſs of the *number* of the *Pariſhes*, when we are told in *Cotton*'s Collections, That in the 45 of *E.* 3. The *Lords and Commons in Parliament granting the King a Subſidy of* 50000 l. *at the rate of* 22 s. 4 d. *for each Pariſh, they*

they eſtimated the Pariſhes then near that number; but were afterward inform'd by the Lord Chancellour, that by returns made into the Chancery on Commiſſions of Enquiry, it was found there were not ſo many Pariſhes in the Realm.

It had been very acceptable to thoſe who in this Age take their Political meaſures of the power and growth of Kingdoms from *Numbers*, if either Mr. *Fiſh* or Sir *Thomas More* who anſwered his Golden little Book (as I may call it, for his endeavours therein to fix matters relating to the Oeconomy of the Kingdom by *Calculation*, and for his being a *Columbus* to diſcover rich Mines without going to *America*, nor yet further then home) or if any of our *Monkiſh* Hiſtorians, or even our Poliſh'd and Ingenious ones, and particularly *My Lord* Bacon, *and my Lord* Herbert had given the World Rational eſtimates of the *Numbers* of the people of *England* in the times they writ of, or particularly of the *Numbers* of the Males then between the *Years* of 16 and 60, for if they had done that (as on the publick *Muſters* made by occaſion of Warlike preparations they might perhaps well have performed) we might now eaſily by the help we have had from the *Obſervator* on the *Bills of Mortality* conclude, what the entire Number of the People then was, and might likewiſe have better agreed on a ſtated Rule of the *Period* of Nations *doubling*; a Curioſity in knowledge not unworthy the Genius of an Inquiſitive or Philoſophical States-man, and which preſents to his View as in a Glaſs the *Anatociſme* of the *fætus populi*, reſembling the *Intereſt upon Intereſt* of *Money*; as for Example, when we ſee that one pound in Seventy years (the Age of a Man) is, at 10 *per cent.* encreaſed to a Thouſand.

But it is our misfortune, that through the aforeſaid omiſſion of our *Hiſtorians*, we are not ſo much illuminated about the encreaſe of the *Engliſh* Nation, as we are about the gradual multiplication of the People of *Rome* ſo many hundred years ago: And indeed by the help of the *Writers* of other *European* Countries we are taught to know the Numbers of all people but our own. But in this State of improvement that the World is arrived at, I do account that all who ſhall hereafter employ their Pens about that greateſt exerciſe of humane Wit and Judgment, call'd *Hiſtory*, and ſhall not found the weight of their Remarques upon the *Numbers* of the People they write of, will no more be termed *grave Authors*, or indeed ought but *grave nothings*, and ſuch who deal irreverently with a World that is weary of trifles, and from which they are to expect no other Doom then that of the *Annales Voluſi*.

And though as to the *fætus populi* as well as to the *fætus pecuniæ*, called *fænus*, accidents may happen that may croſs the *Rule* of encreaſe in both Caſes, as in the latter by *Bankrupts*, and in the former by *Plague* or *War*, &c. (and thus once as to the *Romans*, *Cenſa ſunt Civium Capita* 270 *Millia*, and in the following enrollment but 137, *Ex quo numero apparuit*, ſaith the Hiſtorian, *quantum hominum tot præliorum adverſa, fortuna populi* Romani *abſtuliſſet*; as if he would infer that the loſſes they received from *Hanibal* had ſwept away 133000 Citizens) yet do ſuch *exceptions* but confirm the *Rule*, the which may be made out by *continued mean proportionals*. But this by the way.

If my Lord *Herbert* who mentions *pag.* 121 of his *Hiſtory*, That in the *Year* 1522 *Warrants were iſſued out, Commanding the Certificates of the Names of all above ſixteen Years old*, had ſet down the total number of the perſons certified, he had much more obliged the World then by many things in his *Hiſtory*.

I do

I do not remember that any of our Hiſtorians of thoſe times do relate the Numbers of the Religious Perſons that all the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries contain'd.

We are told by *Godwin* in his *Annals*, That *the number of the Abbies that were in* England *is not eaſily caſt up*, and the Names of the chiefeſt, and whoſe Abbots had voices among the Peers in Parliament, he thereupon enumerates.

But *Weaver* in his *Funeral Monuments* p. 104, mentioning *That all the Religious Houſes under the Yearly value of* 200 l. *being given to the King, and that they were all worth* per annum 20941 *l.* ſaith, *That the Religious Perſons put out of the ſame were above Ten Thouſand.*

My Lord *Herbert* p. 441, ſpeaking of that ſort of Monaſteries, being diſſolved in the 27*th* year of the King's Reign, makes *Thirty, or Thirty two Thouſand pound yearly thereby fall into the King's hand:* And *p.* 507, *makes the total yearly value of all the Religious Houſes ſuppreſſed to be* 161100 *l.* It may therefore be thence infer'd, that if *Thirty Thouſand pound* yearly maintain'd 10000 *Religious* Perſons, that there were maintain'd by the 161100 *l.* above 50000 *Religious* Perſons or *Regulars*: And according to the aforeſaid rate of the yearly value of the Land, *viz.* 161100 *l.* the allowance to each came to ſomewhat above 3 l. *per annum*, the which ſhews that thoſe Lands were not ſold to half the value, becauſe leſs then double that Sum cannot be imagined to have maintain'd ſuch a perſon then.

I do account that ſuppoſing the *Pariſhes* to have been then in *England* and *Wales*, as *Cambden* in his *Britannia* ſays, 9284, that the *Secular* Clergy added to the Number of the *Regular* only the laſt ſaid *Number*: For then the *Canon* Law (which requires, that *Orders* ſhall not be given to Men without *Titles*) being ſtrictly executed, there were perhaps not more Pariſh Prieſts in *England*: And the adding to thoſe Numbers the *Dignitaries*, viz. *Two Archbiſhops*, and 24 *Biſhops*, and 26 *Deans*, and 60 *Arch-Deacons*, and 544 *Prebendarys*, and ſeveral *Rural Deans*, doth enlarge the Sum to another Thouſand of Perſons who lived by the Altar. Moreover there being then eſtimated to live in *Oxford* and *Cambridge* about Sixty Thouſand Students, who in expectation of Church-preferment, as either *Regulars* or *Seculars*, abſtain'd from Marriage, I account that the Number of Perſons then ty'd by *Cælibate* from encreaſing and multiplying the people to be above 120000, as at preſent above double that Number are in *France*.

What accrued to the Secular Clergy then, or ſince by *Tithes* ought not to have been looked on by any one with an *evil Eye*, as I ſuppoſe by Mr. *Fiſh* it was not. For as to the nature of the payment of *Tithes*, according to the judgment of Sir *W. P.* in his Book of *Taxes and Contributions*, p. 58, *It may be ſaid to be no Tax or Levy in* England, *whatever it might have been in the firſt age of its Inſtitution.*

And this notion of his may be extended even to that which is called a *Tenth*, but is *revera* a *Fifth* (I mean the *Tith* of *arables* in regard of the charge of Culture and Seed, which is ordinarily at leaſt as much as the *Rent* of the *Land*) becauſe it is a charge *equally* incumbent on all proprietors of ſuch Land, and for that the true notion of Wealth and Riches depends on compariſon, and 'tis only the inequality in the proportion of the Tax that is the ſting thereof.

But that which Mr. *Fiſh* chiefly level'd his *Calculations* at, was the exceſſive ſhare in the Wealth of the Kingdom the *Monks* and *Fryars* had, who did ſo little for its preſervation, and the encreaſe of its Numbers. *What an infinite number of people*, ſaith he, *might have been encreaſed to have peopled the Realm, if this ſort of Folk had been married like other Men!* Inſtead of

uſing

uſing his Rhetorical Expreſſion of *infinite*, I ſhall affirm that theſe 120000 adult, able perſons living in *Celibate* might according to the notion of the *Obſervator of the Bills of Mortality*, That every marriage, one with another, produceth four Children, *viz.* Two apiece for each Sex, have more then doubled their number in the ſame age: by which any one may well conclude, that as the number of the people of *England* is now vaſtly encreaſed by the diſſolution of Abbies, ſo it would likewiſe be ſo diminiſhed by their re-eſtabliſhment. To effect therefore to leſſen thus the number of the people of *England*, when the *French* King with great wiſdom has by the Revival of the *Roman* Immunity of the *Jus trium librorum*, and the application of others, laid ſo a great Foundation for the growing populouſneſs of *France*, would too much expoſe us to his power and deriſion.

The Divine Wiſdom's allotting to the *Levitical Tribe* the affluent *quota* it enjoy'd, is very juſtly took notice of by thoſe who diſcourſe of the Clerical Revenue.

The Author of the *Preſent State of* England, ſaith, *That our Anceſtors according to the pattern of God's ancient people the Jews, judged it expedient to allot large Revenues to the* Engliſh *Clergy, and that the* Engliſh *Clergy were the beſt provided for of any Clergy in the whole World, except only the Nation of the Jews, among whom the Tribe of* Levi, *being not the* Fourth *part of the twelve Tribes* (*as appears in the Book of* Numbers) *yet had, as Mr.* Selden *confeſſeth, and that by God's own appointment, three times the Annual Revenue of the greateſt of the twelve Tribes.*

Doctor *Covel* in his *Modeſt and Reaſonable examination of ſome things in uſe in the Church of* England, Printed *Anno* 1604. ſaith in *Chapter* the Eleventh, *That the* Levites *were not the Thirteenth part of the* Jews, *and yet had the Tenth:* Wherein that *Doctor* agreed with the ſenſe of the *Fathers of the Council of* Trent, who (as 'tis mention'd in the latter end of the *Hiſtory of that Council*) ſaid, *That in the* Moſaical *Law God gave the Tenth to the* Levites, *who were the Thirteenth part of the people, prohibiting that any more ſhould be given them: But the Clergy now which is not the Fiftieth part, hath gotten already not a Tenth only, but a Fourth part.*

But by exacter Calculations, 'tis apparent that the *Levites* though a ſmall Tribe (if a Tribe, there being twelve beſide) ſcarce the ſixtieth part of the Houſe of *Jacob*, had perhaps a *Sixth* of the whole profits of the Land: They had the *Tenth* or *Tith* of the Land, together with its Culture; they had in *Judæa*, a ſmall Country, 48 Cities, with their Suburbs, 2000 Cubits from the Wall on every ſide, and their firſt-fruits, and a great part of the manifold Sacrifices, and free-will-offerings of the Male Children of *Iſrael*, which were to *appear thrice yearly before the Lord* with ſome Offering, and whatſoever Houſe, Field, Perſon, Beaſt, &c. was by a ſingular Vow given to God, which was to be valued by the Prieſt himſelf, and all theſe duties were brought in to the Prieſt, without charge or trouble: and thoſe Cities and Lands deſcended from them to their poſterity, from generation to generation, as alſo did their *Tithes* and *Offerings*.

I ſhall here obſerve, that that which hath probably induced ſo many to err in making the number of the *Levites* ſo great as aforeſaid, was their not conſidering what yet is really true in Nature, namely, That the number of people of any Nation from a month old and upwards (for ſo the *Levites* were counted *Numb.* 3. 39.) is more then double their number from Twenty years old and upward, and ſo the reſt of the Tribes were numbred *Exod.* 33. 26. *Numb.* 26. 62. And therefore I infer that the *Levites* were but about a ſixtieth of the number of the other Tribes.

But during the Theocracy that the *Jews* ſometimes lived under, or while God was their King, it being worthy of the Divine Empire to deſign and promote the wealth of its Subjects, and conſequently that they ſhould encreaſe and multiply (for that alone is real wealth) there was no Celibate among the *Levites*, or any degree of Eccleſiaſticks to hinder the ſame.

Having thus in the way of Calculation glanced on the Eccleſiaſtical Polity of God's peculiar People or Subjects, I ſuppoſe the rectitude of that Rule will ſhew the obliquity or warping of the practice of the Papal Clergy: For if we do admit (as I believe we well may) that there are ſeven Millions of people in *England*, of which 120000 is a ſixtieth part, this old Church Polity of the Popes Clergy doth *Toto Cælo* differ from that of the *Iſraelites*, in that they ſpend double the proportion of the wealth of the Kingdom, and yet live in Celibate or without multiplying: And as Mr, *Fiſh* in effect ſaid in that his Book, do hinder procreation by promiſcuous coupling with other Mens Wives.

But 'tis a known great truth, that the great buſineſs of the Monks, and the *Ratio ſtudiorum* of the Papal Clergy was not to make the Kingdom populous, but to depopulate. We have for this the teſtimony of *Walter Mappe* Arch-deacon of *Oxford*, who was bred up with *Henry* the Second, that the Abbots and Monks in that time were very Criminous in the point of depopulation, whence that Proverb aroſe *Monachi deſertum aut inveniunt aut faciunt*, wherever they ſeated themſelves, they either found the place a Deſart, or made it one.

'Tis ſaid of them, *That they laid more places waſte then ever* William the Conqueror *or his Son* Rufus *did, when they demoliſhed and deſtroyed many Pariſhes to enlarge the bounds of the new Forreſt.*

In that Fleet of *depopulators* there was one firſt-rate one, namely *The Abbot of* Oſney, who was for his Talent of depopulating ſo remarkable, that 'twas obſerved that he made all *paupers* that dwelt within the *purlieus* of his Poſſeſſions: And of this *Henry* the Second took ſuch notice, that one day when he had not poor people enough for his Alms on ſome great Feſtival he ſaid in a fit of anger, *That rather then his bounty ſhould be unemployed he would make as many beggars as the Abbot of* Oſney *had done.*

One would think that the *Monks* ſhould have been well willers to the encreaſe of the populouſneſs of the Kingdom, for that thereby the values of their Lands would have been encreaſed, a thing no doubt that appeared viſible to the Reaſons of the more Sagacious among them: But there was another thing they found palpable, that is, they found themſelves well at eaſe, even to envy in their vaſt ſhare of the wealth of the Nation, whereby they *Lorded it over both God's inheritanee*, and the Laity, and therefore they did not fancy the ſight of the Sea of the people increaſe, by the coming in of the Tide of new generations, that would have produced much more perſons to maligne, and perhaps conteſt with them: they naturally therefore wiſhed the ſweet abſence of ſuch company from the World, juſt as in *Ireland*, and other thin peopled Countries, the Natives living at their eaſe have ſharp regrets againſt the acceſſion of ſtrangers, though they know it would raiſe the value of their Lands, and as in *America* the Natives wiſh no improvement to their Country from the *Spaniards.*

The Monks had got the Monopoly of Religion, and near half the Land by it, and not having any certain Iſſue to endear poſterity to them, and conſequently to oblige them to promote the wealth of the Kingdom in general, and to conſult thereby the good of ſurviving parts of themſelves (for that figure Children make as to Parents) they and the Abbots and Popiſh Biſhops cared for no more then being warm in the Pyes Neſt while they lived,

ved, and 'twas as natural to them to repel the thoughts of Colonies of people advancing the wealth of the Kingdom by new generations, as 'tis natural to preſent Trading perſons to prevent the publick good of an *Act of Naturalization.*

And as this advancement of *depopulation* was therefore the intereſt of the *preſent* Monks and Prieſts, ſo was it of the *preſent* Popes, who knew they were ſure of receiving Aids and Contributions from them, as long as numbers of other freſh comers did not drive them off the Stage.

One would rather wonder that our Popiſh Monarchs ſaw it not ſooner their Intereſt, to cruſh the Politics of theſe holy *Depopulators* and *Paſtors*, that turned the Kingdom into Sheep-walks, and who minding chiefly the encreaſe of Cattle by paſture, hindred that encreaſe of Men that the advancement of Tillage would have produced, and the furniſhing the Crown with more Subſidy Men, and Soldiers. But this ſupineneſs of our Kings was not only cauſed by Superſtition, and a vitiated fancy in Religion, an Idol to which *Philip* the Second ſacrificed his *Son* (and therefore might be well ſuppoſed prevalent with others to wiſh the generation of their Children or Subjects reſtrained) but our Kings were not then ſtimulated by neceſſity to promote the populouſneſs of their Realm, for that their riches and ſtrength depending on compariſon, the ſame Religious *Orders* did by *Celibate* and *Depopulation* equally obſtruct the Wealth and Power of the neighbouring Kingdoms as well as this, and by that means they were not our *overmatch.*

But the courſe of encreaſing Generations having operated ſo far as to awaken the World, and Men for not having ſo much Elbow-room as they had, joſtling one another by the violence of War, the politics of *Statutes* againſt *Depopulation* were forced and reinforced on this Realm: And like as Men, ſo too will ſuch *Statutes beget one another* (as I may ſay) *to the end of the Chapter.* Nor is the power of the Kingdom ever likely again to be really emaſculated by ſuch as pretended *To make themſelves* Eunuchs *for the Kingdom of Heaven's ſake*, and honoured not the *Founder* of Chriſtianity, of whom ſince he for the good of Mankind made his firſt Diſciples *fiſhers of Men*, it may ſeem unworthy that he ſhould intend the hurt of States and Kingdoms, by making the following *Doctors* of his Church *Paſtors* of *Sheep.*

Sir *Thomas Moor* in the *firſt Book* of his *Utopia* doth with a ſharpneſs worthy his excellent wit tell us, *That certain Abbots (holy Men God wot) not profiting, but much damnifying the Common Wealth, leave no ground for Tillage, they encloſe all in paſtures; they throw down Houſes, they pull down Towns, and leave nothing ſtanding, but only the Church, to make of it a Sheep-houſe.* And afterward ſaith, *That one Shepherd is enough to eat up that ground with Cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requiſite.* And he in that Book calls the *Fryers errones maximos*, and deſires they might be treated like *Vagabonds and ſturdy Beggars.* And in the *Second Book* contrives a *Model* of the *Prieſthood* ſo as not to make it ſuch a Nuſance to the Civil Government, as the Papal one was, accordingly as has been before diſcourſed. For one of his fundamentals there is, *That the Prieſts ſhould be very few, and that they ſhould be choſen by the people like other Magiſtrates, and with ſecret voices; and enjoyns to his Prieſts marriage, and makes them to be promoted to no power but only to honour.*

Sir *Thomas More* it ſeems was far then from *Writing at the Pope's Feet*, (the Character that was afterward given to *Bellarmine's* ſtyle) and there was as little occaſion for a peace-maker's interpoſal between him and *Fiſh*, as is between two wrangling Lawyers at a Bar.

But

But the matter is well mended with our *Engliſh* World ſince the time of the *Supplication* of *Beggars*, as appears by the multitudes of the healthy and robuſt *Plebs* of our Nation, that Till the Earth and Plough the Sea; and who by the proportion of the Mony Current coming to their hands, having fortify'd their Vital Spirits with good diet, there is *finis litium*, and an end of ſuch *Lamentations*, as the beginning of that *Supplication* to the *King* in part before referred mentions, *viz. Moſt lamentably complaineth of their woful miſery to your Highneſs, your poor daily Beads-men the wretched hideous Monſters, on whom ſcarcely for horrour any eye dare look, the foul unhappy ſort of Lepers and other ſore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and ſick*, &c. *How that their Number is daily ſo ſore encreaſed, that all the Alms of all the well diſpoſed people of this your Realm is not half enough to ſuſtain them.*

There is no doubt but their indigence was extream, when they were to glean not only after the Reaping of the *Monks*, but after the Eccleſiaſtick *Beggars*, the *Fratres Mendicantes*, (or as they were then called *Manducantes*) had been ſatiated *in diebus illis*, and when *Holy Church* almoſt engroſſed not only the wealth but the begging in the Kingdom.

And he who now looks on our *Engliſh infantry* when they turn their *Plough-ſhares* into *Swords*, will ſee nothing of the horrour of ſtarvelings in their faces: and the Writ *de leproſo amovendo* is in effect obſolete in nature, as that too *de hæretico comburendo* is abrogated: And within the *Term* of about twenty years that the Obſervator of the Bills of Mortality refers his Calculations to, he mentions but ſix of 229150 dying of the *Leproſie*. What the Bills of Mortality in *France* may contain about deaths by the *Leproſie*, happening there in late years, I know not, but do ſuppoſe that the general Scurſe appearing in the skins of the Peſantry there, condemned to *Sell their Birth-right* of nature *for no Pottage*, and to eat little of the Corn they Sow, and to drink as little of the Vines they Plant, and to taſte little of Fleſh, ſave what they have in Alms from the Baskets of the Abbies, and who are Dieted only for Vaſſalage, may be an indication of the *Leproſie*, having ſtill its former effects among them: But our *Engliſh* Husband-men are both better fed and taught, and the pooreſt people here have ſo much of brown Bread, and the Goſpel, that by the Calculations on our *Bills* of *Mortality* it appears, that for ſo many years paſt but One of Four Thouſand is ſtarved.

'Tis therefore I think by inſtinct of *Nature*, That our *Yeomanry* in the Country, though not addicted to mind niceneſs of Controverſie in Religion, nor to be dealers in the Proteſtant Faith by Retaile, are great Whole-ſale Traders in it, and will as ſoon ſuffer their Ploughs to be took out of their Hands, as their Bibles from under their Arms: And they have been generally obſerved ſince the Plot, and ſome years before, to manifeſt in common diſcourſe their robuſt abhorrences of *Popery*, as ſuppoſing that under that Religion they could neither ſave their Souls, nor their Bacon.

Doleman alias *Parſons* in the *Second part of his Book of the Succeſſion*, ſpeaking of the *Numbers* of the *Papiſts* here, makes it very conſiderable, *In that the moſt part of the Country people that live out of Cities and great Towns (in which the greateſt part of the* Engliſh *forces are wont to conſiſt) are much affected ordinarily to their Religion* (meaning the Popiſh Religion) *by reaſon the Preachers of the contrary Religion are not ſo frequent with them as in Towns*, &c.

But were he now alive he would find the Scene of things changed in our Country Churches ſince Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, in whoſe Reign a *Book* was printed *Anno* 1585, called *A lamentable complaint of the Commonalty by way of Supplication to the High Court of Parliament for a learned Miniſtry.* He would find that even in the pooreſt of our Country Pariſhes (where yet

by

by the encreaſe of people ſince her time, the values of the Livings are proportionably encreaſed) there are Miniſters more learned then were there in his time, and that the *Reading* the *Prayers* and *Homilies* of our *Church* hath furniſhed our Country-Folks with ſo much underſtanding, as will render them for ever unwilling to ſow the matter of which to make the God they muſt either devour, or be devour'd by. Had Mr. *Coleman* vouchſafed to have ſpoke with ſome of this ſort of men, he would not have thought the whole Kingdom ready like moyſt Wax to have receiv'd the impreſsions of Popery, but would have obſerv'd in them, That with the ſtubborn and *proverbial Pride* of a *Ruſſet Coat*, they diſdain to draw in the Yoke either of Papacy or Presbytery, and that they talk of *Popery* as a Religion that would ſink down both their Souls and Bodies to the ſtate of Brutes, and not only make agriculture vail to paſture, but bring them to eat Graſs and Hay *more pecudum*, as a great *Cardinal* bragg'd *that they had almoſt prepared the Laiety to do*, till *Luther* ſhew'd them better things: and if any one who has not heard the ſturdy *Anathema's* that our *Ruſtics* in their Common diſcourſes beſtow on Popery, and who has not obſerv'd that in Elections for *Knights of the Shire* their Suffrages are given to the moſt fiery Zealots againſt it, ſhall not have the ſame ſenſe with me of the general intenſe hatred of the Countrey People againſt Popery, let him Caſt his Eye on the *Returns* made in the *Biſhops Survey* of the Number of *Papiſts* above the age of 16, for thoſe two *Dioceſſes* in which the glory of our Engliſh *Yeomanry* ſo much abounds, namely of our *Yeomen of Kent*, and he ſhall find that the Number of Papiſts both male and female was in *Canterbury* Dioceſs but 142, and in that of *Rocheſter* 64; and one would think that the Neighbourhood of *France* might have tranſplanted more of the *Popiſh* Perſuaſion into thoſe Dioceſſes.

The *Traditions* our *Country* People have had from their *Anceſtors* concerning their *ſtate* in the days of Popery, have ſufficiently *antidoted* them againſt the poyſon of *Traditions* from Popiſh Prieſts and ſuch who would have them *Traditors* of their Engliſh Bibles. They have a joyful *Guſto* of the *Petition of Right* (as it were) freſh in their Mouths, and fear the being thrown back to the *ſupplication of Beggars*. They cannot think of the Times of *Monkery* here, without thinking of how many of the Plough-men in *England* were then *Villains*, and that too *Villains* to *Abbies*, for that part of their Land that was *arable*: they were *Villains regardant* to their *Mannors*, and ſuch as the *Romans* call'd *adſcriptitii glebæ*. And 'tis obſerved by Sir *T. Smith* in his 3d. *Book de Repub. Anglorum*, c. 10. *That the Monks and Fryars when they were Converſant with the Layety as Confeſſors in* extremis, *enjoyn'd them in the Court of Conſcience for the honour of Chriſtianity to manumit all their Villains: but* (ſaith he) *the ſaid holy Fathers with the Abbots and Priors did not ſo by theirs.* And he ſaith, *Quorum exemplis epiſcopi inſiſtentes ab iſta crudelitate niſi pretio conducti, aut Calumniis impetiti ſero deterreri potuerunt. Dein æquatis ſolo Monaſteriis & in manus laicorum recidentibus, libertatem omnes adepti ſunt. i. e.* But at laſt the Monaſteries being levell'd with the ground, they all gain'd their freedom.

Thus did the Abbots and Monks formerly affect the Monopoly of ordering *Villainage*: and the *multiplying* of the People born of their *Villains* by ſucceeding Generations, did but *multiply* Slaves to the Abbies; and at the ſame time they *ſow'd* Corn for the Abbys, they *ſow'd* their Children too to Villenage: The which is apparent by an *Abbot* and *Convent's formula* of *manumiſſion* in *Edward* the Third's time, mention'd in *Blount*, viz. *Omnibus—Frater Mathæus Abbas de Haleſoweign & Conventus ejuſdem loci ſalutem. Noveritis Nos unanimi voluntate & Conſenſu feciſſe Johannem del Grene de Rugaker liberum cum tota ſequelâ ſuâ procreatâ & procreandâ.*

But the Children that now come to ſee the light in *England*, are not *damnati antequam Nati*, Condemned to Servitude before they are born, and our Yeomen that are above wearing the *Badges* of our *Nobles*, will ſcorn the Vaſſalage to *Friers*: and when the *Genius* of the Engliſh Nation is ſo full of *Candor* (and what few Nations can pretend to) that they never make *Slaves* of their Priſoners of War in any part of *Europe*, none I believe will ever ſee their incomparable *Infantry* by whom their Battels are won, to become *Slaves* in Peace, and the very *Slaves* too of *Slaves*, I mean of the Monaſtic *Slaves* to ſloth.

That 40 s. a *Tear* that made them in the ſtate of *legales homines heretofore*, is now become in value 6 l. *per annum*: and as by the encreaſe of their Wealth they are the more enabled to go to *Law*, ſo the *Policy* of *William the Conquerour* to have mens *Lands* lie *ſcatter'd* as they are in *Common Fields*, to the intent that the multiplicity of Law Sutes occaſion'd thereby might divert their uniting againſt him, (the which hath been *Commonly* call'd the *Conquerour's Curſe*) hath however enured them to a pugnacious ſpirit of litigation in the Law, and the effect of which tough *mettle* of theirs, *Popery* is likely to find if ever it ſhall be a *Treſpaſſer* on them: and in fine, Popery need never *balder* us with any other *miracles*, if it can effect this one, namely, to reconcile our Husbandmen to love it, and to applaud the *Jus Divinum* of the *Monks* that coming in *Sheeps clothing*, would by a *Paſce Oves* make *Paſture* confound *Tillage*.

The truth is, they are as unlikely ever to effect this, as are any who love the Noble Sport of *Hunting*, to reduce *England* to its Primitive ſtate, and more remote then *Paſture*, namely, *Forreſt*, (for that and *Marſh* is the *Natural* ſtate of all uncultivated and deſolate Lands) tho they ſhould too try to hunt as with a full cry out of the Scripture into that ſtate, and with the τὸ ὑψος of *Iſaia*, cry, *Reſonate Montes laudationem, ſylva & omne lignum ejus*; and further tell us of the antiquity of the Divine Right to Forreſts appearing out of thoſe words of the Royal Prophet, *For all the Beaſts of the Forreſt are mine*, &c. and ſhould inſinuate that 'twas fit to unpeople the Earth of men to make groves for Gods to inhabit.

We are told in the *Preface* to *Manwood*, That in the Reigns of *Richard* the *Firſt*, King *John*, and *Henry* the *Second*, *the Crown had afforreſted ſo much of the Lands of the Subjects, as that the greateſt part of this Realm was then become Forreſt*; but no man is ſo ſenſleſs as to pretend to fear the Return of any ſuch ſtate in *England*.

And according to the Principles of Senſe and reaſon it may be affirm'd, That all Monkiſh hopes of our Ploughmen happening again to be over-run by Shepherds, are very extravagant, and Popery will groſly err, if it ſhall think that Poverty will ever compel this ſort of men to the turpitude of taking up illegal Arms for it, or that it can eradicate their innate hatred againſt it.

The Subſiſtence that the Plough afforded our Husbandmen in their Trade, made few of them in Compariſon of thoſe of other Trades, become Souldiers in our late Civil Warrs: Nor were they then obſerv'd to favour thoſe hyhocritical *Religion-Traders* the Land was then peſter'd with. Nor indeed can they who really Till and Improve the Earth, naturally affect thoſe who pretend to Cultivate Heaven; and by neceſſity of Nature it muſt ſtill come to paſs, that they who acquire their own bread by rearing it for others with hard labour, will have an averſion againſt thoſe who can ſubſiſt luxurioufly, by cheating others of it with eaſie Tricks, and againſt any attempts for a Reſetled *Monkery*, which would, after the *mode* of the *Pyed Piper*, demand an unconſcionable rate for trying to rid us of a few *hæretical Mice*, and which too tho our Land ſhould pay, would yet depopulate it of its Children.

And

And here I cannot forbear to Obſerve, That there happen'd one thing ſo momentous, that it can never be forgot while the *Engliſh* Nation has a Being, and which did among our people in the Country Convey a freſh ſenſe of the Peſtilential nature of Popery, and of the encreaſing Danger of its infection, and that is, that the Body of our Clergy of the Church of *England*, did generally from the Preſs and Pulpit for ſome Years together ſend ſo many ſtrong Antidotes againſt Popery round the Kingdom. Every Pulpit almoſt from one end of the Land to the other did reſound, as I may ſay, with a *Seaſonable diſcourſe againſt Popery*. It may be with Juſtice apply'd to thoſe *Diſcourſes* of our *Divines*, That they alarmed more than our *Engliſh* World, or perhaps the *Roman*, and that the World elſewhere did ring with their ὁ φθόγγος; I here allude to thoſe words in the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, Εἰς πάσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα τῶν αὐτῶν: *Their ſound went into all the Earth, and their words to the ends of the World.* There is no doubt but their *Sound* was heard to *Rome* by the help of the *Jeſuits* intelligence, and that our *Divines* knew when they ſo Preach'd and Writ, they had paſs'd the *Rubicon*, and that 'twas in vain like *Cranmer* to try to be reconciled to irreconcileable *Rome*, and that 'twould be as much in vain in any Courſe of future time to uſe politic whiſpers in Commendation of Popery after their former loudneſs againſt it, as for one who told a Husband that he ſaw ſuch an one ſtrugling to raviſh his Wife, to ſay afterward that he was a very Civil Gentleman.

Our *Fanaticks* therefore do by nothing more deſerve that Name, then by nick-naming the Body of the *Clergy* of the Church of *England* as ſautors of Popery, ſince 'twas *but of yeſterday* that almoſt all our Firſt and Second Rate Divines did like *Capital* Ships (as I may ſay) one after another attaque the Fleet of the *Romaniſts*, and diſcharge their Thunder upon them: but as my Lord *Bacon* hath obſerv'd, That in great Sounds the Continuance is more than momentany, and that the noyſe of Great Ordnance, of which the Sound is carry'd many miles on the Land, and much further on the Sea, will there come to the Ear not in the inſtant of the ſhooting off, but an hour or more later, the which muſt needs be the Continuance of the firſt Sound; Thus too, I hope, that the aforeſaid late ὁ φθόγγος of our Capital *Divines* againſt Popery which has been heard far and near among our Countrey Inhabitants, (and will I believe Continue audible among them during the hour of life) will in part of that *hour*, ſooner or later, be heard with *regard* by our weaker *Brethren*.

But what a *Dæmon* then in underſtanding, or *God* of *Eloquence* had he need to think himſelf, and to be thought too ſuch by others, who Imagines to talk *England* both out of its *Manna* of Religion, and what is better then its *Fleſh-Pots* too, and to perſuade us by bringing in *Monkery* again, to have our Land ore-run with Flocks of Sheep, and to want hands to Work their Fleeces, or (as I may ſay) to fancy to have Manufacture without hands; and for want thereof, to make our Sheep almoſt uſeleſs but only to eat, and in that way too to be chiefly appropriated to the Stomachs of *Lubbers*; and, who would allow our Land Flocks of Sheep, but not Dogs to guard them; I mean a ſufficient growing *Populacy* in the Land to defend both it, and the very Flocks in it, and I may add too, who would almoſt make the Wooll of our Sheep uſeleſs but only to ſend into Forrain Parts; and who would abdicate from the Land that benefit of the continual paſsing of our *Wooll* here through ſo many hands buſy'd in Trade, and thence fill'd with Wealth in the way of *Intereſt upon Intereſt* intended by Nature for the maintenance and ſubſiſtance of our People, ſo *multiplying* as aforeſaid, and preparing Tables for all new Gueſts here, let them come into the World never ſo faſt; and would have us Conſent to the diminution of the

Number

Number of our People, when for want of our being fully ſtock'd with them, ſo great a part of our Land lyes fallow every Year, as doth not in Countreys ſufficiently Populous, and where the Lands value will quit the coſt of the Manuring.

Alas; when through the Divine Bleſsing *England* ſhall arrive at the ſtate of being fully Peopled, and being got beyond *Paſture*, that *firſt* improvement of a thin Peopled Country, ſhall likewiſe have Compleated *that ſecond* of *Tillage*, that our being better Peopled will occaſion, there will lie a *third* in our View to employ the Labours of our Conſummate *Populacy*, namely that of *Gardening*, and to oblige us that the Earth ſhall produce nothing but what is exactly uſeful: and inſtead of going back from *Tillage* to *Paſture*, we muſt naturally go forward from *Tillage* to *Gardening*, whereby one *Acre* may be made to maintain Twenty perſons, whereas now 'tis obſerv'd that 20 *Acres* generally throughout *England* maintain but a fourth of that number, *viz.* 5. perſons.

And when we are thus furniſhed with as many People as by Tillage or Gardening can well live on the *Land*, 'tis then, and not before, that our encreaſing Populouſneſs will puſh on greater numbers of our Inhabitants to live on the *Sea*, which none will chooſe to do, that can live on the Shoare: and 'tis only ſuch a ſtate of populacy that can naturally make us Maſters of the *Fiſhing-Trade*; to compaſs which, all our Projects before, whether by *Acts* of *Parliament*, or *Companies* and *Stock*, will be but *Chymerical*.

Moreover, 'tis only ſuch a ſtate of *Populacy* that will exonerate us of thoſe burdens of the Earth, and ſcandals to Heaven, I mean all *Religion-Traders*, whether *Popiſh* or *Fanatical*, thoſe vileſt of *Nominales* who cheat *in nomine Domini*, and ſuch likewiſe who diſquiet States by aſſuming the Trade of *World-menders*, and everlaſting *Propounders*, that are like buſie *Inſects* flying in the Eys of Mankind, (and whom Sir *E. Coke* in the 85. *Ch.* of his *Inſtitutes*, which is entituled againſt *Monopoliſts*, *Propounders and Projectors*, deſervedly brands) and *Atheiſts* that would reform a Church, Bankrupts in their particular Trades that would advance Trade in general, Defiers of Juſtice who would amend the Law, and waſting that time as *Cenſors* of the Manners of Kings for not paying their Debts, which they ſhould employ in acquiring *Aſſets* to pay their own: In fine, Undertakers to Cure Church and State as Confident as the *Quack* who ſaid in his Bills, *He Cureth all Diſeaſes both cureable, and incureable.* All theſe ſorts of men whoſe *Trade* is talking, and whoſe talk is cheat, will only come to be *Bankrupt* by being heaved out of all places by the Generations of Uſeful Traders multiplying there. Nature that has been long laying its Siege to ſuch *Idlers* in places of reſort, will then at laſt carry on its works ſo far as to leave them no Earth to play their Engines upon, and ſuch unprofitable people will be as naturally extruded out of our Towns, as are Women and Children out of Places beſieged: nor can all the *humming* of their *Propoſitions* procure them more continuance in ſuch places of buſineſs, then the noyſe of Drones entitle them to a reſidence in the Hive; and it will as little quit Coſt to have them planted in our Cities, as for a Gardiner that pays a high Rent to have beds for weeds.

Of the Improvement of great quantities of Land by Gardening, the *Ilands* of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, are examples: and we have a Pleaſant and Profitable Proſpect of ſuch Improvement near our *Metropolis* and other Great Cities; and I doubt not but *England* may flouriſh ſo as to become the *Garden* of the World: and do as little doubt of any Courſe of time bringing the Pope again to ſay as *Matthew Paris* tells us he did, *Verè hortus Noſter deliciarum eſt Anglia*, as I do of that honeſt *Monk*'s ſleeping till the Reſurrection, or Mr. *Coleman*'s having any more Dreams of a Paradiſe in the Gardens of *Woolburn*.

'Tis

'Tis hard for a *Viſionaire* not to fancy any thing poſſible: but he who ſhall *pronounce* that *England* can from its preſent improvement and populouſneſs be driven back *ad primordia rerum*, and that the many *cultivated* underſtandings in it, and who have reduced Knowledge *ad firmam* by *calculation*, can be reduced to the *Calculation* only of *Beads* and be impoſed on like the *Indians* to part with their Gold for *Beads*, and that half the Land of *England* now inhabited by three *Millions* of People (as all eſtimates make to be the leaſt that half of it contains) will be delivered up to 50000 *Regulars* and to perſons that the *Laws* in being allow not ſo much as a Foot of Earth for *Graves*, and that it is not of equal detriment to a Country to have half the Land made *unprofitable* and become *Bog* or the like, as to be long in perpetuity to *unprofitable* people, and that ſuch as make *property* their God (which they who over value the things of this Life do, and are the Majority of any Country) will idlely ſacrifice it to thoſe *real* Impropriators who make but a *Property* (as I may ſay) of God, I mean thoſe hypocritical *Idlers* who only by a Religion-Craft without any ſervice uſeful to Mankind claim a great Quota of the Profits of others labours, and that when we are going on ſo faſt toward the exacteſt culture by *Gardening*, which excludes all Weeds, the old *inimicus homo* ſhall find ſix *Millions aſleep* to give him an opportunity *to ſow Tares* and to *ask* half the Land for his pains, I ſay, he who ſhall *pronounce* as aforeſaid, is one *that looks but at few things*, and ſo *de facili* ſhoots his Bolt, and is one that we may *think* to be a fool without being in *danger of Hell Fire*: *and Holy Churches great work of the Converſion of three Kingdoms*, to the end that it may *Convert* half the Land again to its uſe, is likely to prove as fruitleſs as the Chriſtian endeavours to recover the *Holy* Land.

There is ſuch a ſtrong Rampart of living Earth againſt the aſſaults of *Popery* in this kind I mean the *Number* of our Proteſtants and particularly of thoſe employ'd in Tilling the Land, that *Popery* cannot diſſolve: and let it *pipe* never ſo plauſibly, we ſhall be like the *deaf Adder* ſtopping our Ears by laying them againſt the Earth we are poſſeſt of.

My Lord, They who have obſerved the *Intervals* of your pleaſure, when you have had ſome breathing times for retirement, from the fatigue of Affairs of State; know that the contriving the improvement of your Ground by Tillage and Planting and Gardening, hath been at once your care and your delight. And I believe *Cicero's Cato Major* doth not deſcribe the pleaſure of *old Age* in the improvement of the Earth, with greater hight then your Lordſhip is able to do: and your example in this thing may Crown both that of *Tully* and the Aged *Hero's* by him there commemorated for delighting in *Husbandry*: and indeed it may be ſuppoſed but natural for old Age being ſo near the Earth its Center to move with a quicker ſort of delight toward it, and eſpecially among Chriſtians to whom the dull Earth Aided by the acuteneſs of St. *Paul* (I referr to his ſimilitude of the Corn) is ſo kind and greateful for their culture of it, as to Court them with an Embleme of their *Reſurrection*, and to teach them a ſurer way, then *Galilæus* had found out to Tranſplant the Earth into Heaven. But now, methinks to one that has ſo curious and perfect a Sence of this ſolid and manly pleaſure that the Culture of the Earth affords, as your Lordſhip, the very *Idea* of *England's* Degeneracy from its thriving State of *Agriculture* to poor ſolitary paſture (how unpracticable ſoever the thing is) muſt neceſſarily carry ſome horrour with it to be imagined, and the very telling it to you that ſome vain Popiſh *Projectors* would rob us not only of the Culture of Learning, but even of that of the very Earth, muſt give your thoughts a *Nauſea* inſtead of ſuch a Noble *Extacy* as fill'd the whole

Soul of *Eraſmus* who in his old Age in a *Letter* to *Budæus* ſpeaking of Sir *Thomas More*'s and other mens *Works* that did then begin to beautifie the World with Learning, cryes out, *Deum immortalem, quod ſeculum video brevi futurum! Utinam contingat rejuveneſcere!*

And as I am ſure you would not deſire to *Renew your Youth like the Eagle*, only to live in an Age of *buzzards*, ſo you know too much of the courſe of nature to wiſh your Life a day ſhorter for fear of the longevity of Popery, if ever it ſhould call it ſelf here the State-Religion: for it can naturally be but a ſhort dull *Parentheſis* of time in an Age of Senſe, and the Eye of Reaſon can ſee through the duration of it as well as thorough its abſurdities, and it can naturally be but like an angry Cloud, that with the Eye of Senſe we ſhall ſee both dropping and rowling away over our heads, and ſhall behold the Sun playing with its Beams around the Heavens, near it at the ſame time: and nothing can be eaſier to you then *to dye in the Faith*, that Popery cannot live long in *England*, and to know that you are not to be compared to an *Infidel*, though you ſhould have provided for your ſurviving Family nothing but *Abby Lands*, the which I believe may by a bold inſtrument of Eternity drawn by a ſmall Scriveners Boy, be effectually Conveyed to any Lay-man and his Heirs for ever.

I know that the preſent State of that part of the Land of *England* that was aliend from the Church, is ſuch that it bears not the price of years purchaſe it did before the *Plott*, and that it is according to the common expreſſion, *become a drug* as to Moneys being taken up on it in compariſon of other Lands: and it is obvious to conſider how much herein the Plott hath prejudiced the Wealth and Trade of the Kingdom, in making ſo great a part of the Land in ſome regard comparatively uſeleſs to the Poſſeſſors: but I likewiſe know that hereby Popery will be no gainer, for that 'tis apparent that the owners of it will be indefatigable in the uſe of all means lawful to bring Popery to ſuch a State, as ſhall make any men aſhamed to ſay they fear it.

Tho *Holy Church* that everlaſting *Minor*, that *Minor* like Sir *Thomas Mores* Child that he ſaid would be always one, will be ſtill labouring the Reſumption of what was alien'd from it (and hence I believe it hath proceeded, that our Kings thô in the eye of the Law always at full Age, have thought fit to learn from *Holy Church* the Priviledge too of being reputed *Minors* or *Infants* in Law, for ſo the Books call them, that upon occaſion they may *reſume* what was *alien'd* from the Crown) and thô the hopes of ſuch reſumption would be a bait to help Popery to Multitudes of Proſelytes, yet the people *imagine a vain thing* who think ſuch reſuming practicable in *England*, and eſpecially at this time if the *Calculation* of the *Ebb* of the Coinage of *England* be as is contain'd in *Britannia languens*, *viz.* from the foremention'd period of *May* 1657, to *November* 1675, (near *another nineteen years*) 3,238,997 *l.* 16 *s.* ¾, a Calculation that I think cannot be diſproved but by the *Records* in the *Pipe Office*, where annual account of the Money Coined in the Mint are preſerved, or by *Ballances* of *Trade* made up from that time, whereby the exportations eminently preponderating what is imported, would evince what conſiderable quantities of Bullion have been Coyned, or by our knowing that ſince that time *Sterling Silver* has not ſtill obtain'd the *Price* of 5 *s* 2*d an Ounce*, *a price* that it has not indeed fall'n ſhort of in *England* about theſe twenty years paſt, and therefore before the late *Act* for the *Coynage*, could never be entertain'd by the *Mint* to be *Coyn'd*, which was by its Law and Courſe neceſſarily reſtrain'd from giving for *Sterling* Silver above 5 *s.* *the Ounce*, and which Rate and no more it did afford when the *Ballance* of Trade favouring us caus'd that vaſt Coynage mentioned in the former *Ternary* of *nineteen years*.

But

But in fine, his Majeſties Royal Goodneſs to his People in not only quitting what did accrue to him for *Coynage*, but being at the expence of the Coyning the moſt exquiſite ſort of Money in the known world, and ſuch as in Curioſity does equal Meddals, is an indication of the *Ballance* of *Trade*, not having employed the Mint ſufficiently in making for his Subjects the *Medium* of Commerce; and for the depreſſion of the Trade not only of the *Engliſh* but of more then the *European* World, the Uſurper *Cromwel* is to be juſtly blamed, who not long after the wounds *England* had felt by the *Munſter* Peace, did harraſs us by his fantaſtick War with *Spain*, which not only impoveriſh'd *England* but the Trading World, and forcibly obſtructing the Returns of the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleets, did particularly put both *Spain* and *France* under a neceſſity of making that Peace that gave the *French* Crown its leaſure to trouble the World.

But let any one judge then how ridiculous it is to ſuppoſe, that the Trade of the Nation muſt not, as I may ſay, ſhut up Shop, if half its wealth ſhould be again juggled into the hands of a few Eccleſiaſticks, and the old Trade between *England* and *Rome* be renew'd of giving the Pope *Gold* for *Lead*.

It muſt indeed be acknowledged by all who have converſed with Hiſtory that the abſolute and unbounded Power with which the *Eaſtern* Monararchs Governed their Kingdoms, did not more require an exceſſive ſhare of the publick Revenue to feed ſtanding Armies then Prieſts, who with their Idols and Superſtitions, and Crafts, did awe and delude People into obedience: but as in orderly Commonwealths there is no need of ſuch an immenſe Charge for Artifice to make men obey themſelves, ſo in our Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, it being juſtly to be ſuppoſed, that we have all the deſireable, ſolid and ſubſtantial freedom that any Form of Government can import, beſides the inſignificance of the name of it (and inſignificant we may well call it who remember that our late real Oligarchiſts *took* not only *the name of God*, but the name of a Commonwealth *in vain*) and are to the envy of Forraigners, and ſhame of our former Domeſtick Propounders, bleſſed with the Soveraign Power of a *Great and Glorious King over a free and happy People* (as the words of the *Royal Martyr* are in one of his *Declarations*) it may be well ſaid to any one who ſhall talk of giving half the profits of the Realm to uſe Art, and Impoſture to make Members obey their Head ſo conſtituted, *quorſum perditio hæc?*

But in a word, to come cloſer to the Caſe of Popery, any one that would have half the Revenue of the Kingdom given to Impoſtors for the making a Monarch only half a King, or King but of half his People, and for the tricking both him and them into a blind obedience to a Forraign Head, and for the making a Forraign Power Arbitrary and abſolute, is a very bad Land-Merchant, and knoweth not the uſe or value of the ſoyle of *England*, and will never find the half of 25 Millions of Acres ſold for Chains and Fetters, and will be put to the trouble of taking out the Writ, *de idiota inquirendo* againſt at leaſt three Millions who have already outwitted him, and will never think a Forraign *Minor* and whoſe conceſſions are reſumable, fit to be their Guardian, and account it a very prepoſterous thing that ſince our *Saviour* refuſed to *divide* an Inheritance, his pretended *Vicar* ſhould do nothing elſe.

Moreover *Holy Churches reſuming* all its Lands out of *Lay* hands, would appear the more ſtrange in *England* when we ſee (as my Lord Primate *Bramhal* ſaith in his *vindication of the Church of* England, p. 212) that the very *Kings of* Spain *impoſe Penſions uſually on Eccleſiaſtical preferments*

to

to the 4th *part of the value, and particularly one Penſion on the Arch-Biſhoprick of* Sivile *in favour of an Infant of* Caſtile *of greater value then all the Penſions there impoſed by the Pope*; and when we know that the *French* King doth for the behoof of ſo great a number of *Lay-men*, impoſe ſo many and great Penſions on the Abbeys without ſaying to the Abbots more then *Car tel eſt noſtre plaiſir.*

Sir *Edwyn Sands* in his *Europæ Speculum* writ in the Year 1599, and in the time of *Harry* the 4*th* of *France*, ſpeaking of that Kingdom, ſaith, *That there the Church Prelacies and other Governments of Souls, are made the Fees and Charges of meer Courtiers and Soldiers:* and our excellent Animadverter on *Monſieur Sorbier* reflecting on that Country, Intimates in effect how *there the chiefeſt ſpiritual dignities are entailed upon Families, and poſſeſt by Children.*

They who unjuſtly cry out of the *Conſtitution* of the Church of *England*, for interrupting the *Trade* of the Kingdom, would be loud enough in their Complaints of *Omnia comeſta à Belo* under Popery.

He who knows not that the *Revenue* of the *King* now depends in a manner ſolely upon Trade, and that Trade depends on populouſneſs, and that the encouragement of people to live under any Government, is that great thing, call'd *Property* in their Eſtates, Religion, and Laws, and that therefore any thing that calls it ſelf *Religion*, that goes to exterminate *above a hundred and fifty perſons for every one it leaves* (for ſo the *Proportion* between *Non-Papiſts* and *Papiſts* by the Biſhops ſurvey *made* about the *Year* 1676, was return'd to be) and to call them *Hereticks*, and which makes their *Goods* and life *ipſo facto* a forfeit of the Law, will not *ipſo facto* exterminate Trade, is fitter for the *Galleys* or a Trading Voyage to the *Anticyræ*, then for any diſcourſe of *Trade* and *Commerce.*

Your Lordſhip hath in your *Travels* ſufficiently ſeen it long ſince exemplified, that the *Proteſtant* Countries for the quantity of Ground exceed the *Popiſh* in Trade, and numbers of People, and that thus the Proteſtant *Hanſe* Towns have eclipſed their *Roman* Catholick Neighbours; and *Amſterdam*, *Antwerp*, and the *United Provinces*, *Flanders*, and that in *Flanders* where the Eccleſiaſticks are Proprietors of ſeven parts of ten of the whole Country, Levies of Men and Money for the defence thereof have been made, with ſo much ſlowneſs and difficulty, and been ſo inconſiderable as not to have ſecured themſelves againſt Invaders.

Nor did the *Eccleſiaſticks* there think it worth their while, to ſtrain themſelves in Contributions to reſiſt an Invader who is of their own Religion (the which made the *French* Kings Victories there flie like Lightning) more then our over-rich *Engliſh* Regulars did to oppoſe *William* the Conqueror, when he came here under the Popes Banner. And thus were they here, and in *Flanders* are like *Wems* in the Body which draw to themſelves much nouriſhment and are of great trouble and no uſe, and thus ridiculous is it that ſo over great a part of the property of the Land, ſhould be linked to perſons, who are no way linked to the intereſt of the Country, more then profeſſed Gameſters and Empyrics and Soldiers of Fortune, and are no more damnified by Popiſh Invaders, then Fiſhes of the Sea are by Earth-Quakes.

But on the other hand in the United-Provinces, how eaſily and ſoon are vaſt Taxes raiſed when their All is at Stake, & to what a prodigious encreaſe of the numbers of their People have they attain'd ſince the Reformation? inſomuch that the Author of a Political diſcourſe of *the Intereſt of* Holland *Printed* in *Dutch* in the *Year* 1669, and *Licenſed* by *John de Witt* and by *Van Beaumont*, makes the *People* in the *Province* of *Holland* to be 2 *Millions* and 400 *thouſand*, and ſo likewiſe doth *Pellerus* in his Learned *Notes* on

Klockius

Klockius de Ærario p. 300. and there cites that Book of *the intereſt of Holland*, when as *Gerard Malynes* in his *Lex mercatoria* makes the People in *Flanders* in the *Year* 1622 to have conſiſted of *a hundred and forty thouſand Families*, and he reckoning each of them one with an other at 5 perſons, makes the *Total* of the people in *Flanders* to have then amounted but to *ſeven hundred thouſand Souls*.

And yet as that Author of the *intereſt of Holland* ſaith, the Province of *Holland* can hardly make 400 thouſand profitable Acres or *Morgens* of Land, *Down* and *Heath* not put in, and that the 8*th* part of the Inhabitants of *Holland* cannot be nouriſhed with what is growing there: but tells us what prodigious Granaries they there have, and that *Amſterdam* that in the *Year* 1571 was about 200 *Morgens* or *Acres* of Land, was in the year 1650 enlarged to 600 *Morgens* or Acres of Land in Circumference, and to have in it *three hundred thouſand* Souls.

And the defence of the *Zelanders* Choice *Printed* in the *Year* 1673, mentions *Aitſmas Liere* to have reckon'd the publick Incomes of *Holland* alone in the Year 1643, to have amounted to 1100 thouſand pound *Sterling*; and the Author of the *Intereſt of Holland* ſaith, that in one Year in a time of Peace, *viz.* In the Year 1664 the Inhabitants of *Holland* did over and above the Cuſtomes and other Domains of the Earls or States of *Holland* pay towards the publick Charge as follows, *viz.*

To the States of *Holland* 11 Millions of *Gilders*.
To the Admiralty of the *Maze*, 472 898 *Gilders*.
To the Admiralty of *Amſterdam* 2 Millions of *Gilders*.
To the Admiralty of the *Northern* Quarter, 200 thouſand *Guilders*.

Which comes to in all about 14 hundred, 87 thouſand Pounds *Sterling*. How meanly do the Atchievements of *Venice*, and their Efforts to aggrandize their Republick, compared with *Hollands* ſhew in ſtory, for the quantity of years many times doubled ſince the *Dutch* threw off the Yoke of the Papacy! Hiſtory hath recorded the longevity of the *Venetian* Government as it has of *Methuſalem* of whom we read, not of any great thing he ſaid, or did, or attempted; but a few days of the ſhort life of *Alexander*, in the Ballance of fame weighs down the 999 years of the other.

The very Religion of Popery makes the *Venetians* more narrow in their principles, and even in their Rules of Traffick then are the Inhabitants of Proteſtant Countries. The Popiſh Religion doth hamper its devout Profeſſors as to Trading with Hereticks, and holding Communication with ſuch as are *ipſo jure & ipſo facto* excommunicated, and giving any Quarentine to men ſaid to be infected with Hereſie, inſomuch that we are told in *D' Oſſat's* Letters, *Part. 2d.* That the Republick of *Venice* would not ſuffer the Ambaſſador of *Henry* the 4*th* to them thô a Catholick to be admitted to their Chappels with other Ambaſſadors, becauſe they did not know his Maſter to be reconciled to the See of *Rome*.

And *Bodin de Rep.* ſays, That the number of the Inhabitants of *Venice* was taken *Anno* 1555, and was then in all but one hundred and eighty thouſand and four hundred and forty.

Sir William Temple *in the* 5th *Chapter of his Obſervations* on the United Provinces, makes *one of the great Cauſes of the firſt Revolt in the Low-Countries to be the oppreſſion of Mens Conſciences, or Perſecution in their Liberties, Eſtates, and Lives on the pretence of Religion*; and it may be truly ſaid that by their *buying the truth* at the Rate of ſuch high Taxes as they now pay, and not *ſelling* it either to *France* or *Spain*, they have been no loſers; for many good Artiſts and wealthy Fugitives have brought their Perſons and Families and Eſtates to them for ſhelter, from the Storm of Papal Perſecu-

tion, and daily continue ſo to do; inſomuch that the *Author* of *the Zelanders Choice in* Sect. 3. Obſerves *that of late years ſome of the Wiſe Men of the Reformed Religion in* France, *being fearful of its being there utterly ſupplanted, have required their Children by their laſt Wills and Teſtaments to leave* France *and ſettle themſelves in the United Provinces*: and in ſo doing, they beſtowed rich Legacies on *Holland*, each head of any new comer being judged to add at a *Medium* 3 l. *per* year to the riches of the State.

The late great late acceſſion of Proteſtant ſtrangers to *Amſterdam*, hath cauſed many new houſes to be there built, and hath raiſed the Rents of the old ones a *5th* part, whereas they are ſunk a *4th* in *Cheapſide* in *London*.

'Tis there that *Men of every Nation under Heaven*, *Parthians*, and *Arabians*, *Jews*, *Papiſts*, *Calviniſts*, *Lutherans*, and the *Chriſtians* of the Subdiviſions of all Sects *do hear Men ſpeak in their own Language*, and what they think moſt Muſical to them, *the wonderful works of God*.

Nor are the Enemies to Monarchy to aſcribe the flouriſhing State of *Holland*, to its former throwing the Power of the State-holder, and Captain General out of the Ballance of their Government. Their breaking down the Banks of his Authority, introduced the ſudden inundation of the *French* Power among them, that they had elſe been more ſecured againſt then the Aſſaults of the *Ocean*, and not have ſo perfectly forgot the Art and Nature of Defenſive War in their Frontiers: and thô it may ſeem plauſible that an Animal, ſuppoſed to have moſt heads, will have moſt brains, and that Republicks are more apprehenſive of their true intereſt then other Governments, yet to the Reproach of ſuch Politicks it appear'd, that when the Regnant Faction in *Holland* were no more headed by a Captain General or State-holder, and had thrown the poiſe of his Power out of the Scales, they grew ſo vain, as thô they had no Capital Ships, yet to become aggreſſors in a Naval War againſt *England*, that had Ships enow of that kind to affright the World, and of which War the Reſult was the aboliſhing their great Navigation to *England*, from whence their forced frequenting of our Harbours, ſtill occaſions their exporting more of our Commodities then we import of theirs. But this by the way.

However ſo vaſt yet is their Navigation, and the number of their Marriners that thô we *need them not* for our *Carriers*, both *Spain* and *France* do: and to which Kingdoms they have and probably will for ſome Ages to come, have the honour and profit to be Carriers, how much ſoever *France* is or ſeems to be fear'd by us: and thus that *Book* of the *Intereſt of Holland* tells us, viz. *That the* French *have very few Ships and Marriners of their own, ſo that almoſt all their Traffick for* Holland (*ſome few* Engliſh *Ships of Trade excepted*) *is driven by* Dutch *Ships, and that when any Goods are tranſported from one* French *Haven to another, they are laden on Board* Dutch *Veſſels, and that as to* Spain, *that it hath ſo few Marriners and Ships that ſince the Peace between them and* Holland, *they have uſed to hire* Dutch *Ships to ſail to the* Indies.

And therefore when I conſider what that ingenious Author hath thus diſcourſed, and that Sir *W. P.* in a *Manuſcript* diſcourſe in the Year 167½, hath Calculated the number of the Total of the Seamen, who are Subjects of *France* to be 15000, and that a great and fatal diminution of the number of them ſince happen'd in the Year 1678, by ſo many of their then periſhing under *D' Eſtre* in the *Weſt-Indies*, and that as the Author of *Britannia languens* ſaith, *The* Dutch *have at leaſt* 10 *times as many Seamen as the* Engliſh, I ſhall venture to conclude that more then all the Millions of Mankind now living will be diſſolved to Aſhes before (humanly ſpeaking)

ing) it will be poſſible for *France* to over-ballance either the *Dutch* or *Engliſh* at Sea, and whoever they are that pretend to fear the Contrary, I think they do but pretend to fear it.

But at once to return to the conſideration of the gain *Holland* hath from freſh *Advenæ*, and to take my leave of it, all old Trades being there fully improved, ſuch new comers are forced to dig up a new Soile of Trade and Induſtry, as I may call it, for their ſubſiſtance; and thus at the Charge of their Experiments the Country is enriched: and many new Artiſts there bring with them their old experimented Arts, and thus 'tis known that an *Engliſh-man* from *Yarmouth* coming to be an Inhabitant among them, taught them the rich *Arcanum* of the Fiſhing Trade: and ſince they diſuſed to pray to dead *Saints* in the way of Popery, they have found living Saints praying to them to be admitted to live with them, and have not only had the honour to entertain *Saints*, but *by being not forgetful to entertain Strangers, they have unawares entertain'd Angels* (as the Scripture expreſſion is) and ſuch who have proved *tutelar* ones to their Country and Religion.

No marvel therefore if the Learned *Divine*, the Author of the *Defence of the* Zelanders *Choice*, doth there ſo pathetically pronounce his opinion, *that if ever the Proteſtant Religion ſhall leave* Holland, *that Country may be called* Ichabod, i. e. *the Glory is departed from it.*

And here I ſhould be injurious to the Political *Energy* of the Reformation in *England*, if I ſhould not obſerve how vaſtly it has contributed to the encreaſe of the value of our Land, and the number of the people and the extent of our Commerce, and indeed of Commerce it ſelf.

It was not long before the Reformation that the Kings and People of *England*, maintained themſelves chiefly by *Sheperdry*, and the Kings and people of *France* by *Tillage*, and their great improvement in Manufacture, bears Date but from *Harry* the *4ths* time. The great *Scene* of *Merchandizing* was not open'd in *Europe* till about 6, or 7 hundred years ago, and till then none were there worthy the names of Merchants except ſome few in the Republicks of *Italy*, who lived in the Mediterranean parts trading with the *Indian* Caravans in the *Levant*, or driving ſome inland Trade, and then and ſome hundreds of years afterward, the Nations in the worſt Soil of *Europe* being the greateſt breeders, and having ſuperfluity of nothing but people, had no invention for living but by being Murderers, and by the boyſterous Trade of Fighting their way into better Quarters: and during that dark and Iron Age that produced Herds of Men void of knowledge, there was nothing in humane Converſation or diſcourſe valuable; and in our *European* World it was ſcarce worth Men a few ſteps to gain one anothers acquaintance: but on the gradual encreaſe of knowledge there, Men found a readier way at once with delight and profit to exchange Notions and Commodities of Traffick, and the Proteſtant Religion at laſt drawing up the Curtain that kept all things obſcure on that Stage of the World, Men being better taught the knowledge of the God of Nature and of Nature it ſelf, were grown worth one anothers knowledge, and were for the ſurprizing brightneſs of their intellectual Talents gazed on by the wondring World, like in *Machines*, Gods coming down out of Clouds, and it was worthy of the bounty of Heaven, then to ſpread on the Earth the Commerce of Men and the *Medium* of *Commerce* too, and to allow them to converſe together with more ſplendor by the *Donative* of the *American Mines* when the dawn of the knowledge a little before that of the Reformation had rendred them converſable Creatures, and fit for the interviews of one another: and ſhortly afterwards by a mighty encreaſe of Navigation, *many did paſs to and fro, and knowledge was more and more encreaſed.*

Thus

Thus as I have ſome where read of a ſaying of one of the *Fathers*, *Deus ambit nos donis & formâ ſuâ*, the Divine Goodneſs provided that the World ſhould *Eſpouſe* the beauty of the Reformation with a great *Dowry*, and that it ſhould appear particularly in *England* with the great Figure that *Wiſdom* makes in the *Proverbs*, *Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour.*

And the truth is conſpicuous in our *Engliſh* Hiſtory that former intervals of ſome Efforts of Trade, and of ſome, of withſtanding the Papal Encroachments were alway contemporary, and liv'd and dy'd together, and they were no ſooner riſen out of the Grave where the barbarity of former times depreſſed them, but they were again found in one anothers Embraces.

That the Stock and Wealth of the Kingdom, is vaſtly encreaſed ſince *Harry* the 8*ths* time, is viſible to any one who conſiders what *Stow* ſaith in his *Annals* on the *Year* 1523, the 15*th* Year of his Reign, *That when in a Parliament held at* Black-Fryers, *and where Sir* Thomas More *was Speaker*, 800000 l. *was required to be raiſed of the fifth part of every mans Goods and Lands, that is* 4 s. *of every Pound to be paid in* 4 *years: but it was denyed, and it was proved manifeſtly that if the fifth part of the ſubſtance of the Realm were but* 800000 l, *and if Men ſhould pay to the King the fifth part of their Goods in Money or Plate, that there was not ſo much Money out of the Kings hands in all the Realm: for the fifth part of every Mans Goods is not in Money or Plate*, &c. *And then conſequently if all the Money were brought to the Kings hands, then Men muſt barter Cloath for Victuals*, &c. *And there it was further Argued that the King had by way of Loan* 2 s. *in the Pound* (*which is* 400000 l.) *and if he had* 4 s. *more in the Pound, 'twould amount to* 1200000 l, *which is almoſt the* 3d *part of every Mans Goods, which in Coyn cannot be had within the Realm.*

That the Merchandizing Trade of *England* was before the Reformation, and ſometime after managed chiefly by Forraigners, we Learn out of *Heylin's Edward* the 6*th*, p. 108, where he ſaith that *Edward* the 6*th*, *Suppreſt the Corporation of Merchant Strangers, the Merchants of the Stilyard, concerning which we are to know that the* Engliſh *in the times foregoing being neither ſtrong in Shipping, nor much accuſtomed to the Sea, received all ſuch Commodities as were not of the growth of their own Country from the hands of Strangers, reſorting hither from all parts to upbraid our lazineſs, namely Merchants known by the name of* Eaſterlings, *who brought hither Wheat and Rye and Grain*, &c. *for their encouragement wherein they were amply priviledged and exempted from many impoſitions.*

I ſhall here deduce a proof of thegrowth of the Revenue of the Nation, from the growth of that of the Church, and to prove that the Revenue of the Church & Nation of *England* were in the year 1660 about *Quintuple*, to what they were at the time of the *Reformation*, I ſhall ſay firſt that *Godwin* in his Catalogue of *Biſhops*, makes the Revenue of the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops to be valued at the time of the Reformation near 22000 *l. per Annum*, and if we admit the Revenue of the Deans and Chapters, to be double the Sum, *viz.* 44000 *l.* then will the whole Revenue of the Hierarchy appear to have been then 66000 *l. per Annum.*

But Dr. *Cornelius Burgeſs*, a Man vers'd in the ſpeculative and practick part of Sacriledge, doth in his *Book* concerning Sacriledge call'd *Two Replies*, and Printed *Anno* 1660, affirm that the Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters Lands, were at the end of the late Civil War ſold for *two Million three hundred thouſand pounds*, and he ſaith, there was offer'd ſince his Majeſties Reſtoration *ſeven hundred thouſand pounds* more to confirm that Sale: whereby the value of the ſaid Land is made to be in the year 1660, 3 Millions.

And

And Mr. *Prynne* in his Printed *Speech* in the Houſe of Commons on *Monday the 4th of* December 1648. *touching the ſatisfactorineſs of the Kings Anſwers to the Propoſitions of both Houſes*, doth in Page 68 there affirm, *That near one half of the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops Poſſeſſions and Revenues conſiſts in Impropriations, Tithes, Penſions, and the like*; and if we may ſuppoſe the like as to the Revenues of the *Deans and Chapters*, then according to that Eſtimate will the value of the whole Revenue of the Hierarchy of our Church be about 6 Millions, the twentieth part whereof, *viz.* at twenty years Purchaſe is 300, 000 *l. per Annum*, and the 12*th* part of the ſame, *viz.* at 12 years purchaſe is 500,000*l. per Annum*, ſo that what at the time of the Reformation was worth but 66000 *l. per Annum*, was in the Year 1660 worth between 300, and 500000 *l.* as aforeſaid.

In the next place I ſhall prove the Remainder of my Poſition that the Revenue of the whole Nation is about *Quintupled* alſo; for that the Revenue of the demoliſhed Monaſteries was, as *my Lord Herbert* in his *Harry* the 8*th*, makes it 1 *hundred* 61 *thouſand pound per Annum*, and the Revenue of the whole Church about *Triple* to that Sum, *viz.* About 450000 *l. per Annum*, and the Revenue of the whole Nation between *triple* and *quadruple* to the Revenue of the Church, *viz.* one *Million* 6 *Hundred Thouſand Pound per Annum*: but careful *Calculators* in theſe times have computed the ſame to be about 8 Millions *per Annum*, which is quintuple to the ſaid 1 Million 6 Hundred Thouſand Pound above mentioned.

And as to the proportion of the Trade and Traffick of *England* encreaſeing ſince the Reformation, little more need be added to what I have before diſcourſed then that the Cuſtomes, which when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, made but 36000 l. *per Annum*, were ſince 1660, farm'd at 4 *hundred thouſand Pound per Annum*, and have ſince that time made about double that Sum. And becauſe She foreſaw that that Branch of the Revenue would both ſupport the Crown and the Walls of the Kingdom, I mean its Ships and Sea-men, ſhe wiſely provided for the encreaſe of the Cuſtoms and Navigation in her own and future times by the *Planting* of *Virginia*, and was the Foundreſs of our Trade in the *American* Plantations, that is at this day ſo beneficial to the King and Kingdom, and where no Forraigners can Trade without his Majeſties leave (and therefore the Freight both outwards and homewards is reſtrain'd to our own Shipping) and where the Scene of entercourſe is agreeable to the Genius of ſo many of our Proteſtant Traders of *England*, and not troubling them with the ſight of the Religion, or with the Study of the Language of *Popiſh* Countries. And as in any great important undertakings, the firſt projectors or undertakers do uſually but lay the Foundation of Gain for the next comers, thus too did providence order it to be in the Caſe of the *Spaniſh* Acqueſts of *America*; which were ſo fatal to the diminution of the ſtrength of *Spain*, and fortunate to the encreaſe of that of *England*.

And it was by the means of the advancement of the Proteſtant Religion that ſhe was ſo proſperous in her mighty Attempts of advancing Trade and Navigation. 'Tis notorious how by making her Realm an *Aſylum* to Forraign oppreſſed Proteſtants, She enriched it with the Manufactures they introduced, in her great Towns and Cities, and where the value of Houſe-Rent being by that means raiſed, the Manufacturers were enforced to work harder, and the encreaſing of their corporal hard labour did tend to the encreaſe of their Generations and Populacy as it did among the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, and it had a greater tending to that effect, in regard that our People in their Towns were their own *Task-maſters*, and could conſole themſelves with the thoughts not of going but being gone out

of *Egypt*, and they were rendred the more induſtrious by the knowing that they were ſecure from having the fruit of their labours ſwept away from themſelves and their Children by Arbitrary Confeſſors and Prieſts, a thing that was practiſed by thoſe who formerly made *England* in effect but a *Province* to *Rome*, and when more Money was exported hence by Appeals and Applications to the *Court* of *Rome* then is here imported from *Ireland*, and when as in *Turky* men are diſcouraged from enriching themſelves thorow induſtry and improvement by the Grand *Signiors* being the general Heir, our Fore-fathers too were by the Popes being ſo much here in the ſame capacity. In fine, the value of the Benefices of the Divines in thoſe great Towns, being partly encreas'd by the growing Numbers of the People and their riches, and partly by their liberal contributions did invite thither ſuch men of Learning to the Paſtorage of Souls, as did by their fame invite more inhabitants, and did keep up thoſe Towns by the Cement of Religion in ſuch a ſtate, that they were Seminaries of Knowledge to the Adjacent Countries, and even Magazines of War for the Princes occaſions, as well as Store-houſes of Manufacture to be exported: and for this purpoſe Arch-Biſhop *Grindal* in his Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno Domini* 1580, *Printed* in *Fullers Church Hiſtory* ſpeaking of able Miniſters, being placed in all Pariſhes, and of the benefit thereof redounding to Princes by their Subjects obedience to them, ſaith, *No Prince ever had more lively experience hereof, then your Majeſty hath had in your time, and may have daily: and if your Majeſty comes to the City of* London *never ſo often, what gratulation, what joy, what concourſe of people is there to be ſeen: yea, what Acclamations and Prayers to God for your long Life and other manifeſt ſignifications are there to be heard of inward and unfeigned love with moſt humble and hearty obedience? whereof cometh this, Madam, but of the continual Preaching of Gods word in that City, whereby the people hath been plentifully inſtructed in their Duty toward God and your Majeſty? On the contrary, what bred the Rebellion in the North? was it not Papiſtry and Ignorance of Gods word through want of often Preaching in the time of the Rebellion? Were not all Men of all States that make profeſſion of the Goſpel moſt ready to offer their lives for your defence, inſomuch that one Pariſh of* Yorkſhire *which by continual Preaching hath been better inſtructed then the reſt,* Halifax *I mean, was ready to bring* 3 *or* 4000 *able Men into the Field to ſerve you againſt the ſaid Rebels*, &c.

As I before obſerved, That the Reformation brought us at the firſt ſtep, out of a blind Chaos into a Paradice of knowledge, ſo I may add that at the next it conducted us to that bleſſing of Paradice, *Be fruitful and multiply, and repleniſh the Earth, and ſubdue it, and have dominion over the Fiſh of the Sea.* No ſooner had the Reformation under that Great Queen cleared the heads of her Subjects, but it enlarged their hearts, and ſubſtituted in Men a new brave and generous ſpirit, in lieu of that dull and formal and lethargic one that poſſeſſed them under the Captivity of their blind Guides, and they accounted their *All* and even the Worlds, too little for their Prince, and they made her Exchequer as ſpacious as her Kingdom, and the *Engliſh* Commerce as wide as the World. Navigation and Navigators were her Favourites, and her great States man *Walſingham* by her Command animated *Frobiſher* to attempt the diſcovery of a nearer paſſage to *Cathay and China*, without going ſo far about as by the *Cape of good hope*, and he gave not over that deſign till after three Voyages, and the death of *Walſingham*: and the ſucceſs of her Politics and of the Reformation, have in deſpight of all the power of *Rome* and *Spain* terminated in ſuch a *multiplying* of the Subjects of the Realm of *England*, as probably renders them more numerous then the people of the Kingdom of *Spain*, which

which *Heylin* in his *Geography* makes to have only Eight *Millions* of Souls.

But there ſcarce needs any other *Medium* whereby to evince that the Progreſs of the *Reformation* hath vaſtly encreaſed the value of our Land and proportion of our Commerce, then that it hath ſo vaſtly encreaſed the number of our People, a *Fact* that I have already proved, and have ſhewn what *Depopulaors* or diſpeoplers of the Kingdom the Monks were, and have made ſome Calculations of the numbers of the Religious Perſons living in *Celibate*, and the effects thereof in reſtraining formerly the growth of the Numbers of the People: but do find that I was extremely ſhort in aſſigning the number of thoſe whom Popery made to live in *Celibate* to be but 120000. I was glad to gain a riſe for ſomewhat like an Eſtimate of the numbers of all the Religious perſons in Monaſteries by finding it in *Weavers* Monuments that the Religious Perſons put out of the Religious Houſes, under the yearly value of 200*l.* were above 10000: and that therein *Weaver* agrees with *Sanders de Schiſmate*, &c. but I made no Eſtimate of the numbers of *Friers* Mendicant the which were very great, and I was too ſhort on the accounting that there were perhaps no more Secular Prieſts then Benefices in *England*: for thô the Rule of the *Canon* Law allows not Orders to be given to Men without a Title, yet it admits an exception in the Caſe of Men who can live on their own patrimony, and it ſtill took the Title to be a Curate as current Coyn for one to a living: and moreover the livelihoods that many unbeneficed Secular Prieſts acquired by ſaying particular Maſſes, did paſs for *Titles*, and thus in *France* it being conceived that the Secular Prieſts unbeneficed are about 6 times as many as the beneficiaries, we may thence gueſs what the proportions of their numbers were in *England*.

But yet further to diſcourſe of the growth of the numbers of the people of *England* before and ſince the *Reformation*, I ſhall acquaint your Lordſhip that you may eaſily find among the Records of the *Exchequer*, what the number of the people of *England* was in the Year 1522, when *Harry* the 8*th* (as I cited it out of my Lord *Herberts* Hiſtory *p.* 121,) *Cauſed Warrants to be Iſſued out, Commanding the Certificates of the number of all above* 16 *years old to be returned*, and by an Index or Repertory of the Matters of State in the Exchequer that I have, I can readily direct the finding it out there: and moreover by the accounts of the *Pole* Acts in former times, a conſiderable indication of the numbers of the people in thoſe days may be had.

And if we may gueſs at the encreaſe of the people of *England* from that of *London*, I can eaſily ſatisfie any perſon about the prodigious growth of that City in numbers of people, and conſequently in wealth ſince the abandoning of the Papacy.

I have by me an account of the proportions of the Shires of *England* & City of *London*, in a Tax of 50000 *l.* long ſince in *Edward* the 3*ds* time, and in which *Surry* bore the ſame proportion with *London*, and in which *London* and *Surry* and *Middleſex* paid but about 1500 *l.* which was but about a 16*th* part.

And in *Harry* the 8*ths* time, it hapned that Cardinal *Pool* excited divers Princes of Chriſtendom to invade *England*, & a fit man he was who had been then a Traytor to come here and abſolve Hereticks: but *Hollingſhead* in his *Chronicle* of *Harry* the 8*th*, *p.* 947 tells us, *That the King having heard of the Treaſonable practices of the Cardinal, did* Anno 1539, *make a Survey of his Naval Strength, and did ride to the Sea-Coaſts: and that Sir* William Foreman *Knight, then Major of* London, *was commanded to certifie the names of all the Men within the City and liberties thereof, between the age of* 16 *and* 60, *whereupon the ſaid Mayor and his Brethren each one in his Ward, by the Oath of the Common-Council and Conſtable, took the number of Men, Arms, and Weapons:*

Weapons: and after well conſidering of the matter by view of their Books, they thought it not expedient to admit the whole number certified for apt and able men; and therefore aſſembling themſelves again, they choſe forth the moſt able perſons and put by the reſidue, eſpecially ſuch as had no Armour. But when they were credibly advertiſed by Thomas Cromwel *Lord Privy-Seal (to whom the City was greatly beholden) that the King himſelf would ſee the People of the City Muſter in a convenient number, and not to ſet forth all their power, but to leave ſome at home to keep the City,* &c. *then he ſaith, the number beſide the Whifflers and other Waiters was* 15000.

But the *Obſervator* on the *Bills of Mortality*, hath in his laſt Obſervations on that Subject told us, *That there are in* London *about 6 hundred* and 70000 *Souls:* and thô I know that ſome Pariſhes are included within the Bills of Mortality for the ſaid City that formerly were not, yet the ſaid *Obſervator* having told us that there are in *London* more Males then Females, and it being true that there are as many above the Age of ſixteen as are under it, and that the *Sexagenarii* are but a *6th* part of Mankind, and the Quota of the numbers reſulting from the Pariſhes added, being likewiſe ſhewn us by that *Obſervator*, let any one judge how vaſt the number of *able* Men certifiable between 16 and 60, is grown to be ſince that year of *Harry* the 8*th* before mentioned.

It muſt be acknowledged that the thanks of the Age are due to the Obſervator on the Bills of Mortality, for thoſe ſolid and rational Calculations he hath brought to light, relating to the numbers of our people: but ſuch is the modeſty of that excellent Author, that I have often heard him wiſh that a thing of ſo great publick importance to be certainly known, might be ſo by an actual numbring of them, and the truth is, it is much to be pittied that by the care of Magiſtrates, an exact number of the people as well of *London*, as of all other places in the Realm, hath not with diligence been made and preſerved, the knowledge whereof is the *Subſtratum* of all political meaſures that can be taken as to a Nations ſtrength or riches, and the part thereof that is *ſpareable* for Colonies, and the value of the branches of the publick Revenue, and the equality in proportioning any Taxes or Levies by Act of Parliament, and the ſatisfying the World about the value of our Alliances, a thing one would think ſomewhat neceſſary when 'tis publiſhed in Print that a Forraign Miniſter, who hath ſpent much time here and is deſervedly famous for being a Critical Judge in the Politicks, and in many ſorts of Learning, *makes the people of* England *to be but two Millions*, and when a late famous *French* Author of *la Politique Francoiſe*, who ſets up with his Gooſe-quill to be a Governor of the World, reproacheth us after his manner with the fewneſs of our people, and ſaith, *How inſolent ſoever the* Engliſh *are, they muſt confeſs that all the* Britiſh *Iſlands laid together, do not equal the half of our Continent, either in extent,* &c. *or number of Men, in Wealth, in Valour, Induſtry and Underſtanding.*

Mr. *James Howel* in his *Londinopolis* Printed *Anno* 1657 ſaith, *That in the Year* 1636, *King* Charles *ſending to the Lord Major of* London *to make a Scrutiny of what* Roman *Catholicks there were in* London, *he took occaſion thereby to make a Cenſe of all the people, and that there were of Men, Women, and Children, above 7 hundred thouſand that lived within the Barrs of his Juriſdiction alone: and this being* 21 *years ago, 'tis thought by all probable computation that* London *hath more now by a third part then it had then.*

In his *Parallel* of *London* there with other great Cities in the World, he obſerves that the weekly Bills of Mortality in *Amſterdam*, come but to about 60 a week, whence ſaith he, *It may be inferr'd that* London *is about 5 times as populous, more dying in a week commonly in* London *then* 300.

And

And as to the quantity of the people in *London*, there is no doubt to be made but that if in the year 1636, there lived 700,000 *within the Barrs of the Lord Majors Juriſdiction*, there lived then ſo many more in the other Pariſhes within the Bills of Mortality, and that there live in this year within the Bills of Mortality, more then double the number that did in the year 1636; and at that Rate their number would now amount to near two *Millions*.

But I am to ſuſpect that there was no ſuch return of any *Cenſe* of the people *within the Barrs of the Lords Majors Juriſdiction in the year* 1636 as is before mentioned, and do ſuppoſe that Mr. *Howel* did in that point miſtake, partly for that I think him miſtaken in his Allegation before as to the people of *Paris* being returned as above a *Million* of Souls at the laſt *Cenſe* made there, and do as to their number give more credit to the *Biſhop of Rhodes*, who in his Hiſtory of *Harry* the 4*th*, written ſince the year 1660, ſaith in *part* 2d, *That there were in* Paris *when 'twas block'd up only* 200000 *perſons, and that there were then retired thence* 100000 *of the Inhabitants, ſo that in thoſe times there were no more then* 300,000 *Souls in* Paris, *whereas 'tis now believed there are twice as many*, and partly becauſe I find it mentioned by the curious Obſervator on the *Bills of Mortality*, p. 113, and 114. That *Anno* 1631, *Ann.* 7. *Caroli* 1. *The number of Men, Women and Children in the ſeveral Wards of* London, *and Liberties, taken in* Auguſt, 1631. *by ſpecial Command of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy-Council, came in all but to* 130178, and finally becauſe the ſaid curious *Obſervator* (for that name I give that Author after my *Lord Chief Juſtice Hales* hath given or adjudged it to him in his *Origination of Mankind*) having by rational Calculations proved, that their dyes within the Bills of Mortality a *thirtieth part* or one in thirty yearly, and that there dyes ordinarily there 22000 *per Annum*, that if there were there according to *Howel* a Million and an half of people, it would follow that there muſt dye but 1 out of 70 *per Annum*, and that they muſt live one with another 70 years.

There is an ingenious Author and that is the Author of *the preſent State of England*, who tells us in his 2*d part*, *That in* 1588, *there went forth from the Queen Commiſſions to Muſter in all parts of* England, *all Men that were of perfect Sence and Limbs from the Age of* 16 *to* 60, *except Noblemen, Clergymen, Univerſity, Students, Lawyers, Officers, and ſuch as had any publick charges, leaving only in every Pariſh ſo many Husbandmen as were ſufficient to Till the Ground. In all thoſe Muſters there were then numbred three Millions: but of thoſe fit for War about* 600,000.

I would ſcarce deſire better Evidence for an Opinion that the people of *England* were in all 12 *Millions*, then that 3 *Millions* of Males between 16 and 60 were then returned; for the ſaid *Obſervator* having by Calculation aſſured us, that there are about as many Females as Males, and about as many people under the Age of 16 as are above it, the ſaid opinion would ſtand firm and unſhaken.

There is too another *Author* who much enlargeth the number of the people of *England*, and that is *Gerara Matynes* in his *Lex Mercatoria* firſt Printed in the year 1622, and there in *Cap.* 46. he makes them to be 16 *Millions* and 800,000: but any one will hardly take his word for it, who conſiders that he there makes the people of *Scotland* to be 9 *Millions*, who are but about one *Million* and reckons 5500 Pariſhes in *Ireland*, where there were never more then 2 *thouſand* 2 *hundred Pariſhes*.

But 'tis the fate of Nations to have their numbers ſometimes inconſiderately Aſſigned by conſiderable Authors, and thus it happened particularly to *France* from an error of *Campanella* who in his diſcourſe of *the Spaniſh Mo-*

chy, C. 24. ſaith that *France hath in it* 27000 *Pariſhes*, and 100 and 50 *Millions of Souls*.

At this rate there would be in the Pariſhes in *France* one with another 5555 Souls, whereas Sir *W. P.* in a Manuſcript *diſcourſe* of his, ſaith, *That a ſubſtantial Author in his Treatiſe* concerning *France*, ſets it down as an extraordinary Caſe if a Pariſh in *France hath in it* 600 *Souls*.

We have too an Author of great Vogue for the Politicks, Sir *Robert Cotton* who in his *Abſtract of the Records of the Tower, touching the Kings Revenue* hath theſe words, *viz. That* London (*which is not the* 24*th part in people of the Kingdom*) *had in it found above* 800,000, *by a late enquiry by the Order of the late Queen*, meaning Queen *Elizabeth*.

But ſo far have we been from enabling our Political Writers to ſatisfie themſelves in the Numbers of our People, that we have not done it yet as to the very Numbers of Pariſhes, wherein *Blunt* tells us in his *Law Lexicon that our Authors differ*; and we generally reckon them as they were before many new ones have been built.

One late writer has accounted the Pariſhes in *England* and *Wales* to be 10260: and Mr. *Adams* ſayes in his *Villare Anglicum* p. 408. *That he is of opinion that there are about* 1500 *Pariſhes in* England *and* Wales *not valued in the Kings Books, and of which he can get no account ſo as to make the ſame perfect, and 'twill be difficult for him to do it, unleſs the ſeveral perſons concern'd in the particulars give an account of it.*

Cambden in his *Britannia* Printed *Anno* 1607, when he reckons the *Pariſh* Churches in the Biſhoprick of *Durham* and in *Northumberland* to be 118, adds *præter ſacella plurima*: and ſaith in *Yorkſhire, Pariſhes beſides Chappels, and Pariſhes to which many Chappels are ſubject that are equal to great Pariſhes*, &c.

Moreover the Grants from the Crown of *Extraparochial* Titles in ſeveral Counties, may ſerve for an indication of great numbers of people that are not Inhabitant in Pariſhes, and ſo likewiſe may the Multitudes of thoſe people who live in *Forreſts*, and which places are generally accounted by the Law to be *Extraparochial*.

The *Number* of Parſonages and Vicarages in *Edward* the *1ſts valuation*, whereof there is a *Manuſcript* Copy in the *Bodleian* Library was about 8900, and into that number the *Chappels* are not accounted; but of the Chappels many ſince have grown up into Parſonages: and this would likewiſe induce one to think the number of our Pariſhes at this time to be greater then the common Eſtimate, eſpecially when according to the Kings Books which reſpect the valuation in *Harry* the 8*ths* time, the number of them is conſiderably above 9000.

But what may ſeem more ſtrange is that ſome men of Thought and Learning have attempted even by *Calculation*, to prove that the people of *England* have for a very long ſpace of time decreaſed in their numbers, and particularly the *Author* of a Book in *Quarto* called, *An account of the* French *Uſurpation on the Trade of* England, *and the great damage the* Engliſh *yearly ſuſtain by their Commerce*, Printed in the *Year* 1679, and Writ with excellence of *Calculation* in ſome parts thereof: and yet that Author doth *p.* 16 ſay, *And I can eaſily believe that* 1000 *years ſince, this Nation had a much greater ſtock of people then now it hath, for the* Rome-Scot, *or* Peter-pence *which was but one Penny a Chimney* (*granted by* Offa *and* Ina Saxon *Kings to the Pope*) *did amount to* 50000 *yearly: and the Hearth-money, which is two Shillings the Hearth* (*and one Stack of Chimneys may have many Hearths*) *doth not amount to* 300,000 l. *yearly; whereas if the number of Chimneys charged with the* Romeſcot *had been two Shillings a Chimney, it would have*

amounted

amounted to 1,200,000 l. *yearly. So that we may conclude there were then more Buildings and Chimneys, and ſo by conſequence more people.*

But had that Author conſidered that the *Romeſcot* or *denarius ſancti Petri* was only an *annual Penny* from every Family or Houſhold, and that it amounted to 300 *Marks and a Noble yearly*, as *Blunt* ſays, by that *reckoning* it would have appeared that there were not then in all *England* 50000 Families liable to that *Duty*, whereas there are now above a *Million* of ſuch Families: ſo that now the people and Families of *England* are twenty times as many as they were then, which agrees pretty well with my *Lord Chief Juſtice Hales*'s reckoning.

That great perſon in his *Primitive Origination of Mankind*, yields that the people of *England* are at leaſt 6 *Millions*, and doth too in *Page* 205, ſay, *That he doth not know any thing rendred clearer to the view, then the gradual encreaſe of Mankind by the curious and ſtrict Obſervations on the Bills of Mortality:* and doth very elaborately make a compariſon between the numbers of the people in *Gloceſterſhire*, and particularly ſome great Towns and Burroughs there, as *Thornbury* and *Tedbury* as they were at the time of the making up of *Domeſday Book* and as they now are, and ſhews, *That there are very many more Vills and Hamlets now then there were then, and few Villages or Towns or Pariſhes then which continue not to this day, and that the number of Inhabitants now is above* 20 *times more through the general extent of the County then at that time*: and afterward ſaith, *if we ſhould inſtitute a later Compariſon*, viz. *between the preſent time and the beginning of Queen* Elizabeth, *which is not above* 112 *years ſince, and compare the number of Trained Soldiers then and now, the number of Subſidy men then and now, they will eaſily give us an account of a very great encreaſe and multiplication of people within this Kingdom even to admiration.*

It would be no difficult thing to fortifie the obſervation of the great gradual encreaſe of the people, and particularly of thoſe in the Pariſhes of *Gloceſterſhire*, by the ſhewing the encreaſe of their worth and riches in the ſeveral publick *Valuations*, and their preſent real value, from whence their growth in the numbers of their Inhabitants may be well inferr'd; as for example in *Edward* the 1ſts *Valuation*, *Tedbury* is valued, *Eccleſia de Tedbury* 36. *m. i. e. Marks*, and in *Harry* the 8ths *Valuation*, is valued at 36 *l.* 13 *s* 2 *d*, and is now worth about 100 *l. per Annum. Thornbury* in *Edward* the 1*ſts* valuation is valued at 47 *Marks* and a *half*, and in *Harry* the 8*ths* to 32 *l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* and is now worth about 120 *l. per Annum. Berkley* in *Edward* the 1*ſts Valuation* comes to 36 *Marks* and a *half*, and in *Harry* the 8*ths* to 32 *l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* and is now worth about 100 *l. per Annum.*

I have inſtanced in theſe places, as referred to by *Hales*, and ſhall here as to *Gloſter* only further obſerve, that there are more places in the *Decanatus Gloceſtriæ* in *Harry* the 8*ths* valuation, then were in *Edward* the 1*ſts*: as for inſtance, *Edward* the 1*ſts Valuation* doth in the *rural Deanry* of *Gloceſter* comprize 6 Churches and a Chappel, but *Harry* the 8*th* doth in the *Deanery* contain above 20 Churches and a Chappel.

I ſhall here corroborate his Lordſhips *remark* of the encreaſe of Families in another Town in *Gloceſterſhire*, which he calls *Durſilege*, and which is in *Edward* the 1*ſts Valuation* called *Durſly*, and valued as a *rectory* there at 10 *Marks per Annum*, and in *Harry* the 8*ths* as a *Rectory* at 10 *l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* and is now let for 72 *l.* yearly.

I have obſerv'd a ſuitable difference between the former valuations of other Livings in that County and their preſent real values.

His Lordſhip having before juſtly acknowledged *that it was a laborious piece of work to make a Calculation of the number of Inhabitants*

at

at this day throughout England; did however in a way very worthy of his great judgment adapt his Eſtimate to the extent of one entire County; for had he gone leſs, and reſtrained it to this or that Pariſh, the gradual encreaſe of the People there, might have fallen ſhort by particular accidents; and to this purpoſe we have it in Mr. *Bentham's Chriſtian Conflict*, p. 322. *that* 11 *Mannors in* Northamptonſhire *have been encloſed with depopulation, and have vomited out their former deſolate owners and their poſterity.*

Many ingenious perſons have applyed their thoughts to ſeveral ways of *Calculation* whereby to diſcover the total of the number of the People in *England*, and in the Inveſtigation thereof ſome concern'd in the management of the *Hearth-money* have reckon'd that in *England* and *Wales* the number of Hearths of rich and poor is 2 *Millions* and 6 *hundred thouſand*, and that at a Medium there are between 4 and 5 perſons to a *Hearth*, and accounting but 4 perſons to a Hearth, they ſuppoſe that at that rate the people of *England* and *Wales* will appear to be 10 *Millions*.

The ſlowneſs of believing great things which is incident to Humane Nature, and my inclination to deſire that any thing may be proved to me by ocular Demonſtration, where the Subject Matter will bear it, do make me as to any of the greater forementioned *Quotas* of the People of *England* contended for by Calculators, to reſerve my Judgment till ſome ſuch accurate Survey hath been made thereof, as I have heard Sir *W. P.* that Mathematical Statesman wiſh for.

But this I will venture to affirm, that by what may be obſerved out of the *Returns* on the late *Pole-Bills*, and the *Biſhops* Survey, 'tis very highly probable that the *Total* of the number of the people here will upon any actual view hereafter to be made by publick Authority, appear very conſiderably greater then any cautious *Calculators* have made it.

Another account of the ſame great *Quæſitum* was ſent me into the Country from a Gentleman of *London*, who acquainted me that he received the ſame from a very knowing and ingenious perſon whom the late Lord Treaſurer, as great a Maſter of the Science of *Numbers* as perhaps ever any that Acted in that high Sphere of State, employed to effect an Impartial Return of the number of the people in *London* and in *Middleſex*, and every other County both in *England* and *Wales*, and the Total reſulting from them was as I caſt up the ſame 8,272,062. But I judge that this account was not taken upon ocular View of the ſeveral Counties, but by way of Eſtimate not abſolutely perfect, and by *Calculation* or comparing ſeveral former accounts together.

There is no doubt but the moſt ſatisfactory way that we can at preſent take for our Eſtimates, and whereby we may Trace the Numbers of the people from ſomewhat that looks like matter of *Record* is, as I hinted, from the *Returns* on the *Pole* Bill and the *Biſhops* Survey.

And as to the *Poll-money* of *Anno* 1666, 2 *hundred thirty ſeven thouſand Pound* was the groſs *Charge*: and if on the conſideration of Counties whereof the *Charge* was not returned, as *Buckinghamſhire*, *Durham*, *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Oxon*, *North Wales*, *Brenoc*, *Radnor*, *Glamorgan*, *Pembroke*, (of which the proportions in numbers with the Counties return'd are not hard to be Calculated) and of the omiſſions perhaps through partiality whereby great numbers of perſons chargeable were not returned, and withal on a ſuppoſal that there had been in the Act no qualifications and exceptions of many perſons from being Charged, and particularly of perſons under the Age of Sixteen, and of Paupers, &c. we may further venture to make the *Total* chargeable to be 600,000 *l.* and every one paying for his *Head*, there would then apppear 20 times as many people, *i. e.* 12 *Millions*.

I know that out of ſuch a Sum as 600,000 *l.* ſuppoſed chargeable, it will be obvious to conſideration that what was paid by the *Nobility* and by *Titlers* and *Officers* muſt be ſubſtracted: but when it ſhall be likewiſe conſidered that in that *Poll-money* that of the *Peers* paid into the Receipt, came to but 5693 *l.* 6*s.* 8 *d.* and that perhaps as much went beſide the Nett of the *Receipt* under the notion of imaginary *Paupers*, and by perſons not return'd; as came into it from the *Officers* and *Titlers*, and that the perſons excepted under the *Age* of 16 were about a Moiety of the people, the ſuppoſition of 600,000 *l.* chargeable by way of *Capitation* will not ſeem ſo ſtrange as at the firſt view.

The great difficulty of having the Total of the people chargeable by any *Poll-Bill* exactly and impartially return'd, appears in the Caſe of a *Poll*-Tax in *Holland*.

The Author of *the Intereſt of Holland* mentions that *Anno* 1622, *The Tax of Poll-money was laid on all the Inhabitants of* Holland, *and none excepted but Priſoners and Vagrants, and thoſe that were on the other ſide the Line, and all ſtrangers, and that then there were found in South* Holland *no more then* 481934 *Souls, though yet the Commiſſioners inſtructions were ſtrict for the making true returns, and the particular returns are thus Regiſtred in the Chamber of Accounts*, viz.

Dort *with the Villages*, 40523.
Harlem *with the Villages*, 69648.
Delft *with the Villages*, 41744.
Leyden *and* Rynland, 94285.
Amſterdam *and the Villages*, 115022.
Goud *with the Villages*, 24662.
Rotterdam *with the Villages*, 28339.
Gornichem *with the Villages*, 7585.
Schiedam *with the Villages*, 10393.
Schoonhoven *with the Villages*, 10703.
Briel *with the Villages*, 20156.
The Hague, 17430.
Heuſden, 1444.
In all 481934.

And ſuppoſing that Weſt Frieſland *may yield the* 4th *part of the Inhabitants of South* Holland, *it would amount to* 120483.

In all 602417.

The *Author* there delivers his opinion, *That many evaded the being return'd on that Poll, and that the number return'd was very ſhort and defective*; but adheres to the account of them being now as is before mentioned, *viz.* 2 *Millions* 4 *hundred thouſand.*

And this as it doth in ſome meaſure fortifie my foregoing notion of the prodigious growth of the people of *Holland* under the *Reformation*, ſo it doth likewiſe afford an inſtance of the partiality uſed in the returns of the numbers chargeable in *Poll-Money*.

But that which doth chiefly induce me to believe the Total of our numbers may very much exceed the ſentiments of Cautious *Calculators* in this point, is the Reſult of the *Biſhops* Survey, which was made for the Province of *Canterbury*, and wherein none under the age of Communicants or 16 were return'd, and but very few Servants, or Sons, and Daughters, or Lodgers, or Inmates of the people of ſeveral perſwaſions of Religion: and the

thing endeavour'd was that the heads of Families or Houſe-Keepers, *i. e.* Man and Wife might be truly return'd ; and at that rate, the *Total* at the foot of the account for the Province of *Canterbury* is 2,228,386, the which according to the forementioned currant Rule of *Calculation* to be neceſſarily about doubled on the account of the people under 16, makes the *Total* of the *Souls* in that *Province* to be 4 *Millions*, 4 *Hundred* 56 *thouſand*, 7 *hundred ſeventy two*; and the *Province* of *York* bearing a ſixth part of the *Taxes*, and having therefore the 6th. part of the people that the Province of *Canterbury* hath, which is 742,795, that being added to thoſe of *Canterbury*, makes 5 *Millions*, *a hundred ninety nine thouſand*, *five hundred ſixty ſeven* : and ſince 'tis apparent that not more perſons were returned in that Survey then did really exiſt in Nature, and live within the Province as return'd, it will hereafter ſeem a very unneceſſary thing and indeed abſurd to queſtion whether the people of *England* were not then at leaſt 5,199,567.

But ſince it appears by the inſpection of that Survey, that there was ſo vaſt a quantity of places that made no *returns* at all, ſome of which preſently occur'd to my view in the Curſory reading and taking ſome few Notes thereof, and without my deſigning to make any Collection of all the places that made no returns, as for example, in the Arch-Deaconry of *Colcheſter*, 11 *Pariſhes* made no returns, and in the *Decanatus Tendring* twelve Pariſhes, in the *Decanatus Colceſtre* ſeven Pariſhes, in the *Decanatus Lexden* ten Pariſhes, in *Decanatus Witham* eleven Pariſhes, in the Arch-Deaconry of *Middleſex* and *Decanatus Braughing* and *Harlow* fourteen *Pariſhes*, in the *Decanatus Dunmow* 7 Pariſhes, in the *Decanatus Henningam* 9 Pariſhes, in the *Decanatus* of *Middleſex* 16 Pariſhes (ſome of which were St. *Clements Danes*, St. *Mary le Bow*, *Uxbridge*) *and in the Arch-Deacony of* London *St.* Bartholomew Exchange, are therein expreſs'd to have made no returns; it may hence ſeem rational for any Man to ſuppoſe in general that the number of the People of *England* reverâ *is* very great beyond the ſaid total of 5,199,567. and that it would have riſen to a much greater number if exact returns had been made of all the *heads* of *Families* in *England* and *Wales* ; and much more if all Perſons in all Families above the *Age* of 16 had been return'd.

But yet according to the Returns that were *de facto* made in that *Survey*, I obſerv'd that in ſome, where the *totals* for Counties were caſt up, that they doubled the *totals* of the People return'd for the ſame Counties, upon the *Poll* Act of 66. as for example, the *Poll* for *Devonſhire* and *Cornwel* was *fourteen thouſand three hundred Pound*; and the number return'd for thoſe Counties by the *Biſhops Survey* was *two hundred* and *thirteen thouſand*, doubling which number for thoſe under the Age of *Communicants* there, makes 426000 Souls there ; ſo then the 14000 *l.* at 12 *d.* the *Head* makes there 280000 Shillings, or Perſons at 12 *d.* a *Head*, to which as I ſhew'd the number in the *Biſhops Survey* is double.

And further to ſhew the Omiſſions of great Numbers of People, returnable in that *Survey*, I ſhall acquaint your Lordſhip that in the year 1676. in the which the *Biſhops Survey* was made, there dy'd within the *Bills of Mortality* 18730. and according to the *rule* of 1 in 30. there yearly dying, there will be ſuppos'd to have then liv'd there 533,170. and the *total* of the People return'd of all Perſuaſions of Religion *above* the *Age* of 16 in the whole *Dioceſs* of *London* in the *year* 76. was 286,347. and the doubling of that number for thoſe under the *Age* of 16 in that *Dioceſs*, makes the *total* of the People there then to be 572,694. But here it is to be Conſidered that thô the *Peculiars* of the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* in *London* were *de facto*

facto return'd then within the Survey of the *Dioceſs* of *London*, yet the great and populous Pariſhes in *Southwark* and others in *Surry* within the Diſtrict of the *Bills of Mortality*, were not return'd with any reſpect to the *Dioceſs* of *London*, but were in that Survey by the *Biſhop* of *Winton* return'd as belonging to his Lordſhips *Dioceſs*; and that in a late year of ordinary health, *viz.* in *Anno* 1677. there dyed in the Pariſhes in *Surry*, that are within the *Bills of Mortallity* 2803. and therefore according to the Rule of the 30*th.* part then dying there, it is to be judged that there then lived there, 81287. and therefore we being to Subſtract that laſt mention'd Number out of the 533,170, then the number of all the Souls in the other Places in the *Bills of Mortallity* will be 451,983. and ſo at that rate the number of all the Souls within the whole *Dioceſs* of *London*, will be but 120,711 more then thoſe that were in the other Places within the *Bills of Mortallity*, the which *Dioceſs* takes in all the other Places in *Middleſex* that are without the *Bills of Mortallity*, and all *Eſſex*, and part of *Hartfordſhire*. And to conclude this point, the omiſſions of Great Parts of the Numbers of the People, and particulary of Sons, Daughters, Servants, being ſuppoſed to be in other places proportionable; I am hence induced to believe that on the occaſion of any actual and exact Survey of the People of *England* to be made, their number will riſe to a greater height then what it hath been advanced to by the moſt judicious Calculators.

And now if after all this, one ſhould tell me that any vaſt encreaſe of the numbers of the People of *England* beyond the *quota* ſuppoſed by Cautious Calculators, is *incredible*, and to be added to the number of things *incredible*; I will anſwer him out of *Saluſt*, *Incredibile eſt memoratu*, *quantum adepta libertate*, *in brevi Romana Civitas creverit*; and will tell him, that 'tis almoſt incredible to relate how much we have gain'd by our abandoning *Popery* and its *Incredibility*, and the almoſt incredibile as well as intolerable Servitude, that the *Papacy* ſo often oppreſſed both our Kings and People with.

We are told by the *Obſervator* on the *Bills of Mortallity*, *that anxiety of mind hinders Breeding*, and from ſharp anxieties of divers kinds hath the Proteſtant Religion reſcued *Engliſh* minds, and from their former daily *yarineſs* for their *daily Bread*, and their fears of being Arbitrarily diſpoſſeſt of it: What Princes (as I may ſay) are the *Engliſh Infantry*, and even the *Boors* of *Holland* to the Peſants of *France*, who with Chains on do propagate their *Species*, and Servitude it ſelf? And what pity was it that *Commerce* which with its infant Smiles cheer'd our Iſle in the Reign of *Edward* the 6*th.* was almoſt frighted away from it by the Frowns and Arbitrary Practices of Queen *Mary*; and that after that *Edward* the 6*th.* conſulting the Advancement of our Trade had legally Suppreſſed the Corporation of Merchant-Strangers, and null'd their Monopoly; Queen *Mary* endeavour'd the Suppreſſion of our Native Merchants, and that too by Illegal Impoſitions. It is not denyable that in the fourth year of her Reign ſhe did lay an Impoſt upon our Cloth: and one who had been a *Judge* of the Realm, and who had no ſpight to her Story mentioning it in his Book call'd, *The Rights of the People Concerning Impoſitions*, ſaith there, *This Religious Prince Inviron'd with infinite Troubles in the Church and Commonwealth, and Impoveriſh'd by her Devotion in Renouncing the Profits of the Church Lands that were in the Crown, was the firſt that made Digreſſion from the ſteps of her worthy Progenitors, in putting on that impoſition without aſſent of Parliament:* And the ſame Author in pag. 91. mentions another unjuſt Impoſition of hers on *Gaſcoyn* Wines.

And

And her expulſion of the *Dutch* Church and their Paſtors from *London*, and her Canſelling of the Legal Priviledges that *Edward* the *6th.* (for himſelf, his Heirs and Succeſſors gave them, and other Strangers by his Letters Patents, was an Arbitrary blow given to the Trade of the Kingdom in general, and of that City in particulars; The Copy of her *Proclamation* for the Expelling them is Printed in *Fox*, in which they are ſtiled, *a Multitude of evil diſpoſed Perſons being Born out of her Highneſſes Dominions in other ſundry Nations, flying from the Obeyſance of the Princes and Rulers, under whom they be Born, ſome for Hereſie, ſome for Murther, Treaſon, Robbery*; and are there further repreſented as ſuch, *whoſe ſecret practices have not fail'd to ſtir her Highneſſes Subjects to a Rebellion againſt God and her Grace*, &c. But ſecret Traitors they were found by the Realm, and ſecret they were left by it. Two of them were *John a Laſco*, Uncle to the King of *Poland*, and *Peter Martyr*, that were thus ſent out of the Realm with *Sanbenitos* on: and ſo far were our *Popiſh* Anceſtors from Hoſpitality to Strangers, and thereby *unawares entertaining Angels*, that they made *Devils* of them, and as ſuch uſed them: and to make amends to the multitude of Forraign Artiſts for the Gold they brought here, they had the Dirt of Shams thrown at them by a *Proclamation.*

And as if not only the Biting, but the very Barking of Mad Doggs had power to make others Mad, ſhe grew ſo enraged by the Books of Hereſie and Sedition, Printed in Forraign Parts and here Imported, that ſhe Publiſh'd a *Proclamation* Printed likewiſe in *Fox*, wherein ſhe Declared to all her Subjects that, *Whoever ſhall after the Proclaiming hereof be found to have any of the ſaid Wicked and Seditious Books, or finding them do not forthwith Burn the ſame without ſhewing or reading the ſame, ſhall in that Caſe be Reputed and taken for a Rebel, and ſhall without delay be Executed for the Offence according to the order of Martial Law.*

But nothing can palliate the Arbitrarineſs of Queen *Mary*'s *Proclamation*, for the Exerciſing of *Martial Law*, but that ſhe thought her Reign a time of War, and perhaps not altogether Improperly; for that Hereticks have the Title of *Hoſtes* given them by *Popiſh* Maſters of Ceremonies.

There was another reaſon that induced Queen *Mary* to uſe the Arbitrary Power, that her *Popiſh Predeceſſors* did not, and that is this: *The People of* England *in the days of* Popery *were like to the three Fools in* Lipſius, *that being ty'd together by a twine Thread, went Whining about the Houſe, and conſenting that they who would unty the Knots of it, ſhould have what Money from them they pleas'd*: And thus were our Fooliſh Anceſtors *innodated* with *Papal Cenſures*, and the *Prieſts* did but Arbitrarily ask and have their rewards to Abſolve them. But that Queen finding that the Reformation begun had proved Phyſick to Cure thoſe *Idiots* of their dull Stupidity, ſhe therefore ſuppoſed that the Fools who before were held by the *twine* Thread, muſt then be bound to the good Behaviour with Chains.

In fine, by theſe three Important Acts of Arbitrary Power (the which preſently occurred to my remembrance out of her Story, and without my troubling my ſelf to rake for more) ſhe gave the alarm to her Subjects newly after their Eyes had been opened, and their Hands unty'd by the Reign of K. *Edward*, that they were to expect no free Trading where there was no free Living, and to hear nothing but the dying Groans of Liberty and Religion. So very exact indeed is the Frame of our *Engliſh* Government, and of the Soveraignes Power and Peoples Liberty therein, that as in an *Arched* Building, if one Stone be removed from it, the whole is immediately endanger'd, and nothing could probably have ſaved it from ruin, but the Reſtoration of our Law as well as Goſpel, by ſuch a Reign as

Queen

Queen *Elizabeths*, who was ſo far from the exerciſe of Arbitrary Power on her good Subjects and Friends, that ſhe did it not on the worſt, nor on her Enemies.

One would have thought that after the many attempts againſt her Life, and after the forementioned threatning Letter of *Campians*, which notifies that the *Jeſuits had entred into a Covenant or Aſſociation to Kill Heretical Princes*, &c. that ſhe might have been provoked to have declared that *Order* by a *Proclamation* to be *Hoſtes*, a thing that ſhe or any Proteſtant Crown'd Heads might do without Violating the Laws of Nations in reference to thoſe Forraign Princes that were their Allies, and to whom any of that Order were Subjects: a thing not only Conſonant to the *jus gentium*, but to our *Lex terræ* as it was reſolv'd in *Cambden's Elizabeth*; by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Catelin*, who being ask'd, *Whither the Subjects of another Prince, Confederate with the Queen, might be held for the Queens Enemies?* Anſwer'd, *That they might, and that the Queen of* England *might make War with any Duke of* France, *and yet in the mean time hold Peace with the* French *King*; and a thing that if done, would have tended more to their Extermination out of this or any Country perhaps, then all other Laws againſt them, in regard that it would have more effectually bereav'd them of the benefit of Correſpondence, Aids and Aſſiſtance from thence; all Subjects being every where by the Law rendred Traytors, who Correſpond with, or give Aid and Aſſiſtance to declared Enemies.

Nor would the term of *Hoſtes* beſtow'd on ſuch be more then a Retaliation; and to this purpoſe *Mariana* makes the people authoriz'd to Proclaime a King upon occaſion, to be a *Publick Enemy*: and ſo likewiſe *Leſſius* even in his Book *de Juſtitiâ & jure*, ſaith, *That a Tyrant is to be declared an Enemy by the Common-welth*: and thus *Parſons* alias *Doleman* in his Book of the *Succeſſion*, *Part* 2. *Cap.* 4. terms an Evil King *an Armed Enemy*.

The term I mention'd before of *inimicus homo* is certainly proper enough for thoſe that ſow ſuch Tares in the World as the *Jeſuites* do, and make not only *Lollards* of ordinary *Hereticks*, but as the Commenter on the Epitome of Confeſſions, otherwiſe the *7th.* Book of *Decretals* tells us in Commendation of all the *Jeſuits* in theſe words, *Tyrannos aggrediuntur, lolium ab agro Dominico evellunt.*

I ſhall here obſerve how in the year 1596. the *Hollanders* and others of the *States* of the *United Provinces* did Publiſh an Edict, *That none of the Bloudy Sect of the* Jeſuits, *or any that gives himſelf to Study at this time among the Profeſſors of that Sect, whether he be Born in any of the Provinces that are Confederate, or be a Forraigner crept ſecretly into the ſame Province, ſhould longer remain there then the time preſcribed, under the pain of being accounted and kill'd for an Enemy.*

But that Magnanimous Queen did as much think it Inglorious for her to employ her Anger in ſuch a *Proclamation* on ſuch firy pedants, as I believe our potent Neighbouring Monarch, whoſe Name will look as great in all future Story, for mighty dilligence, and for exact prudence in the Conduct of his Affairs of State, as for the Succeſs of his Arms, would to Honour with the Title of *Enemies* ſuch little great talkers, who here in the *Coffee-Houſes* Arraign his Political Meaſures.

And the truth is, as it is not worthy the Grandeur of Princes, who are Heavens Vice-gerents to ſquander away its thunder, in experiments on Shrubs and Muſhrooms, or on ſlight grounds, to call any of ſlight mankind, and who are of no *Name*, by that dreadful one of *Enemies*, a name that the Impotent paſſion of Subjects makes them ſo familiarly vex one another with, and thereby ſhews them not ſuch fit *depoſitaries* of Heavens

Artillary as Soveraigns are; ſo is it extremely unbecoming the Glorious height to which the Doctrine of the Croſs hath exalted humane Nature, for men (as I may ſay) to deſcend from Heaven to Earth for Dirt, and to Hell for Fire-brands to throw at one another, and petulantly to call thoſe *that were ſometime Aliens and Enemies in their mind*, &c. always ſuch after the Divine reconciliation, or even to manage the moſt lawful and juſt War, *Sine quadam benevolentiâ*, as St. *Auſtines* words are, or to think that they can juſtly aſſume the great Name firſt uſed at *Antioch*, and yet retain a Conſtant and Stated enmity againſt any Perſon whatſoever; For according to the Excellent ſaying of *Tertullian*, *Chriſtianus nullius eſt hoſtis*.

But the *Boſome* of that *wiſe* Princeſs was no reſting place for *Anger*, and all the *Popes* Thunder could not diſcompoſe her; and as in all Games they who in their play retain a Conſtant Equabillity of mind, are generally moſt Succeſsful; ſo was ſhe in the great Political Game ſhe play'd, by being *Semper eadem*; and the *Papal Excommunications* ſeem'd to her as deſpicable, as the *Curſes* of looſing Gameſters: and I doubt not but by her Prudent and juſt Adminiſtration of the Government of Church and State, ſhe hath laid the Foundation of the *Engliſh* Nations being *Semper eadem* in the Royal Line, and of the Proteſtant Religions being ſo too, and that no *defendam fore* can Iſſue out againſt either; (humanly Speaking) and that any *Popiſh* Succeſſor that can come here will find it his intereſt to uſe the Politicks of Queen *Mary*, as a Sea Mark to avoid, and Queen *Elizabeth's* as a Land Mark to go by; and it being clear accordingly as Sir *W. P.* in his Manuſcript diſcourſe called, *Verbum Sapienti*, demonſtrates it, *Cap.* 2. *of the Value of the People*, that each Head of Man-kind is as certainly valuable as Land, that the many Strangers who have Tranſplanted themſelves hither need never fear that they will be ſo undervalued as in the *Marian* days.

The Families of *French* Proteſtants that have lately come here have filled 800. of the Empty New Built Houſes of *London*, and have given us too an occaſion of *entertaining Angels* in thoſe untenanted Houſes whoſe Ruinous appearance before made them ſeem to the vulgar ſuch as they call *haunted*; but from which no Prince can ever think of exorciſing the inhabitants without Conjuring away his own Revenue, of which about one moity depends on that City, and where the Rents, tho fallen as I ſay, would yet have been much lower but for the Tenancy of theſe Forreigners, and the expectation of others.

There is a very great Preſident in our *Engliſh* Story, and that is of a Prince of the *Popiſh* perſwaſion, and yet one who was a ſharp perſecuter of the Extravagances of the Power of the *Pope* and his Clergy, and one who by the Introducing of Forreignors here to Manufacture our Wooll ſaved the Life or Being of the Nations Trade, which his Predeceſſors had left in a Gaſping Condition, and one who by his Patronizing of *Wiclif* ſufficiently ſhew'd that if thoſe Forreigners had been *Wicliffiſts*, he would yet have been a *Fautor* of thoſe Hereticks, and one who more diſoblig'd the Pope by ſeizing on the Lands of the *Alien* Orthodox Clerical Idlers, then he could have done by the entertainment of many Heterodox lay Alien Manufacturers. 'Tis needleſs to ſay that I here mean our great *Edward* the *third*, of whom and of Queen *Elizabeth*, the prudence was as memorable, as of any Princes that ever Sate on the *Engliſh* Throne; And I will never deſpaire of any Heroick Prince here, of the *Roman Catholick* perſwaſion, with his Scepter upholding the trade of the Kingdom, as thoſe two great *Names* did, and that too by the ſame methods, if ever he ſhall come to find it in the tottering Condition that they did; and it may be well ſuppoſed that the experience the Kingdom hath ſince gained under King *James* and

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the *Royal* Martyr, and His Preſent *Majeſty*, of the publick benefit that hath ariſen from the reception of Forraign Artiſts, who have been *Heterodox* in ſome ritual points about our Religion, will make their expulſion ſeem a Soleciſme: And every Sagacious Perſon will (I believe) accord with me that the *Spider* hath done much more good to humane kind by furniſhing it with the Invention of *Weaving*, then harm by any thing of Poyſon.

I ſhall be glad to know from your Lordſhip, whether on your ſearch among the *Records* of State, either in the *Exchequer* or *Paper-Office*, you can find Foot-ſteps of any thing like thoſe returns of the Numbers of the People in *London* mentioned out of *Howel* and *Cotton*.

I am ſure that the knowledge of the Numbers of our People ought by Stateſmen to be accounted their τὰ ἔργον, and in this conjuncture, as the *opus diei*, and to paſs no longer for a παρεργον, and that thoſe of them who take their meaſures either of the publick Strength or Revenue without reſpect to this, are but *State-Enthuſiaſts*, and ſuch who in their reckonings do according to our Common Phraſe *reckon without their Hoſt*, and do not govern their Politicks by the Arithmetick the *Scripture* ſuggeſts, in the queſtion of *What King goeth to make War againſt another King, ſitteth not down firſt and Conſulteth whether he be able with ten thouſand to meet him that cometh againſt him with twenty thouſand?*

Bodin in his *de Republicâ*, ſpeaking of the *Numbering of the People*, ſaith, *That the benefit that redounds to the Publick thereby is infinite: and that thereby Princes and States know what Souldiers they may have, and what Numbers they may ſend abroad to Collonys.*

I have been informed by a Perſon belonging to the Cuſtom-houſe, that near 10000. Perſons have had their Names entred as gone out of the Ports of *London* and *Briſtol*, for our Plantations in a years time: And no doubt but the Number was great that then went away thither from other Ports, and likewiſe of ſuch that went from *London* and the *out-Ports*, whoſe Names were not entred. But I was not a little ſurpriſed of late, when I read it in a Book newly Printed, called, *The Negros and Indians Advocate*, and Dedicated to the *Lord Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury*, where the Author pag. 171. Speaking of the *Kidnappirs* trade or miſtery, ſaith, *A Trade, that tis thought Carrys off and Conſumes not ſo little as* 10000. *out of this Kingdome yearly, which might have been a Defence to their Mother Country*, &c.

'Tis certainly a ſign that we are very rich in the number of our People, when we can endure ſuch a quantity of them to be yearly ſtolen, without the purſuit of a Hue and Cry.

Yet in this point *Scotland* is reported to be ſomewhat more unhappy then *England*, for thoſe who go hence for our Plantations do Contribute ſome way to the Trade of the Kingdom, and many of them return hither again; But Mr. *Roger Coke* in his Book called, *Englands Improvements*, pag. 21. ſaith, *Its believed above* 12000. *of the Kings* Scotiſh *Subjects yearly go out of* Scotland *into* Poland, Sweden, Germany, France, Holland, *and other places, and never after return into* Scotland: And that Author having before in the ſame page mentioned, *That* 5 l. *given with an Apprentice to be inſtructed in the Woollen or any Manufacture, by which means he afterward earns* 30 l. per annum, *this in* 20. *years becomes* 600 l. &c. *which is more valuable to the Nation then if* 600 l. *had been given it, and the People not employed:* Thereupon he afterward Computes, *That the benefit which might accrue to the Nation by employing ſo many thouſands of the* Scottiſh *Subjects there might in* 20. *years time be above* 6 *Millions.* And according to the opinion of that Worthy Gentleman, we may further be inclined to think the Number of the *Scots* removing into Forraign parts to be very great,

great, when we find among Sir *John Denhams Poems*, one with this Inſcription or Title, *On my Lord* Croſts, *and my Journey into* Poland, *from whence we brought* 10000 l. *for his Majeſty, by the Decimation of his* Scotiſh *Subjects there.*

But *moreover* the ſatisfying the Inquiſite *genius* of our People, concerning the greatneſs of their Numbers, may be of ſome importance to them and the publick quiet, in ſatisfying them of the *Vanity* of the former Moddellers of a *Republick* here, a form of Government tho eaſily ſuppoſed Practicable in large Cities, yet not ſo in great and populous Nations; and *likewiſe* of the *Vanity* of all fears of a *Univerſal* Monarchy, bridling the world again, a thing which though it was of old feaſable, when Mankind made not ſo mighty a Maſs, is now far from being ſo.

'Twas eaſie to imagine it poſſible, and indeed to effect it in the days when *Ariſtotle* taught men, that no City ought to have above 10000. Citizens; and when, however the Number of Citizens was grown at *Athens* to 20000. and when in the *Roman* Empire the number of the Citizens was not ſo vaſt as is by many imagined; and ſo accordingly the Excellent Diſcourſer *de Magnitudine Romanâ Lipſius*, lib. 1. cap. 7. then Speaking of the *Multitudo Romanorum* under *Auguſtus*, ſaith, *Ipſe de ſe in Lapide Ancyrano clare hoc dicit. In conſulatu ſuo Sexto luſtrum condidiſſe: quo luſtro Cenſita ſunt Civium Romanorum Capita quadragiens Centum millia & Sexaginta tria*, i. e. *four Millions and a hundred thouſand*: And *Lipſius* afterward mentioning, that the Number of the *Romans* encreaſed under *Claudius* cites *Tacitus* for making it then *Sexagies novies centena Sexaginta quatuor Millia*, i. e. about ſeven *Millions.*

There is no doubt but the People of the Provinces did vaſtly exceed that Number; but ſince according to the eſtimate of *Bodin* in his *de Rep.* 'tis probable that the *Roman Empire*, when at its greateſt extent in *Trajans* time, ſcarce contain'd the thirtieth part of the World, and that the prolifit *North* ſtiled generally by Authors *officina & vagina gentium* by the encreaſe of its populacy, ſo humbled the *Roman* Sword, that within about 154. years afterward ſome of the *Roman Emperors* became their Allies, and *Gallus* ſubmitted to pay Tribute to the *Goths*, tis no wonder that the *thirtieth* part of the World was ſince reduced to ceaſe from domineering over all the other parts of it: And notwithſtanding *Maximines* boaſt to the *Senate* in the fragment of his account to them of his *German Succeſſes*, cited by *Jul. Capitolinus* in his Life, *tantum Captivorum abduxi ut vix Sola Romana ſufficiant*, his *Reſvery* of the Immortality of the *Roman Power* on the Stage of the World was liable to Confutation from the ſame way of arguing, as his *Conceit* of his own Immortality was; which having been obſerved to have tainted his fancy on the occaſion of his great and robuſt Body, the ſame *Capitolinus* in his Life ſaies was corrected by a Players reciting theſe Lines on the Stage in his preſence:

Qui ab uno non poteſt a multis occiditur,
Elephans grandis eſt & occiditur,
Leo fortis eſt & occiditur,
Tigris fortis eſt & occiditur,
Cave multos ſi Singulos non times.

But what I find by *Lipſius* in the ſecond *Book*, third Chapter there cited out of *Tertullian* is much more applicable to the preſent State of the World, then to that wherein twas Writ: He ſaith there, *At Tertulliani locum non inſuper habeo, qui egregie aſſerit Copiam hominum, cultumq; orbis in ſuo*, i. e.

Severi

Severi Sæculo. De animâ Cap. 30. *Certè quidem ipſe orbis in promptu eſt, cultior de die, & inſtructior priſtino. Omnia jam pervia, omnia nota, omnia negotioſa. Solitudines famoſas retrò fundi amæniſſimi obliteraverunt: Sylvas arva domuerunt: feras pecora fugaverunt: Arenæ Seruntur, Saxa panguntur, Raludes eliquantur. Tantæ urbes quantæ non caſæ quondam. Jam nec Inſulæ horrent, nec Scopuli terrent: ubique domus, ubique populus, ubque Reſp. ubique vita. Summum teſtimonium frequentiæ humanæ, oneroſi ſumus Mundo. Vix nobis elementa ſufficiunt, & neceſſitates arctiores, & querelæ apud omnes, dum jam nos Natura non ſuſtinet.*

Then adds *Lipſius*, *Nihil impreſſius dici poteſt de pleno frequentique orbe.*

And that ſtrong and populous Nations Conſpired to break their Chains hath nothing of wonder in it; and the truth is, the freedom the World has gain'd ſince the decay of the *Roman* Empire, and even by means thereof, hath hung out ſuch a Picture before all mens Eyes, of Populous Mankind, drawn to the bigneſs of the Life, as has made the Notion of erecting another *Univerſal* Monarchy, ſeem but a Portraiture of Imagination, containing nothing but bold Strokes of Colour, without regular Proportion and Deſign; and the *Copying* only a *Landskip* of the *Devil's Mountain*, and his *ſhewing thence all the Kingdoms of the World.*

How is the World aſhamed now of its having been in the laſt foregoing Age, amuſed with the thoughts of the King of *Spain's* being its *Catholick* Monarch, and of having tormented it ſelf with Jealouſies about ſuch a great Nothing: And which I believe was never modell'd in the fancy of that Prince, and was only projected by *Court-Sycophants*, and *Mercenary* Writers; and that he himſelf never enter'd any expreſs claim to it, one would think who reads the *Duke of Buckingham's* anſwer to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador's Informations, *&c. Anno* 1624. where the Duke having aggravated ſome State-Practices, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter adds, *And is not this a Proclamation to all the World, that they aſpired to ſuch an abſolute Monarchy as ſo many Books, Stories, Diſcourſes, and the general Complaints of all Princes and States have long charged them with?*

But for ſuch Writers as I laſt mention'd to flatter a Prince with Inſinuations of the Greatneſs and Extent of his Power, is not more unuſual then for Mendicant Poets to over-act their part in Panegyricks, or for the Celebrators of any particular bright beauty in Verſe, to repreſent her as the *Empreſs* of all Hearts: And thus the Famous *Campanella* after he had made his Preſent of the *Univerſal* Monarchy to *Spain*, ſent it too a Begging into *France*, as appears out of *Arch-Biſhop Laud's* Book againſt *Fiſher*, pag. 210. where he ſaith that lately *Friar Campanella hath ſet out an Eclogue on the Birth of the Dauphin, and that* permiſſu Superiorum, *in which he ſaith, that all the Princes are now more affraid of* France *then ever, for that there is provided for it,* Regnum Univerſale, *the Univerſal Kingdom or Monarchy.* The words there are in the Margin, *Quum Gallia alat* 20000000 *hominum, ex Singulis Centenis ſumendo unum collegit* 200000 *ſtrenuorum militum ſtipendiatorum commodè perpetuoque, propterea omnes terræ Principes metuunt nunc magis a Gallia quam unquam ab aliis. Paratur enim illi Regnum Univerſale. F. Thomæ Companellæ ecloga in Principis Galliarum Delphini Nativitatem; cum annot. diſcip. Pariſiis* 1639. *Cum permiſſu Superiorum.*

Yet with a *Non obſtante* to the Politicks of *Campanella*, and his pittyful great Flatteries, I ſhall venture to pronounce the Great *French* Monarch, who is certainly as great a Prince in the Intellectual World, as in the other, and is truly by the bright Sun of Reaſon *non pluribus impar*, no Deſigner of taking the Dimenſions of the whole Globe of the Earth with Chains; and

do think the moſt *Chriſtian* King, out of his Royal Prudence, leſs inclined to favour the ſervile Flatterers, who would ſet him up to be King of *Chriſtendom*, then was formerly the *Catholick* Monarch to encourage thoſe who render'd him aſpiring to be the *Univerſal* one: a Title which according to the excellent ſaying of Mr. *Cowly* in his *Brutus*, *None can deſerve, but he who would refuſe the offer.*

Nor do I doubt but that if ever the greateſt Prince in Chriſtendom ſhould be adandoned to the Vanity of attempting the particular Conqueſt of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, his Power in the Ballance of the VVorld would as ſoon and as ſenſibly grow inſignificant thereby, as did the King of *Spains'*, by the Deſign of 88. And as the Fate of the great temporary Diſturbers of Mankind hath been their conſtant Augmentation of their own Expences, (which was a juſt pecuniary mulct from Heaven on their Ambition for their encreaſe of the charge of divers Nations in the poſture of Defence,) ſo is it likely to be more and more to the end of Time: And it was ſufficiently exemplified in the Reſult of the *Pope's* and King of *Spain's* Politicks in 88, which reduced them to attempt the Remedying of the Proſufion of their Treaſure by ſending (as I may ſay) Canonical *Waſte-Paper* to the *Weſt-Indies*, and the loſs too of their *Cargo* of that, as appears by *Malynes* in his *Lex Mercatoria*, where he ſaith, pag. 126. *That in the year* 1561, *Pope* Sixtus Quintus *cauſed two Ships to be Laden out of* Spain *for the* Weſt-Indies *with* a 100. *Buts of Sack*, 1400 *little Cheſts containing each of them three ordinary ſmall Barrels of Quick-Silver, weighing* 50 l. *apiece, to refine the Silver withal in the* VVeſt-Indies; *and a great number of Packs of Printed* Bulls, *and* Pardons *granted at that time to make Proviſion againſt* Hereticks, *becauſe the year* 1588, *had ſo much exhauſted the Treaſure of* Spain. *Theſe two Ships were met with at Sea by Captain* VVhite (*who was Laden and Bound for* Barbary) *and brought into* England *by him, where the Commodities were Sold: But the* Popes *Merchandiſe being out of requeſt, and remaining a long time in Ware-Houſes at the diſpoſal of Queen* Elizabeth, *at the laſt at the requeſt of her Phyſician* Doctor Lopez, *ſhe gave all that great quantity of* Bulls *to him, amounting to many thouſands in number: And he and another ſent thoſe* Bulls *into the* VVeſt-Indies, *where they were no ſooner Arrived but the* Popes *Contractors for that Commodity did Seiſe on all the ſaid* Bulls, *and caus'd an Information to be given againſt them, that they were Infected, as having been taken by* Hereticks. *Twas alledged that they were Miraculouſly ſaved; but they were loſt and Confiſcated. Malynes* further mentions, *That he was employed to appraiſe the Lading of thoſe Prizes, and to certifie what it coſt, and what it might have been worth in the* VVeſt-Indies *according to the rate of every* Bull *tax'd at two* Rials *of Plate, and ſome four, and ſome eight* Rials, *according to their Limitation, every one being but one ſheet of Paper, and by Computation the Lading did not coſt* 50000 l. *and would have yielded above* 600000 l. He had before ſaid, *That every Reaſonable Soul of the* Popiſh Religion *in* America *muſt have one of theſe* Bulls *yearly; and that theſe* Bulls *contained a* Mandate, *that their Beds ſhould be ſold who would not take off one of them.*

It ſeems (by the way) that all that Treaſure of *Indulgences*, beſtowed by Queen *Elizabeth* on *Doctor Lopez*, could not oblige him from deſigning afterward to take away her Life by Poyſon. But this was the reſult of the Trage-Comedy, or rather, *Farce* of 88. and *Broyl on the Coaſt* when *Spains Invincible Fleet* that had in it but 8350. Seamen, proved the ſport of Fortune and of the VVinds, and the fatal VVrack of its Treaſure, inſomuch that it could never ſince (if then) aw the world by the Number of Mariners; Men who love not to be paid with *Tickets* even in *this* VVorld,

and

and much leſs to receive them as payable in *another*, the which is the true Notion of *Paper-Indulgences*.

It is agreed on by all Writers, that the *Spaniſh Armada*, conſiſting of 130 Ships then had in it but the Number of Seamen before-mention'd (and of thoſe too a great part borrowed from diverſe Countries) and 19290 *Land* Soldiers, which Naturally clogg'd its Sea Service; for the Antipathy between thoſe and Seamen in Ships is ſuch, that unleſs the Seamen are the *Major* part there, they are apt to look on thoſe as intruders, and as ſuch who ſtand in their way, and in their light: But in a *Remonſtrance* to the *Earl of Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral, from the *Trinity Houſe*, *Anno* 1602. Extant in *Sir Julius Cæſar*'s Collections, 'tis mention'd, that in 88. *The Queen had at Sea* 150. *Sail of Ships, whereof* 40 *only were her own, and* 110 *were of her Subjects, and that in the ſame year there were* Engliſh Ships *employed in Trading Voyages into all Parts and Countries, to the Number likewiſe of* 150 *Sail, of about* 150 *Tunn one with another, and that all thoſe* 300 *Ships were Manned with* 30000 *Seamen, that is, the Queens Forty with* 12000, *and the* 110, *with* 11000, *and that in the other* 150, were 6000 *Seamen*.

But it is not unworthy to be remark'd, that notwithſtanding the Concurrence of Providence with the Gallantry and Numbers of her *Seamen*, and the great event of the Confuſion of the *Armada*, that made the VVorld ſo willingly Tributary to her praiſe; She was ſo far from giving it any umbrage of her claiming any *Univerſal* Empire of the Sea, that ſhe as *ſemper eadem*, who ſome years before 88. (as we have it in *Cambden*) had on the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador's Complaining that the *Indian* Ocean was Sail'd by the *Engliſh*, Reply'd, *That no Title to the Ocean belongs to any People or particular Man, for as much as neither Nature, nor regard of Publick Uſe permits the Poſſeſſion thereof*: Did likewiſe after 88 Notifie the ſame thing by her Embaſſador's Expoſtulation with the *King* of *Denmark*, *and that the Sea is free for all Men, and that Princes have no ſuch Dominion of the Sea, that they can deny Sailers the uſe thereof, no more then of the Ayre, according to that ſaying of the Emperor* Antonine, *I am Lord of the Earth, but the Law is Lord of the Sea*; and ſhe urged, *That Princes have no Juriſdiction of the Sea, but of that which is near adjacent to their Territories, and that only for the ſecuring the Navigation from Pirates and Enemies: and that the Kings of* England *never prohibited the Navigation and Fiſhing on the* Iriſh *Sea, that is between* Ireland *and* England, *tho they are Lords of the Coaſt on both ſides; No leſs then the Dane is of* Norway *and* Izeland, *who challengeth this Right to him on no other account*.

I intend not to awaken any Controverſie about this matter that is aſleep in the VVorld, and if it were not, do ſuppoſe that *Loccenius*'s diſtinction in his *De Jure Maritimo*, namely the *Imperium Maris Univerſale*, & *Particulare*, and ancient uſages, and the *Pacta Conventa* of Princes and States might ſend it to reſt. I have only ſpoke of the *Fact* of the Point in Queen *Elizabeths* Story, who probably foreſaw that her great example of advancing Navigation, would oblige the VVorld to follow it, and that the claiming an *Univerſal* Empire of the Shoar, would not have ſounded harſher then the pretending to ſuch an one of the Sea, an Empire as eaſily drawn in a *Poets* Imagination, as a *Ship* uſually in a *Geographer's* Map, and with the like proportion; ſince if the Ship were Meaſured by his Scale of *Miles*, it would appear perhaps two or three hundred miles long.

Thus the famed *Venetian* Poet *Sannazarius* long ſince in an *Epigram* of ſix Verſes, that begins with *Viderat Adriacis*, &c. put the Complement of the whole Empire of the Sea on the City of *Venice*, and was rewarded by the

the Senate with about a 100 of our *Nobles* for every Verſe; but they knew better things then to *eſpouſe* more of the Sea, then their own *Adriatick*, and of that too a *Pope* once demanding the Original of their Right: they returned him an anſwer very like *Poetry, That their Charter for it, was enrolled on the back of* Conſtantine's Donation, *of which the Record was in his Cuſtody*: They knew that the encloſing the Common of the whole Sea would have been too chargeable an Adventure, and that the Dominion of their *Adriatick* was no *fine cure*, but brought its Load of Obligation with it, and particularly to protect their Subjects and Allies there, and to purge it from Pirates, and puniſh Delinquents therein.

Nor could it be a remote Conſideration to our *Queen* and her whole *Council*, that the ſecuring her particular Intereſt, even in the *Brittiſh* Seas, was liable to difficulty and uncertainty, in regard of the uncertain humor of the Seamen her Subjects, and of the aptneſs of all Marriners to change their Quarters, and Embarque in Forraign Service, ſometimes on a *Capricio* of their reputing themſelves diſobliged at home, and at other times on their expectance of better Pay abroad: And accordingly the ſaid *Remonſtrance* from *Trinity-Houſe* ſets forth, *That in a little above* 12. *years after* 88. *the Shiping and Number of our Seamen were decay'd about a* 3d. *part.*

But tho the World has no Univerſal Empire, yet Seamen by the moveable Scenes of their Life, and their being every where uſeful and welcome, have the Previledge of being Univerſal Subjects, and are eaſily tempted to ſeek good Entertainment in other Countreys, if they find it not in their own.

What I have before obſerved concerning the Influence of *Numbers* on the Government of the VVorld, will make it appear to any man of ordinary thought and ſenſe, that the Science of the encreaſe of the People is not a nice Speculation, or an expedient in knowledge to ſalve *Phænomena*, but is indeed of much more uſe to the Body Politick, then the diſcovery of the *Circulation* of the Bloud is to the Body Natural: And I may add, That men's now gravely proceeding juſt in thoſe tracks of Policy, that they have read and took notes of out of the *Claſſick* Authors, who writ when there were not ſo many Millions of Readers and Obſervers in the World as are now, would be as abſurd as is *Aſtrologers*, taking the meaſures of their Predictions now from the Tables of *Ptolomy*, ſince whoſe time the Equinoctials and the whole Syſteme of Heaven are moved from the Poſition they then had among the fix'd Stars, a whole *Sign* or more, and as is ſome *Aſtronomers* pertinacy in following the error of *Ariſtotle*, who aſſerted the unalterableneſs of the Heavens, becauſe in ſo many Ages nothing had been obſerved to be altered, when the many Experiences of new Stars have ſince confuted the Reaſon that moved *Ariſtotle* to thing as he did.

Princes and States will now in the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs find themſelves obliged to mend their pace, and no longer travel ſo unconcern'd through the World as formerly, while now they ſee the new tides of Generation coming in ſo faſt: And no doubt but the great example of the *French* Monarch, and his admirable exact proportioning of his *Receits* with his *Expences* (the which was ſo remarkable in that active and expenceful year of 1673. that then his *Receipts* came to 8,232,709 *l. Sterling*, and his Expences exceeded that *total* but by 25548 *l. Sterling*) and the ſtrong Current of his ſucceſſes will enforce *Political* Arithmetick on the World, as the overflowing of *Nile* did *Geometry*.

And it will be but Natural for us to Conclude, that the great encreaſe of the Number of the People here and abroad in the World, muſt of neceſſity be Fatal to the *Papacy* which has been ſo long an importunate Candidate for *a fifth Monarchy* of the World: But 'tis now too late for any one Man to be

be a precarious King of Kings, and particularly to think, that after the neceſſity and populouſneſs of the *Northern* Principalities has made them reſume their former Donations of Land to the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Hierarchy, that thoſe Countries that before broke the old Roman Yoke by force, will now when better peopled, and ſtock'd with better brains, be again brought under a New *Roman* one by fraud, and that the *omne Malum ab Aquilone* will not be able in that Quarter to put an end to that which begins *in Nomine Domini*, and that they will not be the rather willing ſo to do, in regard that the *North* made the World feel the Malignity of both thoſe *Proverbs* by its old well-meant charity to the Biſhops of *Rome*.

And ſince in the days of Popery here in *Harry* the 8th's time it did paſs *in Rem Judicatam, that the Pope had no more power over us by the Scripture then any other forrain Biſhop*; it cannot now but ſeem ridiculous to ſcruple whether he can thence claim more authority here than any other forrain *Prince*; and he who was exploded here formerly when the Critical Spectators were not ſo many, for having ill acted the part of a King on our ſtage of the World, would be thought mad for perſonating one after the Play is over.

Thus too in a leſs peopled World *Bartolus* the famous Lawyer pronounced it to be *Hæreſie* to deny the *German Emperor* to be King of the *Univerſe*, the which any one would now account Madneſs to affirm.

And if in *France* hundreds of Years ago its *Monarch* greeted the Pope with the terms of *fatuus & amens*, for claiming a Supremacy in Temporals there, 'tis impoſſible he can be otherwiſe thought there now, proſecuting a claim to Supremacy in things Eccleſiaſtic; for even his pretenſions to that the *Clergy* of *France* have damned in their *Declaration*, by ſetting a General Council above him: and which *Declaration* the great *Monarch* hath there ratify'd by a perpetual and irrevocable Edict. And 'tis but with a Conſonancy to the nature of things, that the Papal Infallibility ſhould be concluded againſt in that Declaration: and ſince as the Author of *the Policy of the Clergy of* France relates, the Roman Catholick Church there doth ſo much ſwarm with *New Phil ſophers* there call'd *Carteſians* and *Gaſſendiſts*, whoſe *new Philoſophy* has been there by Zealous Catholics obſerv'd *to have ruin'd the myſtery of the Real Preſence*, (for ſo the words are in that *Book*) 'tis no wonder if the growth of the *Meſſieurs les ſcavants* encreaſing with the Populacy of that Realm, makes any man's belief of his infallibility paſs for a degree of madneſs, accordingly as Mr. *Hobbes*, *Chap.* 8. *Of Man*, well obſerves, that *exceſſive opinion of a man's own ſelf, for Divine Inſpiration and Wiſdome, becomes diſtraction and giddineſs*: and this probably may be the final *reſult* there of the late fermentation about the *Regalia*, &c. and the Pope be tacitly thought ſo as aforeſaid, and his Power there inſenſibly evaporate, and without any viſible diſturbance given to it by the *ratio ultima Regum*: for no prudent perſon would declaim reproachfully againſt any of a quiet *Phrenſy*, or moleſt and vex ſuch a one tho living near him, and would much leſs project the diſgrace or miſchief of ſuch an one living at a great diſtance, tho he ſhould aſſume to himſelf bigger Titles than ever the Kings of *India* or *Perſia* did, and call himſelf *Son of the Sun*, or *Lord of the Sea and Land*; or like ſome of the *Roman* Emperors, challenge Divinity, or be ſtyled *Dominus Deus noſter Papa*. And thus may the *Pope* quietly go on longer to call himſelf *Monarch* of the World, without being *call'd Names* for it in *France*, juſt as the Dukes of *Savoy* ſtyle themſelves Kings of *Cyprus* without any gainſaying from the *Turk*; who likewiſe did not menace the Pope for cauſing the Brother of the *Vice-Roy* of *Naples* to be in *Rome* proclaim'd *King of Jeruſalem*: nor when that Gentleman in Requital

of that favour from his *Holineſs*, cauſed the *Pope* to be in *Naples* proclaimed *Caliph of Bandas*, was the *Mogul* aggrieved thereby.

And thus probably too will the Enthuſiaſt's who aſſert a *Millennium* or Univerſal Reign of Chriſt on earth, with that quietneſs and gentleneſs that the ancient Fathers before the firſt *Nicene* Council did, paſs off the Stage of the World; but it will ſeem ridiculous not to bind ſuch *Fifth-Monarchy* Men in *Chains* as Mad-men, who have in *England* and *Germany* endeavoured to *bind Kings ſo, and Nobles with Fetters of Iron*, and who would again make Convulſions in the State, by the Diſeaſes of their minds, as once *Mahomet's* Epileptic Fits ſhook the World, and who by promiſing us *a new Heaven and a new Earth* would confound the old, and only give us a new Hell broke looſe. But the World will not now be blunder'd into Confuſion by ſuch wild Reformers.

In the Book of the *Apocalypſe* (of which *Bodin* tells us in his *Methodus ad facilem Hiſtoriarum Cognitionem*, that *Calvin's* Opinion being ask'd, he anſwer'd, *Se penitùs ignorare quid velit tam obſcurus ſcriptor*) it muſt be confeſſed that the Majeſty of the *Style* is agreeable to that of the reſt of the holy Text, and that the predictions of the future State of the Church, and of its ſplendor in the World are not *groſſo modo* utter'd, or attended with any irregularity, but on the contrary that God appears there as *the God of Order*, and applying all the exactneſs of proportion and number, and its very fractions to the great things foretold. After one Verſe hath accounted *the number of the Beaſt* to be 666, the next mentions St. *John's* Viſion of a *Lamb ſtanding on Mount* Sion, *and with him an hundred forty and four thouſand*. The Bodies of the *Witneſſes* are mentioned to be unburied *three days and an half*. *The 4 Angels were looſed which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a Month and a Year for to ſlay the third part of Men. The Woman was to be in the Wilderneſs 1260 days, and to be nouriſhed there for a time, and times, and half a time. Blood came out of the Wine-Preſs by the ſpace of 1600 Furlongs. There were Seal'd of all the Tribes of Iſrael 144000.* And in the State of *Babylon* mentioned in *Cap. 18th*, where the voice from Heaven is heard, *Come out of her my People*, though all the various Sects of Religion that thruſt one another into *Babylon*, will admit of *no proportion* in their revenge, yet it is there ſay'd, *Reward her even as ſhe rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works, in the Cup which ſhe hath filled, fill to her double.*

But near the end of that Book, where the great *Scene* of *The New Heaven and the New Earth* opens, and the Viſion of the *New Jeruſalem* is deſcribed, a *Golden Rod was given the Angel to meaſure the City*, and the Meaſures thereof are particularized.

And tho I pretend not to underſtand the meaning of any of theſe obſcure paſſages of Scripture, yet one thing ſeems to me there as Conſpicuous as the Meridian Light, namely, That as the Divine Providence did found the Old World in *Number, Weight* and *Meaſure*, ſo it likewiſe will the foretold New One.

The exactneſs of the Numbers deſcribed by St. *John* in that Prophetick Book written in the Iſland of *Pathmos*, hath aſſured us that his imagination was much above the Vapors that fumed into Mens heads in ſeveral *Iſlands* anciently, and made them Prophetically *Fanatick*, as *Gryphiander de Inſulis* mentions, and in his *Chapter* there, *De Mirabilibus Inſularum*, ſaith, *Alibi fatidici ſpecus ſunt, quorum exhalatione temulenti futura præciuunt, ut Delphis nobiliſſimo oraculo. Homines eo Spiritu Correpti dementes ac fanatici dicti, quod circum fana bacchentur.*

But

But it is confeſſedly too true, That ſome of the *Expoſitors* of this *Book*, and particularly in this our *Iſland* did too long here *Bacchari circum Fana*, and have therefore juſtly had the name of *Fanaticks*, and may as juſtly expect that their *Oracles* ſhould be ſilenced as the *Delphic* was, and that any perſons of a *ſober Party* drunk with *Enthuſiaſme* will not be again allowed to make all things reel into Confuſion.

Thoſe likewiſe who did here more *cum ratione inſanire* then the Fifth Monarchy-men, I mean the Aſſertors of Presbytery, and who by the pretence of putting the *Scepter into Chriſt's hand*, projected to put it into their own, will find the numbers of knowing men now ſo encreaſed that our World will be more averſe then formerly againſt their offers to mend it by their aſſuming of Regal Power.

What well willers they were to the Mathematicks of ſtretching out on our Church and State, *the Line of Confuſion*, as the Scripture-expreſſion is, and how they thought *Confuſion* as commendable a thing, as I mention'd *Antony*'s thinking *Sedition*, ſufficiently appears out of Mr. *Nyes Book* I quoted before, where the great Architectonical Rule for ſettling a Government in the Church is rendred to be the deſtroying its Government by Law Eſtabliſh'd: and he there names it, *viz. Tollatur lex & fiat certamen*: and thereupon he ſaith, p. 187. *It was moved by ſome Parliament-men Friends to Epiſcopacy when it was to be removed, that it might remain till a better Government were concluded; but on the other hand it was prudently conſidered how while that form ſtood and had the advantage of the Law, there would be no freedom in arguing about it.*

But I account that the great Fundamental Principle for the quiet of the *World*, as well as of a mans own *Conſcience*, is contrary to that of *tollatur lex*, viz. that no man is *warranted by any intention of advancing Religion to invade the right of the Sovereign Power, that is inherent in Princes, by the Municipal Laws of their Countries.* When ever any man quits this Principle, he hath made his firſt ſtep from a Precipice: he is fallen from the *Pinacle of the Temple*, and has very preſumptuouſly tempted Omnipotence to ſave him, after he hath thus begun to deſtroy himſelf, and Religion too, and has to Heavens *ſecret* Will ſacrificed its Reveal'd.

The ſhaking of this Principle is, as I may ſay, the ſhaking of the *Earth*; and as *Aulus Gellius* tells us in his *Noctes Atticæ* that the *Romans* did not know to which of all their *Gods* to offer Sacrifice in the time of an *Earthquake*, but did then only worſhip an *unknown* Deity, this too will be the fate of Nations where the *lex terræ* is ſhook by Enthuſiaſts, namely that too many people will not know what God to adore, and their pretended Illuminations will only ſerve to conduct them to ſuch an *Altar*, as at *Athens* ground under the Subſcription *to the unknown God*, and if perhaps ſome Enthuſiaſtick *weak* Brethren arrive not at the denomination of the *Forts-eſprits* applyed in *France* to Atheiſts, they will be abandon'd to a diſpoſition to cloſe with the next *Hypotheſis* of Religion they ſhall meet, whether that of *Deiſts*, *Papiſts*, or *Muggletonians*, or *Mahumetans*; as *Bodin* ſpeaking of the Cauſe of ſeveral Nations, being fixt in their particular ſoiles ſaith, *alii longo errore jactati, non judicio elegerunt locum, ſed laſſitudine proximum occupaverunt.*

To this purpoſe our incomparable Biſhop *Sanderſon* in his Lecture *de adæquatâ Conſcientiæ Regulâ* doth with great weight and a profound pious paſſion, reflect on the effects of the breaking the Eſtabliſh'd Religion in *England* by our late *Reformers*, and ſaith, *Stetit hic aliquamdiu, ſed non diu ſtetit effrænis hominum temeritas, &c. hoc fonte derivata audacia, effluxit tandem in apertam Rabiem, & exivit jamdiu in furorem Anabaptiſcum*: &

quamvis

quamvis quo porrò progrediatur vix habet, uſque tamen progreditur indies, & nova quotidie parturit opinionum monſtra: ut niſi ex ſacroſancto Dei verbo didiciſſemus firmum ſtare fundamentum Dei, neque adverſus eccleſiam Chriſti prævalituras unquam ex toto Inferorum portas, omnino metuendum foret ne Univerſa Chriſti eccleſia Atheiſmi velut diluvio obruta, toto orbe funditùs periret.

Little did many of our deluded *Reformers* when they *broke* the *hedge* of the Law, think what *Serpent* bit them, and as little did many of their well-meaning followers think, that while their *Paſtors* did *ſpeak* the Cauſe of Religion ſo *fair*, that at that time the very *poyſon of the aſpes* of Popery and Superſtition, was under their *tongues*, for that No Principle hath in it more of the *Popiſhneſs* of *Popery*, if I may ſo ſay, in the reſemblance of the aggravation of *Sin* by it ſelf, viz. *the ſinfulneſs of Sin*, then the legitimation of unjuſt things by holy ends; and this too our laſt mention'd *Biſhop* brands in his *Prælectio ſecunda De bonâ intentione*, where having mention'd that a *Cardinal* telling the *Pope* in a Conclave, that ſomewhat he propounded to be done was not juſt, and that the Pope reply'd, *Licèt non poſſet fieri per viam juſtitiæ, oportere tamen fieri per viam expedientiæ*, he goes on thus, *Nimirum iſthoc eſt ſapere! hæc eſt ex Jeſuitarum ni fallor officinis deprompta Theologia, omnia metiri ex Commodo Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ, ſacroſancta dei eloquia qua lubet inflectere, Naſi ad inſtar Cerei torquere, diſtorquere, invita Cogere in rem ſuam.*

And too little do many who juſtly Complain of *Popery's* having ſupported it ſelf by *Arbitrary* Power on *Earth*, reflect on their having ſupported that Power againſt Earth, and even againſt *Heaven* it ſelf, and that the fumes of their Enthuſiaſme do vainly try to erect a *Pillar* of ſmoke againſt Heaven, as I ſpake before of the *Jeſuites* Morals, ſetting up one of *Ignominy* againſt it, and that it is an unlucky part of the Arbitrarineſs of Popery to tranſplant ſome of its odious Principles among other Sects, as the Devil can at pleaſure transform himſelf into an Angel of light.

The general received notion of *Superſtition* is, that *'tis a needleſs fear about Religion*, and there is no fear more needleſs and irrational than that of Gods being unconcern'd in its Protection; the which to imagine, is more unworthy of the Deity, and a greater tendency to *Atheiſm*, then was the *delirium* of *Epicurus* about God's Careleſneſs of humane affairs; and in relation to which, *Tully* in his *De Natura Deorum* having diſcours'd of one that deny'd the being of a Deity, ſaith, *Nec ſanè multum intereſt utrum id neget, an Deos omni procuratione atq; actione privet: mihi enim qui nihil agit, eſſe omnino non videtur.*

He there moreover acquaints us with the *origine* of the word *Superſtition*, ſaying, that *Non enim Philoſophi, verùm etiam Majores noſtri ſuperſtitionem à Religione ſeparaverunt: nam qui totos Dies precabantur, & immolabant ut ſui liberi ſibi ſuperſtites eſſent, ſuperſtitioſi ſunt appellati, quod nomen patuit poſteà latiùs; qui autem omnia quæ ad Deorum Cultum pertinerent, diligenter pertractarent, & tanquam relegerent, ſunt dicti Religioſi ex religendo*, &c. But thoſe things that thoſe antient *Heathens* carefully diſcriminated, many Modern *Chriſtians* as carefully Confound, namely *Superſtition* and *Religion*, and by the innate pride of Humane Nature leading men to worſhip the *Gods* that they make, rather then the *God* that made them, and which enſlaved the ancient Jews almoſt with a *Continuando* to the Adoration of ſtocks and ſtones, and to the neglect of the worſhiping the God that delivered them from the Houſe of *Bondage*; degenerate Chriſtians adore the *Births* of Religion in their own fancies, and having there Model'd a *Deity* do Act over the old *Superſtition* with Anxious wiſhes and Formal Prayers

that

that thoſe their monſtrous *Births* may out-live them, and do outgo all examples of the heathen World in the ἀνθροποθυσία, immolating Nations by War to thoſe *Children* of their imagination; and thus Popiſh Superſtition within our Memory turn'd *Ireland* into one *Akeldama*, and Enthuſiaſtick Superſtition converted *England* into another; and as *Lipſius* tells us, that the *gladiatory* Combats did in ſome one Month coſt *Europe* 30000 mens lifes to divert the old *Romans*, ſo fanatical have ſome that call themſelves Proteſtants been as to afford ſport and diverſion to the new *Romaniſts*, and even the very *Jeſuits* by *Superſtition*, having made ſo many of us *Gladiators* againſt one another, and as if we were Brute *Animals*, we give them the recreation of ſeeing us like *Cocks* attacking each other with the keeneſt anger when they pleaſe, and give the Arbitrary Power to the *Jeſuits* to make our Land their *Cock-Pit*.

But *the ſet time* (humanly ſpeaking) for the extermination of the ſuperſtition of Popery here being come, and the worſt thing in *Popery* being its *Fanaticiſm*, *and Holy Church* being the great *Aſylum* of that, as our Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* hath taught the World in his Book of the *Fanaticiſm of the Church of Rome*, 'tis in vain for Popery or Jeſutiſme to ſave themſelves from the blow of Fate by ſtanding behind *Presbytery*. The *Concluſum eſt contra Manichæos* before mention'd that is now the *Vox populi*, doth with its full cry purſue *Presbytery* as well as Popery, for the making *duo ſumma Principia* in States and Kingdoms, and claiming an Eccleſiaſtick Power immediately derived from Chriſt and not dependant on the Civil: and 'tis in vain for any Principle, that an awaken'd World purſues as a Cheat to try to ſave it ſelf by changing its name. There is no obſervation more common, then that *Popery* and *Presbytery* that ſeem as diſtant as the two Poles, yet move on the ſame Axle-tree of a Church Supremacy immediately derived from Chriſt; and Mr. *Hobbs* his *Leviathan* might have paſſed through the World with a general Applauſe, if no Notion had been worſe in it then in Chap. 44. The making his *Kingdom of darkneſs* to conſiſt of Popery and Presbytery.

The meaſures that the Genius of our Nation inclines it to take of things from *experiment*, will Naturally Perpetuate its averſion from *Presbytery* as well as *Popery*.

For tho the *Divines* of the Proteſtant Churches abroad that are fautors of the *Presbyterian* Form of Church Government, own not the doctrine of Rebelling for Religion, and tho thus on the occaſion of a *Jeſuite's* formerly Printing ſomewhat in defence of his Order, and alledging that ſeveral *Proteſtant* Writers had allow'd the Rebelling of Subjects againſt their Princes, and inſtanceth in *Buchanan* and *Knox*, yet *Rivet* the *Profeſſor* of *Divinity* at *Leiden*, in his *Anſwer* to that Jeſuite, ſaith, that *all other Proteſtant Writers Condemn that doctrine*; and he aſcribes the Raſhneſs of *Buchanan* and *Knox*, *præfervido Scotorum ingenio, & ad audendum prompto*: and tho the perſons who in *Holland* and *France* live under that Form of Church Government, have pretended to no authority from *Chriſt* to reſiſt Soveraign Powers, and that the Loyalty of the *French* Proteſtants hath been ſo ſignal under all their Preſſures that *D'Oſſat* in his *Letter* to *Villeroy* from *Rome*, *January* the 25*th*, 1595, having diſcourſed of the horrid attempt againſt the Life of *Harry* the 4*th*, acknowledgeth, Concerning the *Hugonots*, *il's n'ont rien attenté de tel, ny contre lui, ny contre aucun de cinq Roys ſes predeceſſeurs, quelque boucherie que leurs Majeſtez ayent faite deſ dits Huguenots*: i. e. *They have attempted nothing of this Kind either againſt him or againſt any of the five Kings his Predeceſſors, notwithſtanding the* butchery or ſlaughter *that their Majeſties made of thoſe Huguenots*, yet is

it too notorious to be denyed that that ſort of Church-Government having in *Scotland* in the time of our former Princes been accuſtomed continually to hold their Noſes to Grind-ſtones, which was a preparatory way to have brought their Heads to Blocks, and that Nation invading us with a *Covenant*, the very entring into which and the impoſing it without leave from the King ſo to do, and much more againſt his Command, was a thing that perhaps to the *Aſſociators* themſelves ſeemed *illegal* and contrary to the *Petition of Right*, which provides againſt the adminiſtring of any Oath not *warrantable* by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, there was by that means a Coalition between the Presbyterian *Divines* of our Nation and theirs in principles of Enthuſiaſme and Rebellion. Principles that our *Nonconformiſt* Divines in King *James*'s time here abhorr'd; for in the *Proteſtation* of the Kings *Supremacy* made by thoſe *Miniſters* and Publiſhed *Anno* 1605, the concluſion of their 4th *Tenet* is, *That the Supremacy of Kings is not tyed to their Faith and Chriſtianity, but to their very Crown from which no Subject or Subjects have power to ſeparate or diſjoyn it*: and their 9th *Tenet* is, *We hold that though the King ſhould command any thing contrary to the Word unto the Churches, that yet they ought not to reſiſt him therein, but only peaceably to forbear Obedience and ſue to him for Grace and Mercy, and where that cannot be had meekly to ſubmit themſelves to the Puniſhment*: and their laſt *Tenet* is, *We hold it utterly unlawful for any Chriſtian Churches whatſoever by any Armed Force or Power againſt the will of the Civil Magiſtrate and State under which they live, to erect and ſet up in publick the true worſhip of God, or to beat down or ſuppreſs any Superſtition and Idolatry that ſhall be countenanced and maintained by the ſame.*

And I believe none will imagine that thoſe Nonconforming Divines would take any *Oath* but *in the impoſers ſence*, or Caſuiſtically adviſe others ſo to do.

'Tis therefore no marvel if our later Presbytery being ſo unconformable to the Law of the Land, and to the Tenets of the former Nonconformiſts, ſoon grew *weary* of it ſelf, and did with its horrid Viſage only *face* us and march off. Your Lordſhip found that in another thing it reſembled Popery, namely in that it would be all or nothing, and you helped it to the latter part of the Alternative.

Mr. *Nye* who made a great Figure in the *Aſſembly of Divines*, hath in that *Book* of his forementioned, *p.* 98, helped this Age to know how Arbitrary they would have been in delivering men to Satan; for ſaith he there *the exerciſe of Diſcipline in our Congregations was ordered by the Parliament, but limited likewiſe to an enumeration of the Sins for which we might excommunicate, exempting other Sinners that were as much under our charge. This was looked on by the Aſſembly as a great Abridgment of their Miniſterial Liberty, and ſo great as they profeſſed it could not with a good Conſcience be ſubmitted to, as not being able to perform their truſt which they receiv'd from Jeſus Chriſt, and muſt give an account of to him, reſolving to ſtand faſt in the Liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made them free.*

So ridiculous were thoſe Divines that tho no Pope ever arrogated a power to Excommunicate one, but for the Crimes nominated in his *Canon-Law*, and tho our Church of *England* never claim'd a power of excommunicating, but for a Crime expreſs'd in the *Kings* Eccleſiaſtical Laws, yet thoſe froward Diſciplinarians would have been allow'd to ſhoot their Thunderbolts of Excommunication upon a *Capricio*. But not only the Parliament but the whole Nation in a manner pronounced them *Contumacious*: the people ſaw how Arbitrarily they would have *interdicted* the whole Land from the uſe of the *Cup* and *Bread* too in the Sacrament, and have *rail'd* in the Com-

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munion-Table with fantaſtick Qualifications, and they ſoon judged thoſe Clergy-men guilty of *Irregularity*, and the rather for that they had engaged ſo far *in Cauſâ ſanguinis*, and the ſame *Sun* of Reaſon and Knowledge that with the ſtrength of its Beams had here put out the Popes Kitching Fire of Purgatory, did ſoon without noiſe and inſenſibly confound their Dominions in the *Kingdom of Darkneſs*, and thoſe *Divines* themſelves found that their deſtroying Epiſcopacy here, had in effect by the *Parliaments* being their *Superintendants*, enthroned *Eraſtianiſme*, that which indeed their Principles led them to hate more then Epiſcopacy it ſelf.

Mr. *Baxter* in the Preface to his *ſecond part of the Nonconformiſts Plea* ſpeaking of *Presbytery* ſaith, *I do not hear of many out of* London *and* Lancaſhire *that did ever ſet up this Government, and I know not of one Congregation now in* London *of* Engliſhmen *that exerciſeth the Presbyterian Government, nor ever did ſince the King came home, &c.* And ſaith, *they have no National Aſſembly, no Claſſes, no Coalition of many Churches to make a Presbytery, and I hear of none (unleſs perhaps ſome Independants that I know not) that have ſo much as ruling Lay-Elders.*

Alluding to ſome *expreſſions* before applyed to *Papiſts* and *Popery*, I may ſay that the *Cato's* of Presbytery came here *on the Stage, tantum ut exirent*, and that Government ſoon had its period here *per ſimplicem deſinentiam*: 'Twas obvious that *Presbytery* as well as *Popery* directed men where to ſtand in a place divided from the Civil Government, and ſo to ſhake the Earth: and it appear'd very *inauſpicious* to the Model of the *Covenant*, that in its firſt Paragraph, it ſhould ſtumble upon *implicit Faith*, by ſwearing to a Government and Reformation that *ſhall* be, and to the *preſervation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of* Scotland, *in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government*, the particulars whereof, the *Lay*-Covenanters of *England*, if not the *Clerical* alſo were far from underſtanding.

And tho in that *Paragraph* the *Covenant* binds its takers to endeavour to advance the *Reformation* of Religion *according to the word of God* (a *Clauſe* that Sir *Harry Vane* declared to a very *worthy Gentleman* now living, that he caus'd to be inſerted into the *Covenant* after much debate about the ſame, and oppoſition from the *Scotch* Commiſſioners with whom he was intereſted in the making of it, and thereupon ſaid, *That he was three days in getting the word of God into the Covenant*) yet that Covenant having almoſt extirpated *Root and Branch*, thoſe ſpiritual *Guides* from whom the people might expect a more Rational and Learned Interpretation of the *Senſe* of the *word* of *God*, then from the Presbyterian Divines, they were ſoon ſenſible of their danger both as to the perverting of the *Scripture* and ſubverting of the Church from the new Correctors of *Magnificat*, and found that ſuch an *Inundation* of Vile Religionary Tenets was got into the Church, that the *Houſes of Parliament ordered* the 10*th* of *March*, 1646. *To be ſet apart as a ſolemn day of humiliation to ſeek Gods Aſſiſtance for the ſuppreſſing and preventing of the growth and ſpreading of Errors, Hereſies and Blaſphemies*, and that Mr. *Vines* on that day Preaching before the *Commons*, p. the 4*th* of his *Sermon* printed, acknowledged, *That that day was the firſt that ever was in* England *on that ſad occaſion*, and p. 67 of that *Sermon* mentioned a moſt deteſtable thing then broach'd by the *Preſs*, though yet in the way of *Query*, namely, *what is meant by the word Scripture when it is aſſerted that the denying of the Scriptures to be the word of God ſhould be holden worthy of death:* for ſaith the Author, *either the* Engliſh *Scriptures or Scriptures in* Engliſh *are meant by the word Scriptures, or the* Hebrew *and* Greek *Copies or Originals, the former cannot be meant with reaſon, becauſe God did not ſpeak to his Prophets and Apoſtles in the* Engliſh *Tongue: nor*

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the latter, for the greateſt part of men in the Kingdom do not underſtand or know them.

Mr. *Vines* declared his juſt Abhorrence of that *inſinuation*, and ſaith, *If this dilemma be good, what is become of the certain foundation of our hope, or faith, or comfort? how can we ſearch the Scriptures without going firſt to School to learn* Hebrew, *and* Greek? And 'twas obvious to every one to conſider that if the *Engliſh* Scriptures are not the word of God, there was an end, not only of the Reformation according to it mentioned in the *Covenant*, but the ſubſtantial one promoted by the Proteſtant Religion, that help'd us to the Treaſure of our *Engliſh* Bibles, and that we ſhould ſoon be ſtranded on the Shore of *Implicit Faith*.

Nor could it long be hid from common obſervation, that thoſe *Divines* who exclaim'd ſo much againſt the *Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*; as an oppreſſive *Yoke*, would have impoſed on us ſuch a rigid obſervation of the *Sabbath*, the great *Scene* of Ceremonies among the *Jews*, as would have made it forgot that it was ever *made for man*.

The *thinking* ſort of men found that tho the Principles of thoſe *Divines* did not like the Jeſuits make *Calumny* no *mortal* Sin, that yet as the Adherents to Presbytery did calumniate the Conſtitution of the Church of *England* for bordring on Popery, and the *Royal* Martyr for being a *Fautor* to it, ſo they did by their Cenſorious tempers transfuſe ſuch an acid humour among the people, that very much looſned the Nerves of the *Engliſh* good nature, and diſtorted the *Engliſh* hoſpitality, and therefore 'tis but by a natural inſtinct that that old *Phariſaical Leven* is now ſo nauſeous, that probably any one ſuſpected of an inclination to replant the old Presbytery here and its *Arbitrary* Power to excommunicate, would too be *ſtaked* down to a narrower tedder in Converſation, and be it as it were *excommunicated* from Gentlemens Company, as much as *Make-bates*, or common Informers upon *Penal* Statutes.

The people heretofore found out that as Popery endangers men by the *Prieſts not intending to make the Sacrament of the Euchariſt when he adminiſters it*: So that theſe, as I ſaid, *intended* it ſhould not be at all adminiſtred but to their own Sect, and that the geſture of ſitting at the Communion that they invited men to, and thereby to their being reſcued from the Popiſh Poſture of *Kneeling*, was but a ſort of *Sham* in its way, for that kneeling, was the geſture uſed in the ancient times of the Church, and the firſt that was ever obſerv'd to ſit then was the *Pope* to expreſs his State.

The obſerving ſort of Men then judged that as *Sibthorpe* and *Manwaring* had been exploded for going beyond their Credentials from Heaven, as God's Ambaſſadors, in ſtraining the Prerogative of Princes, theſe deſerv'd to be ſo too, for ſcruing the Power of Parliaments above Law, and for thruſting down the *King* into the Claſs of *The Three Eſtates*; and that as *Sibthorpe* was expoſed to ſevere Animadverſions, from the Age for his *Sermon of Apoſtolic Obedience, ſhewing the Duty of Subjects to pay Tribute and Taxes to their Princes*, &c. And *p.* 21. of that Sermon, applying the words of *Curſe ye* Meroz, *yea curſe them bitterly*, &c. to the promoting his illegal purpoſe; they deſerved to be cenſur'd for going on too with the Alarm of *Curſe ye* Meroz thouſands of times over, when the Subjects were ſlack in paying Tribute to one another, to dethrone their Prince.

They ſaw that thoſe *Divines* in trying to *ſalve the Phænomena* of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Covenant that they had taken, were in the Courſe of their Theology continually put to it, to *deliberate* of Rebellion, and that their very *deliberation* of it was *ipſo facto* one, and a thing

thing that included the horror of a mans *deliberating* to kill his Father: and 'twas but natural for the people repreſentative and diffuſive to fancy it lawful for them ſilently to *reſume* the power given to thoſe Church-men and abuſed by them, who were always in the Pulpit and Preſs lowdly trumpeting forth the *Jeſuitical* Notion of the lawfulneſs of the peoples *reſuming the Power given to Kings*; and as I ſhall never fear that the *King* of *Spain* will ever be able to take the World in a *Ginne* by *Campanellas adviſe* to him in *Chap.* 5. of the *Spaniſh Monarchy* to employ Divines, to ſet up the *Roar* of *unus Paſtor and unum Ovile* every where for the Pope, ſo neither ſhall I, that mens vociferating the Clauſe in the *Covenant*, viz. *That the Lord may be One and his Name One and in the three Kingdoms*, will ever again be able to embroyl them.

In ſhort any one who ſhall conſider that in *Scotland* Presbytery's former *Kingdom of Darkneſs*, the people have been ſo of late illuminated as to find the way to be Latitudinarians, need never have any fears and jealouſies of that Governments, *jus Divinum*, again Marching hither. In the firſt *Seſſion* of the *ſecond* Parliament of this King at *Edenburgh*, *November* the 16*th*, 1669. There paſſed an *Act* wherein 'twas declared, *That his Majeſty hath the Supreme Authority over all Perſons and in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical within this his Kingdom, and that by vertue thereof the ordering and diſpoſal of the external Government and Policy of the Church doth properly belong to his Majeſty and his Succeſſors as an Inherent Right to the Crown, and that his Majeſty and his Succeſſors, may ſettle, Enact and Emit ſuch Conſtitutions, Acts and Orders, concerning the Adminiſtration of the External Government of the Church and the Perſons employed in the ſame, and concerning all Eccleſiaſtical meeting, and matters to be propoſed and determined therein as they in their Royal Wiſdom ſhall think fit, &c. And his Majeſty with Adviſe and Conſent aforeſaid doth reſcind and annul all Laws, Acts and Clauſes thereof and all Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions Civil or Eccleſiaſtick, which are contrary to or inconſiſtent with his Majeſties Supremacy as it is here aſſerted, and declares the ſame void and null in all times coming.*

This *Act* of Parliament is the more obſervable for that it declared the extent of the Regal Power in Eccleſiaſticks, after that in the *Year* 1663, An *Act* paſſed there for a *National Synod under the Government of Biſhops*, and for that *Presbytery* which was before like *Flame*, the only *body* in Nature that doth not content it ſelf to take in any other body, but would either overcome and turn another body into it ſelf, as by victory, or it ſelf to dye and go out, was then grown ſo *amenalle* to the Courſe of Nature in all other bodies (of which one is a glue to another) that not ſatisfied with its own former conſiſtence, it did as ſuddenly, and eaſily, and quietly receive in the body of *Epiſcopacy* (as I may ſay) as Air takes in light, and as readily as *Metals* themſelves receive in ſtrong waters; and then it was that *Epiſcopacy* which in the Forms of Church Government ſeems by its *weight* as *Gold* among Metals (and indeed all bodies) to be the moſt *cloſe* and *ſolid*, did there greedily drink in the *Quickſilver* of *Presbytery*.

But tho Presbytery then was and now is conſiderable in the *Internal* part of the Government of the Church of *Scotland*, and is likely ſo to be till *Chriſt's* ſecond coming (humanly ſpeaking) with a *non obſtante* to any thing that time can cauſe, and will be preſerved in perpetuity by the means of what my *Lord Bacon* calls the *drowning* of Metals, namely when the *baſer* Metal is incorporated with the more rich as *Silver* with *Gold*, yet ſo willing were they in *Scotland* to *give to* Cæſar *the* real Supremacy that was *Cæſars*, that knowing the Proteſtant Religion can be no more there de-

ſtroyed under any external form of Church Polity then as I ſaid, Gold can be deſtroyed in Nature, they thought it more prudent to truſt the *Crown* with a Power of *melting* down that on emergent occaſions, and altering the *Superſcription* of its Coin *in infinitum*, I mean its outward polity and denominations, rather then that the Crown it ſelf ſhould be once more ſo fatally melted down by any of thoſe denominations as formerly.

And as the *Covenanting* Divines of *Scotland* by at laſt conſenting that ſome things in their Presbytery (which whether *tolerabiles ineptiæ* or ſubſtantially good, I now enquire not) ſhould be preſerved by Epiſcopacy's being the Paramount National Church Government, have done that which would make it appear ridiculous for them ever again to attempt to replant Presbytery and extirpate Prelacy as formerly, ſo likewiſe have the moſt eminent ſort of our Presbyterian *Divines*, who were aſſociated with them, by deſiring ſince the *King's* Reſtoration to ſubmit to Dr. *Uſher* the Archbiſhop of *Armagh's* Form of Epiſcopacy, done the ſelf ſame thing (over and above their being then reordained by Biſhops who had before received Orders only from the hands of the Presbytery) and eſpecially when it ſhall be conſidered that that *Form* of *Epiſcopacy* as deſcribed by that Learned and Pious *Archbiſhop* Courted them and was refuſed by them, before our Civil War began wherein they were the Trumpeters and before *three hundred thouſand men were ſlain in* England, as Mr. *Carew Reynel* in his Book called the *true Engliſh Intereſt* Accounts the number to have been.

'Tis therefore with the juſtice of Fate that our old *Presbytery* too is gone among *Pancirolls Res Deperditæ*: and if it could be ſuppoſed that there was any *Order* of Forraigners, whoſe avowed or known deſign it was by *force* or reſtleſs artifices and retaining Penſioners to revive that Government here in ſpight of our Laws, I ſhall think the term of *hoſtes* with juſtice applicable to them too.

But there is another thing beſide the *Coincidence* of ſome of the Principles of our Presbyterians, with Popery, that we have now too loud a *Call* to think of: and that is that the great real part of the danger that we now are in of the inundation of *Popery*, and its idolatrous worſhip, is to be imputed to their having broke the Banks of the Regal Power, and enforced the Royal Iſſue for the Safety of their Perſons to be exiles abroad in Popiſh Countries for many years, and where they might be in danger of the Poyſon of Popery conveyed into them in the *Vehicle* of the Civilities they received from Popiſh Princes after they had been ſo barbarouſly treated by their Proteſtant Subjects, who after they had by ſecret whiſpers calumniated them for being Papiſts *here*, did in effect by the loud outrage of their Actions bid them *go and be Idolaters there*.

When I think of the cruelty in the late Uſurpation they ſhewed to his Majeſty in his being thus not led but driven into temptation by his Subjects, I am minded of applying to it, part of thoſe words in 1 *Samuel* c. 26. v. 10. of *David* to *Saul*, *If the Lord hath ſtirred thee up againſt me, let him accept an Offering, but if they be the Children of Men, curſed be they before the Lord, for they have driven me out this day from abiding in the Inheritance of the Lord, ſaying, go ſerve other Gods:* as to the meaning of which words, I ſhall conſult no Commentators among the *Critics* but ſhall rather take it from the *Aſſemblies Notes*, and I may ſay that in their Comment on it they write their own *Commentaries*, and they thus *à propos* ſay, *I am now driven ſo as I cannot be preſent in the Tabernacle to worſhip God and enjoy thoſe holy Priviledges, but am forced to wander from place to place, &c.* ſaying, go ſerve other Gods, *that is, tho not verbally yet really they have done it, and as much as in them lies, they have compelled me to Idolatry, by forcing me an Exile to fly into idolatrous Countries*, &c.

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It cannot have eſcaped the obſervation of a perſon ſo curious as your Lordſhip, that among the many allow'd ways of Puniſhment among the *Jews*, baniſhment was not one, and the reaſon thereof is ſuppoſed among the *Rabbinical* writers to be this: the Laws of the *Jews* and their *Religion* being the *ſame* thing, to have *baniſhed* men from their Country and the benefits of its *municipal* or Civil Law there, had been to have *baniſh'd* them from their Religion and the means of their ſalvation, and from doing with the *Jews* were ſo averſe that even the *Excommunicate* among them were not removed from all parts of the *Temple*, and were admitted there to a peculiar place. But this cruelty to Souls unknown even among the ſtiff-neck'd, hard hearted *Jews*, was by ſuch Chriſtians as pretended to the greateſt tenderneſs of Conſcience practiſed toward their *Soveraign*, and that to ſuch a degree that as if they deſigned that *the Lords Annointed the Breath of our Noſtrils* ſhould be only in the infectious *Air* of Popery, after they had exiled him from his own Proteſtant Realms, they effected by the power of the prevalent Faction in *Holland*, that he and his *R. H*'s and their Adherents ſhould be baniſh'd thence alſo: nay, out of *France* where the Air was leſs infected with *Popery*, into one more peſtilential, I mean into the Dominions of *Spain*.

If therefore there is any number of men in theſe Realms that owns the old *Scotch* Plat-form or Presbytery, and the former Methods to advance it here who ſhall be exceſſive in aggravating our danger of Popery, I ſhall think that herein they practiſe a great deal of Self-denial, and do not conſult their own reſt while they diſturb that of the World, and are of all men the moſt obliged to ſpeak ſoftly of that Subject.

But more then enuf hath been ſaid to argue the paucity of the number of ſuch in *England*. The Biſhops *Survey* of the number of the perverſe *Opiners* in Religion mentions that two or three are called *Self-willers* profeſſedly: and by that *number* of that Sect (for ought I know) may be meant ſo many of the lovers of the old *Plat-form*, and no name can better fit any who would maintain the Garriſon of an opinion after their Commanders have ſlighted it, then *Self-willers*.

But ſo much gratitude doth *Popery* now ſhew to *Presbytery* and to thoſe who are call'd *Presbyterians*, that becauſe they magnifie and enlarge the Numbers of the Papiſts on all occaſions, the Papiſts do the like for them. And becauſe 'tis now the *mode* of many *timid* Proteſtants to value themſelves upon their Timidity's, and on *the fear of the Papiſts and their numbers being falln upon them*, as if Chriſt who commanded his *little Flock* not to fear, could be pleaſed with his great Flock of Proteſtants here being in continual fear of *Antichriſts* little one, I ſhall now entertain your Lordſhip with an Account of the preſent number of the Papiſts here, and ſome little hiſtorical Glanſes about the gradual decreaſe thereof in this Realm in ſeveral conjunctures of time ſince the *Reformation*, and in every one of which the higheſt tide of their numbers hath been but introductive to their loweſt Ebb.

Of all Nations the *Engliſh* are obſerv'd to be the leaſt addicted either to fear or jealouſie. The Pencil of Nature hath in *Engliſh* minds on the dull and vile colour of fear (the which is ſaid to be *averſion* with the opinion of hurt from any object) laid on that more noble and bright one, which is ſaid to be the hope of avoiding that hurt by reſiſtance, and is called *Courage*: and this Age which is ſo inquiſitive into the Cauſes of things, will be naturally apt to abominate that *fear* that is cauſeleſs, or without the apprehenſion of *why* or *what*, and which from the Fables of *Pan* (as Mr. *Hobbs* ſaith) is called *Panic*-fear: and methinks the very *Engliſh genius* doth

doth now begin to rouze it ſelf up and call on us to weigh our fear, and if we find it juſt to prevent our being ſurprized by danger, and if cauſeleſs, to abandon it, according to the words of the *Orator* againſt *Catiline*, *Si verus nè opprimar, ſin falſus ut tandem aliquando timere deſinam*, and not to contribute to the encreaſing the numbers of the *Papiſts* which has in all times moſt fatally happen'd (and that too according to the courſe of Nature) by the fearing them, according to the Inſtance of the encreaſe of the number of the *Jews* mentioned in the Book of *Eſther*, where 'tis ſaid, *And many of the people of the Land became* Jews, *for the fear of the* Jews *fell upon them.*

On the account of our having moſt juſtly deſerved the *Viſitation* of Popery we may very reaſonably apprehend the danger of it: but the immoderate fear of the Plague is ſo far from being an Antidote againſt it that we uſe to ſay, it comes with a fear. And as we have juſtly deſerved to be puniſhed by the rage of Popery, ſo have we likewiſe to be tormented with thoſe Epidemic fears to which we are abandon'd, a Judgment mention'd by the Royal *Prophet*, where he ſays, *Put them in fear O Lord*, &c. and likewiſe one Concomitant of our *fear*, namely, the *ſhame* we are expoſed to for it from the Papiſts themſelves. An inſtance of it occurr'd to me in the Reading a Pamphlet call'd *the ſeaſonable Addreſs of the Church of* England *to both Houſes of Parliament*, Printed in the *Year* 1677, but writ by a *Papiſt* and in the way of *Sarcaſme*, where in *p.* 30. the *Author* ſaith, *And here I cannot omit to tell you that this partiality of our Rigor hath already given Proteſtants the confuſion and Papiſts the comfort to imagine that our fears and jealouſies of Popery which at preſent diſturb and diſtract the Nation, are but the ſelf ſame ſprights that haunted* Caiphas *his houſe, lay under the* Jews *Council-Table, and ſcared them with the* Romans *coming and overrunning their Countrey. There have been men of ſo weak a judgment that they have dyed only with the fear of death, and it is not without all ground that our Adverſaries now hope that we ſhall at length turn Papiſts with the fear of Popery.*

But that I am not heterodox in my Notion of Poperies not being now ſo formidable, by the ſtrength of its numbers as the timid Proteſtants make it, is ſufficiently manifeſt from the Conditional *Vote* of two Houſes of *Commons* relating to the being revenged on the Papiſts.

Part of the entertainment I juſt now promiſed your Lordſhip, I ſhall borrow from *Dr. Glanvile*, and for it do refer you to his *Zealous and Impartial Proteſtant*, p. 46, 47. where he ſaith, *in the year* 1676, *Orders came from the Archbiſhop to the ſeveral Biſhops, and from them to the reſpective Miniſters and Church-wardens in the Province of* Canterbury, *to enquire carefully and to return an Account of the diſtinct Numbers of Conformiſts, Nonconformiſts and Papiſts in their ſeveral Pariſhes*, viz. *Of all ſuch men and women that were of Age to Communicate*, &c.

The number of Papiſts there returned was but eleven thouſand, eight hundred and ſeventy. Now tho in this Account Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts were not ſo diſtinctly, could not ſo juſtly be reckon'd, yet for the Papiſts they being ſo few in each Pariſh and ſo notoriouſly diſtinguiſhed as generally they are, the Miniſters and Church-wardens could eaſily give account of them, and there is no reaſon to ſuſpect their partiality, &c.

In St. Martins *alone I have heard of twenty or thirty thouſand: but the Account was taken there and as exact a one as could be, and I am aſſured by ſome that ſhould know and had no reaſon to misinform me that the number return'd upon the moſt careful Scrutiny was about* 600. *I have found the like fallings ſhort of the reputed Number in divers other noted places. In one City talked of for Papiſts as if half the Inhabitants were ſuch, I am aſſured there are not twenty*

twenty Men and Women: In another large and popular one, a Perſon of Quality living in it told me, there were at leaſt 600, but when the enquiry was made by the Miniſters and Church-wardens in each Pariſh, the Number was not found to be 60; and 'tis very probable ſuch a diſproportion would be met between the reputed and real Numbers in all other places if Scrutiny were made. In all the Weſt and moſt Populous part of England *they are very inconſiderable. I hear frequently from Inhabitants of thoſe places, that in* Briſtol *the ſecond or third City of* England *there is but one, and in the City of* Gloceſter *one, or two at moſt: in the other great Towns and Cities Weſtward ſcarce any, and thoſe that are in the Counties at large are extremely few, thinly ſcatter'd, here one, and at the diſtance of many Miles, it may be another,* &c.

We hear of the vaſt Numbers in the North, and there are more no doubt in thoſe parts then in the Weſtern: but I believe they are much fewer then we hear, and no way able by their Numbers to make any kind of ballance for the exceeding diſproportion in the Weſt.

The truth is People are mightily given and generally ſo to multiply the Numbers of Papiſts, and they do it in common talk at leaſt ten-fold, &c. And after ſaith thereupon, *God forbid, I ſhould diminiſh the real force of our Enemies, or endeavour to render us ſecure in dangers. The Malignity and Principles of Papiſts, their unwearied zeal and diligence to overthrow our Religion, I very well know and thank God that the whole Kingdom is awakened to apprehend: but I think we ſhall encourage them and diſhearten our ſelves, if we over magnifie their ſtrength,* &c.

There came out in Print in *London* in the year 1680. a Sheet of Paper called *a Catalogue of the Names of ſuch Perſons as are or are reputed to be of the Romiſh Religion, not as yet Convicted, being Inhabitants within the County of* Middleſex, *Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter *and Weekly Bills of Mortality, exactly as they are ordered to be inſerted in the ſeveral Commiſſions appointed for the more ſpeedy Convicting of ſuch as ſhall be found of that Religion*; a Paper, that was not Publiſhed I think by a friend to the Papiſts: for the *Author* there Names them and the reſpective Pariſhes they lived in, and the total number of Men and Women there was 317, of which only one Man was there called *Monſieur*, tho yet ſix others ſeem'd to me there to be of *French* Names; and one there has a *Dutch* Name, and only one perſon is there call'd an *Italian*; ſo that notwithſtanding the great Cry of Forraign Papiſts in, and about *London*, they did but little more then make a *Number*: and the perſons there *reckoned* for St. *Martins* in the Fields are but 22, and for *Covent-Garden* but 4, where yet the *Biſhops Survey* makes 64, and for St. *Margarets Weſtminſter* that Printed Paper makes but 4, of which the Number it ſeem'd in 41, proved ſo dreadful to Juſtice *Howard.*

St. *Andrews Holborn* has in that Paper but 6, which in the *Biſhops Survey* has 13. St. *Giles in the Fields* has in that Paper but 23, which has in the *Biſhops Survey* 126. The *Savoy* in that *Paper* has but 6, which in the *Biſhops Survey* has juſt the ſame Number, and St. *Giles Cripplegate* has there but 2, which in the Biſhops Survey has 20.

Of the care that was probably taken in thoſe Pariſhes in *London* that made Returns in that Survey, *Covent-Garden*-Pariſh, and ſome others are Inſtances in one thing, namely that there are near ſo many houſes as Returns are made for, or not many more. Thus in *Covent-Garden* the Conformiſts return'd are 790: the Papiſts 64, the Nonconformiſts 6: and ſo Servants and Children and Lodgers being not return'd (as *Dr. Glanvile* ſaith,) the perſons of Men and their Wives return'd in all there, are 860, which agrees pretty well with the number of houſes there which are about 460.

I ſuppoſe that Printed Paper by the Number of Inhabitants included only Houſe-keepers as the Biſhops Survey did, and tho it is not to be doubted but that when that Survey was made, there were in the reſpective Dioceſſes, Deaneries and Pariſhes therein return'd, at leaſt the full Number of the Papiſts therein mention'd, yet the Popiſh Plot about two years after occaſioning the other Paper, it may be ſuppoſed that what by many Popiſh Families removing out of the Realm, and what by many of them coming to our Churches, the Number of the Popiſh Recuſants did there conſiderably decreaſe, as it has from the beginning of the *Reformation* gradually done, unleſs in ſome particular Intervals, or *Conjunctures*, and is likely ſo to do, till the uncouthneſs and ſtrangeneſs of their Principles and Scarcity of the perſons that own them ſhall make them *tolerable* as *Rarities*.

I did before in this Letter thus far accord with Mr. *Nye* that *Popery* ſince the Reformation may have ſometimes acquired a new vigour, and that it hath not always ſince its firſt aſſaults againſt Popery gain'd ground of it proportionably, but whatever the Fate of the Ejected *Puritan* Divines in Queen *Elizabeth*'s days was, and whether deſerv'd or not, and properly or not timed, I enquire not (tho yet in our days the plenty of Conformiſt Divines is ſuch viſibly that the ſupply of all our good Livings needs not crave Aid from *Diſſenters*) but do on all thoughts made perſiſt in my opinion, that Proteſtancy hath ſince its being firſt eſpous'd here as a Religion propagated it ſelf by the great encreaſe of its followers, except in ſome infectious Intervals of time, as I may call them.

Thus tho the *Obſarvator* on the *Bills* of Mortality hath taught us as aforeſaid that every Marriage with another produceth four Children, yet in times of *Peſtilence* (we are told by him) that the *Chriſtnings decreaſe, and that a Diſpoſition in the Air toward the Plague doth alſo diſpoſe Women to Abortion*, and conſidering this, we may well infer, when the *Burials* do much exceed the *Births* in any City *reverâ* (and not ſeemingly, by the not Regiſtring all the Births) that tho the *Bills* of Mortality tell us that there dyed then none of the Plague, and that there were then *Pariſhes* infected with the Plague *none*, yet there is then a *Peſtilence* there Reigning. And thus is it a *Peſtilential* time with a Church, when more Apoſtatiſe from it then are born or as I may ſay regenerated into it, or converted; and therefore by ſuch *times* we are not to eſtimate the encreaſe of the propagation of the Numbers of the Church of *England*.

There was a time in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign that the Reformation was honour'd by all *Englands* populace, being of a piece almoſt, and worſhiping God in the way preſcribed *with one heart and one mind:* and then as we are told by Sir *Ro. Cotton*, p. 42, and 43. *Of his conſiderations for repreſſing the encreaſe of Papiſts, till the* 11th *of her Reign, a Recuſants name was ſcarce known*, &c. *the name of a Papiſt ſmelt rank even in their own Noſtrils, and for pure ſhame to be accounted ſuch, they reſorted duly to our Churches: but when they ſaw their great* Coriphæus Sanders *had fully pinn'd the Name of* Puritans *on the Sleeves of Proteſtants that encountred them with moſt courage and perceived that the word was pleaſing to ſome of our own ſide*, &c. That (ſaith he) *brought plenty of water to the Popes Mill, and there will moſt Men grind where they ſee appearance to be well ſerv'd.*

But the accidental encreaſe of their Numbers in any *Conjuncture* was carefully regarded by the State, and to this purpoſe we are told it in *Heywood Townſends* Collections, that *Dr. Bennet acquainted the Houſe of Commons that there were* 1500 *Recuſants in* Yorkſhire, *which he vouched upon his*

Credit

Credit were presented in the Ecclesiastical Court, and before the Council at York.

Popery it seems then gain'd ground in the poor *North*, having left it in the warm *South*, and to this day in the Northern parts of *England* where the *Livings* generally are poor, the light of the Gospel hath not quite dissipated the Mists of Popery, in somuch that if any one shall tell me that the *Province* of *York* which bears but a 6*th* part of the Taxes, and hath not in it much above a 6*th* part of the people that the *Province* of *Canterbury* hath, yet contains at least the half of the number of Papists that the Province of *Canterbury* doth, I shall not contradict his Estimate.

It is the Observation of Dr. *Fuller* in his *Church History* of the part of *England*, *Trent North*, *that 'tis scarce a third of* England *in ground, but almost the half thereof for the growth of Recusants therein.*

And thus as the *Observator* on the Bills of Mortality hath observed that *Northern as well as Southern Countries are infected with great Plagues, altho in the Southern Countries they are more vehement and do begin and end more suddenly*, it may be said that the infection of Popery doth yet continue in our Northern parts.

But that the Papists valued themselves on their numbers throughout *England*, toward the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, appears out of that Pestilential Book of *Father Parsons* about the *Succession, part.* 2d, where he weighs the several parties of *England* in the Ballance of State, and saith, *It is well known that in the Realm of* England *at this day there are three different and opposite Bodies of Religion, that are of most bulk and do carry most sway and power which three Bodies are commonly known by the Names of Protestant, Puritants and Papists:* and afterward speaking of the *Great Power of the Protestant Party for wealth and force.* He saith p. 140. *A chief Member of the Protestant Body is the Clergy of* England, *especially the Bishops and the other Men in Ecclesiastical Dignities which are like to be a great back to this Party at that day*, &c. meaning the time after the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, when her Successor should enter on the Stage: and then having weighed the *Puritan* Party and its interest, he saith, *The third Body of Religion which are those of the* Roman *who call themselves Catholicks, which is the least in shew at this present by reason of the Laws and Tides of the time that run against them, yet are they of no small consideration in this Affair to him that weighs things indifferently, and this in respect as well of their Party at home as their friends abroad: for at home they being of two sorts as the World knows, the one more open that discover themselves, which are the Recusants, and the other more close and privy that accommodate themselves to all external proceedings of the time and State, so as they cannot be known or at leastwise not much touch'd, we may imagine that their Number is not small throughout the Realm*, &c.

The Vigour of the hopes that *Popery* had in that *Conjuncture* appears out of that great Historical Letter of *D' Ossat* to his *King*, Anno 1601, where he makes such a judicious abstract of this *goodly Book of Parsons* (for so he calls it *Ce beau livre*) and Animadversions on it, and saith, *'Tis about four years ago that the Pope did Create in* England *a certain Arcipreſtre to the end that all Ecclesiasticks and Catholicks of the Realm should have one to whom to go and have recourse about the things relating to the Catholick Religion, and by means thereof to be united among themselves, and to understand what shall be good to be done for their preservation and the re-establishment of the Catholick Religion, and some have given his Holiness to understand that by that means he would make a great Party of the Catholicks in* England *for what he would effect*, and then acquaints the King, *That the Pope had sent three Briefs to his*

his Nuntio in the Low-Countreys for him to keep till the death of Queen Elizabeth, *and after that to ſend them to* England, *one to the Eccleſiaſticks, another to the Nobility, and another to the third Eſtate; by which the ſaid three Eſtates are admoniſhed and exhorted by his Holineſs to remain united together to receive a Catholick King that his Holineſs ſhall name, and ſuch a one who ſhall appear acceptable to them and honourable, and all this for the Honour and Glory of God, and for the reſtoring the Catholick Religion,&c.*

Here was it ſeems one *Brief* more ſent to *England* then Mr. *Marvel* mentions in his *Growth of Popery*, where he ſaith, *That the Pope ſent two Briefs in order to exclude King* James *from the Succeſſion to the Crown.*

In fine, *Popery* was in a Storm during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and in it the Papiſts were ſometimes *carried up to the Skyes, and then down again*, and in their Enterprizes with variety of ſucceſs in ſome conjunctures, their fortune was *to reel to and fro and ſtagger like a drunken man*; and as in a Storm many *hands* are neceſſary, ſo on the whole matter they found need of the numbers of more *hands* then they could command, and their Numbers decreaſed in the ballance of the people here, as much by the King of *Spains* Ambition, as did the *numbers* of the Papiſts in the United Provinces thereby.

And as they look'd big on the account of their numbers in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, ſo they did in the beginning of King *James*'s: and as *D' Oſſat* ſaid in that Letter to *Villeroy* of *April* 2d, 1603. *You will find that the* Spaniards *who are moſt troulled about this Event* (meaning of the Succeſſion) *will be the firſt to Congratulate the King of* Scotland, ſo it happen'd here with the *Papiſts*, as appears by a *Book* in 4*to*, Printed for *Joſeph Barnes* at *Oxford*, *Anno* 1604 called, *A Conſideration of the Papiſts Reaſons of State and Religion for toleration of Popery in* England, *intimated in their ſupplication to the Kings Majeſty and the States of the preſent Parliament*, where in their *Supplication* at large Printed they in the beginning thereof in a profeſſion too as *inauſpicious* as was poſſibly, ſay that *His Majeſties direct Title to the Imperial Crown of the Realm both by Lineal Deſcent and Priority of Blood, and your Highneſs moſt quiet acceſs to the ſame do exceedingly poſſeſs and englad our hearts.*

The *Tide* of the *Succeſſion* againſt which they had ſtriven was made by Fate to run ſmooth and clear, and they were reſolved to appear on the *Surface* of it with a *nos poma natamus.*

Gabriel Powel of St. *Maryhall* in *Oxford*, the Publiſher of that Book ſaith in his *Animadverſion* on the ſaid beginning of that *ſupplication*, *How can Papiſts without bluſhing acknowledge his Majeſties Title to the Crown of* England *to be direct, ſeeing they have heretofore moſt indirectly and moſt unjuſtly oppugned the ſame; which Traiterous* Parſons *confeſſeth albeit for excuſe, he aſſureth himſelf that whatſoever hath been ſaid, writ or done by any Catholick againſt his Majeſty which with ſome others might breed diſguſt, hath been directed to this end, to make his Majeſty firſt a Catholick and then our King, as if Treaſon and Treachery againſt his Highneſs could make him a Catholick, and impugning of his direct and juſt Title, tended to make him King.* Rob. Parſons *in his Treatiſe of three Converſions in the dedicat. Addition to the Catholicks.*

But tho they gave themſelves (as it were) an *Act* of *Oblivion* as to the many Treaſons of *Parſons* his Book of the *Succeſſion*, yet in this *ſupplication* they forgot not again in effect to uſe *Parſons* his *diviſion* of the people of *England* into three *parts*, and ſo to ſhape the Eſtimates of their *Numbers*: and they ſay in their *firſt reaſon of State*, *the World knows that there are three Kinds of Subjects in the Realm, the Proteſtant, the Puritan and the Catholicks affected*

affected, and by general report the ſubject Catholickly affected is not inferiour to the Proteſtant, or Puritan either in number or alliance, &c. And ſaith *Powel* in his *Notes* on that *Clauſe, If by Catholickly affected you mean plainly Papiſts, the World knows that in compariſon of the Proteſtants they are but as it were a handful of Thieves among honeſt Subjects, however you are bold to brag that at this preſent there are within the Realm more Catholicks and Catholick Prieſts then there were forty years ſince. Math. Kelliſon* in his *Survey* in the *Epiſt. dedic. almoſt at the latter end.*

They afterward in their *Supplication* uſe the word *Catholickly affected* to make it comprehenſive of both parts of *Parſons* his diſtinction of Papiſts, more open, and cloſe, and therein have the honour of the *Invention* of the *Phraſe* of *Popiſhly affected*, that hath ſo much gall'd them ſince, and at this day continues to do: and I ſhall accord with them that the Number of *Papiſts* or of *Popiſhly affected* was apparently grown great in the *juncture* of time, after King *James* came here to the Crown: but 'tis not deniable that after the *Epoche* of the *Gun-powder-Treaſon*, it did more ſenſibly decreaſe; for they cannot ſay that by the intended blow from the *Gun powder*, they *deſigned to make him Catholick in order to make him continue a King.*

The *Dean* of *Bangor* in his excellent *Sermon* in *Print*, and Preached at St. *Martins* on the *5th* of *November*, 1678. Speaking, p. 29, of the Conſpirators in the *Gun-powder-Treaſon* ſaith judiciouſly, *For the Number I believe the deſign it ſelf was known to few, but that there was a deſign was known to many more. King* James *himſelf tells us ſo in* his works, p. 291. *A great number of my Popiſh Subjects of all Ranks and Sorts both Men and Women as well within as without the Country, had a confuſed Notion and obſcure knowledge that ſome great thing was to be done in that Parliament for the Weal of the Church, tho for Secreſies ſake they were not to be acquainted with the particulars.*

And no doubt but that great Number took occaſion to ſlip their Necks out of the Collar of Miſpriſion of *Religion* as well as of *Treaſon* thereupon, and a vaſt encreaſe of the Numbers of the Proteſtants was thereby occaſioned. But there afterward appeared another *Conjuncture* of time in which the *Catholickly affected* did in his Reign multiply in the which however *implicit faith* could never come ſo much in faſhion but that (as *Gondomar* obſerved in the Kings Chappel) *when ever the Preacher quoted Texts of Scripture, the Auditors would immediately turn to their Bibles to find them.*

Mr. *Pryn* ſaith in his *Introduction to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury's *Tryal*, p. 13. *That the number of Prieſts and Popiſh Recuſants enlarged out of Dureſs by King* James, *if we may believe* Gondomars *Letter from hence to the King of* Spain, *or the Letter of* Serica *that Kings Secretary, Dated from* Madrid, July *7th*, 1622, to Mr. *Cottington was no leſs then* 4000. He had before in *p.* 10. and 12. ſet down *the Petition and Remonſtrance intended to be ſent to King* James *by the Houſe of Commons in* December 1621, where among other things 'tis ſaid, *That the Popiſh Recuſants were then dangerouſly encreas'd in their Numbers*, and complaint is made of the *ſwarm of Prieſts and Jeſuites diſperſed in all parts of the Kingdom.*

'Tis probable that not many Papiſts except Prieſts were then impriſon'd, and it may be conceived that the Number of Prieſts who eſcaped the Net of Impriſonment was more then double to that which was took therein, and that the Number of Lay-Papiſts was very growing in that Conjuncture.

Mr. *John Gee*'s Book of the *Foot out of the Snare* of the 4th *Edition* Printed in *London*, 1624. mentions the Names of many Romiſh Prieſts

and Jeſuites reſident about *London* in that year, and begins with the Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, and ſhortly after him mentions *Collington* the Titular *Arch-Deacon* of *London*, and *Wright Treaſurer* for the *Jeſuites*, and *Smith Vicar-General* for the *South* parts of *England*, and *Broughton Vicar-General* for the *North* parts of *England*, and *Bennet Vicar-General* for the *Weſt* parts of *England*, and the whole Number of them there named together with the places of their Lodging, is two hundred ſixty one: and the number of the *Jeſuites* out of that *Total* is 72. Moreover out of that *Total* he mentions only 3 as having been formerly in Priſon in *England*, and but one who was at that time in Priſon. At the end of the *Catalogue* of the *Prieſts* there he ſaith, *Theſe be all the Birds of this feather which have come to my Eye or Knowledge by Name*, &c. *yet above four times ſo many there are that overſpread our Thickets through* England *as appears by the empty Neſts beyond Sea, from whence they have flown by Shoals of late, I mean the Seminary Colledges which have deeply disgorged by ſeveral Miſſions of them, as alſo is gathered by particular Computation of their divided Troops: when as in one Shire where I have abode ſometime they are reputed to neſtle almoſt three hundred of this Brood.*

In the following Pages he there Prints a *Catalogue* of Popiſh *Phyſitians* in, and about the City of *London*, and makes the Number of them 27; and no doubt but that in that *Conjuncture* of time the number of Papiſts encreaſing, there were enow Patients of that perſuaſion to afford Livelyhoods to ſo many Phyſitians.

In that *Book* immediately after *p.* 116. he Prints a *Catalogue* of ſuch *Engliſh* Books that he knew of to have been Printed, reprinted or diſpers'd by the Prieſts and their Agents in *England* within two years laſt paſt or thereabout, *viz.* 156.

So fortunate was that *Conjuncture* to the Papiſts then that the odious Name of *Puritan* was beſtowed on any of the Magiſtrates that went to put any Laws in execution againſt Popery, as we find it from Sir *R. Cotton* in his *ſerious Conſiderations for repreſſing of the encreaſe of Jeſuites, Prieſts, and Papiſts without ſhedding of blood*, p. 33. his words there are, *There is no ſmall Number that ſtand doubtful whether it be a grateful work to croſs Popery or that it may be done ſafely without a foul aſperſion of Puritaniſme, or a ſhrew'd turn for their labour at ſome times or other*, &c.

In *the Petition and Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons* in *December* 1621 before mentioned, among the *Cauſes of the growing miſchiefs here* the fifth Paragraph aſſignes one what would make Popery very prolific with Proſelytes here, viz. *The ſtrange Confederacy of the Princes of the Popiſh Religion aiming mainly at the advancement of theirs and ſubverting ours*, &c. and another is aſſigned in the *6th Paragraph*, viz. *The great and many Armies raiſed and maintained at the Charge of the King of* Spain, *the chief of that League*, and another in §. 8th, *The interpoſing of Forraign Princes and their Agents in the behalf of Popiſh Recuſants for Connivance and Favours to them.*

But in fine, in King *James* his Reign, the *groſs* of the Number of the Proteſtants was generally reckoned to be ten *times* greater then the *Papiſts*, the which is hinted in the *Poſthuma* of *Cotton* who then ſaid, *To what purpoſe ſhews it to muſter the Names of the Proteſtants, and to vaunt them to be ten for one of the Roman Faction.*

In the Reign of the Royal Martyr their Numbers decreaſed faſter in many *active* Conjunctures of time then they encreaſed in any lazy one. The Author of the *Regal Apology*, and ſuppoſed to be Doctor *Bate* the *Phyſitian* ſaith in *p.* 39. *It is well known there are not* 24000 *Papiſts Convicted*

ed in all England *and* Wales: And if we ſhould ſuppoſe the Number of the Papiſts then not Convicted to be double to that of the Convicted, yet would ſuch their number appear conſiderably dwindled from what it was ſwoln to in any *Conjuncture* before in King *James*'s Reign. And I believe if our Civil Wars had not happen'd, one *Canon* even of the *Convocation* of 1640, as ill as that Convocation heard among many, I mean the third *Canon* would have effected the extermination of Popery from *England* in the Reign of the Royal Martyr.

The Title of the *Canon* is for *Suppreſſing of the growth of Popery.* No doubt but a little before that time Popery did again *lift up his head* as if its *Redemption were to draw* nigh in *Ireland* and *England*, and therefore the *Convocation* then with great conduct and skill did lead up our Eccleſiaſtical *Hierarchy* to confront its *growth*: and I do not remember to have found that Phraſe of the *growth of Popery* (which has in later days ſo filled our Mouths) uſed in any *Author* before the writing of that *Canon*: and do think that all the *Committees* that have been appointed to prevent the *growth of Popery*, or Books of that Subject have not produced to the World any means or expedient ſo likely to make Popery have done growing here, as is the excellent *Scheme* for that purpoſe drawn in that *Canon*, and which when ever it ſhall be with vigour executed will make our fears grow out of faſhion either of the number of the Arguments of the Papiſts, or of the Argument of their Numbers.

That ſince that Reſtoration of our King and Laws, and of the diſcipline of our Church, a Conjuncture hap'ned that made the barren Womb of Popery here fruitful of Numbers none will deny, who conſider how all our great *Divines* of the Church of *England* did ſo lately *lift up their voices like a Trumpet* againſt it, as I before obſerved.

In the account of the Numbers of the perſwaſions in Religion in the *Province* of *Canterbury* that Dr. *Glanvile* ſaid he had ſeen, and which is contained in a Sheet of Paper, among the nine Preliminary *Obſervations*, the firſt is, *That many left the Church upon the late indulgence who before did frequent it.*

I believe by the many there are meant thoſe that *veer'd* toward *Popery*, and I ſuppoſe that few had for ſeveral precedent years repaired thither from fear of the Penal Laws.

We have a *Remark* given us by that *Learned* States-man and Noble Confeſſor of the Church of *England*, the *Earl of Clarendon* in his judicious *Animadverſions* printed *Anno* 1673, on *Creſsy*'s Book againſt Dr. *Stillingfleet*, *That the rude and boiſterous behaviour of ſome of the* Roman *Catholicks here diſturbed the happy Calm they all enjoyed, and the vanity and folly of others made that ill uſe of the Kings bounty and generoſity toward them, that they endeavoured to make it believ'd that it proceeded not from Charity and Compaſſion toward their perſons, but from affection to their Religion, and took upon them to reproach the Church of* England *and all who adhered to it, as if they had been in a condition as well as a diſpoſition to oppreſs it, and to affront and diſcountenance all who would adhere to it, and ſo alienated the affections of thoſe who deſired they ſhould not be diſquieted and kindled a jealouſie in others, who had believed that they were willing to attempt it, and had more power to compaſs it then was diſcerned*, &c. *and this miſchief the wiſeſt and ſoberest Catholicks of* England *have long foreſeen, would be the effect of that petulant and unruly Spirit that ſway'd too much among them, and did all they could to reſtrain it*, &c. And afterward ſaith, *As if they could ſubdue the whole Kingdom and ſo care not whom they provoke.*

A friend of mine in the Kings Loyal long Parliament wrote to me for News after one of their Seſſions, that the *Speaker* of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Seymour* opening according to the cuſtomary manner in a publick Speech to his Majeſty in the Houſe of Lords, the nature of the *Bills* then ready for the Royal Aſſent, ſpake thus concerning that ſharp one that will forever here cut Popery to the quick, *viz. And for the ſeverity of this Bill to the Papiſts, they may thank their own petulant inſolence.*

The word *petulant* being very ſignificant, and importing *ſawcy, malepert, impudent, reproachful, ready to do wrong*, one would ſuppoſe that thoſe two great obſerving perſons would not apply it to any body of men without juſt occaſion.

It ſeems the Houſe of Commons at their next Seſſion in an *Addreſs* to the King, *October* 31. 1673. had this Clauſe, *That for another age at the leaſt this Kingdom will be under continual apprehenſions of the growth of Popery, and the danger of the Proteſtant Religion*, and in an Addreſs to his Majeſty, *November* the 3*d*, 1673. Speaking of the Popiſh Recuſants, they have theſe words, *whoſe numbers and inſolencies are greatly of late encreaſed*, &c.

It was then high time for that Great Miniſter of the *King*, the *Earl of Danby* when he ſaw that of all Diſſenters chiefly the Popiſh ones had faſcinated ſo many with a belief of their Numbers, to cauſe that great enquiry into them to be made, and it was his fortune by the very enquiry to ſtrip the Papiſts of many of their valued number, for the very next obſervation to that I before mentioned is this, *The ſending forth theſe Enquiries has cauſed many to frequent the Church.*

Alſted in his Chronology ventures to ſay, *p.* 112. *David ex merâ* πολυπραγμοσύνη *numerat populum*, and the thing perhaps done with an ill intent was puniſh'd with a Plague from God: but the Fact of our Noble and Profound States-man did abate the Plague of the late *Conjuncture* of pragmatical inſolence, and too the Plague of the fear of Papiſts that was then ſo epidemical among Proteſtants, and did in effect conſole us as with the words of *Eliſha*, viz. *Fear not for they that be with us are more then they that be with them:* and indeed the numbering of people in the Bills of Mortality who dye of the Plague is not more neceſſary to the State, then is the numbring of the Souls infected in any *Conjuncture* with deſtructive opinions, and the omiſſion thereof in a publick *Miniſter* when ever it ſhould be as neceſſary as at that time it was, would appear in him a *Lethargy* that would be as Penal as a Plague to a Kingdom.

That uſeful undertaking of his Lordſhip as it was worthy of his very great abilities, and vigilance for the publick, ſo was it of the great power he had in the Government, and could not have been conducted ſo far as it was by any private perſons: the Book called *Popery abſolutely deſtructive to Monarchy*, printed in *London* in the year 1673. ſhews the danger of ordinary Magiſtrates intermedling with the numbers of Papiſts in particular Pariſhes, by inſtancing *p.* 115. how *when the long Parliament was firſt call'd, Juſtice* Howard *was ordered to deliver up a Catalogue of all Recuſants within the Liberties of* Weſtminſter, *to prevent which Mr.* John James *a Zealous Popiſt ſtabb'd the Juſtice in* Weſtminſter-hall: and Sir *George Wharton* in his *Geſta Britannorum* ſaith *Anno* 1640. *November* 21. *Juſtice* Howard *aſſaulted and ſtabb'd in* Weſtminſter-hall. It ſeems that *Juſtice* of Peace as well as *Juſtice* Godfry *found what it was to anger St.* Peter, and ſo has that Noble *Earl* done (I believe) by ſome Papiſts murdering his reputation and *ſhamming* the Blood of *Godfry* on him in vallanous Pamphlets, of which I

hear

hear that 32000 were diſperſed in one Week, and that it appeared at an *Honourable Committee* that no inconſiderable quantity of them was diſperſ'd by *Celier*.

'Tis probable that the time that was taken for diſcovering the number both of Papiſts and other Diſſenters was moſt proper, in regard that the Declaration of Indulgence viſiting them as with a Sun-ſhine after the Rain, invited them out of their Receſſes to appear abroad viſibly, and as the words of the Scripture in another ſence are, *To move out of their holes like Worms of the Earth.* And as if any man would give himſelf the trouble to eſſay the numbring of the Worms that are in the Earth, the propereſt time for that his affected Curioſity would be after the Rain making the earth ſoft, and the Sun then warming it had invited thoſe Animals to come out of the Earth, the which lye within a few Foot of the Surface of it; ſo for the above reaſon was the inveſtigation of the numbers of the Papiſts moſt properly timed.

I am therefore of opinion with the aforeſaid Dr. *That the number of the Papiſts was near the matter retain'd with truth,* and that their number is ſtill waining and will be ſo more and more, but in ſome accidental Conjunctures of time.

A late Author hath publiſh't it, *That in* England *in theſe twenty years laſt paſt* 250 *Families of the Gentry and* 12 *of the Nobility have quitted the profeſſion of Popery.*

And if any one ſhall affirm, as ſome conſiderate Papiſts have done, that the number here of ſecret Papiſts and who go not to Maſs is as great as the number of the profeſſed ones, I ſhall ſay that the number of the people of *England* having been in this Diſcourſe repreſented ſo much greater then it was in former Eſtimates, the number of ſecret Papiſts caſt into that of the known ones will perhaps ſignifie little more then the duſt in the Ballance of the Nation.

Their Numbers that did ſomewhat encreaſe in the beginning of the Conjuncture of their *petulant Inſolence* that went before the time of the Popiſh Plot, as the Purples, Small-pox and other Malignant Diſeaſes forerun the Plague, did ſenſibly and ſuddenly decay by the change of the Air, that the Loyal long Parliament and its *Act* of the *Teſt* made, juſt as the *Obſervator* of the Bills of Mortality hath let us ſee that by the reaſon of the changes and diſpoſitions in the Air, the Plague doth by ſudden Jumps ſtart back in a very few days time from vaſt numbers to very ſmall ones: inſomuch that preſently after the breaking out of the Plot they took the advantage of the detection of the paucity of their Numbers, that the *Earl of Danby's* aforeſaid Prudence had made, as thence to raiſe an Argument *ab impoſſibili* that they ſhould deſign a Plot to turn the Tide of Nature in the Nation.

And thus as Men once paſs'd the valuing themſelves on the Charmes and Vigour of Youth, do it for the Reverence of their Old Age, and hope to be the better treated as Gueſts in the World for the ſhortneſs of the time they are to ſtay in it, they did reſemblingly too look big upon the ſmallneſs of their *Numbers*. The *Author* therefore of the *Compendium* printed *Anno* 1679 tells us, *à propos* p. 85, *That there are not* 50000 *of the Roman Catholick Religion in* England, *Men, Women and Children*, and that agrees well enough with the *Surveys* of the Numbers of thoſe of that Religion in the Province of *Canterbury* of the Age of Communicants; and admitting the Total of ſuch to be doubled on the account of *Papiſts* below the Age of *Sixteen*, an account that ought to be admitted, the *Obſervator* on the Bills of Mortality having taught us (as aforeſaid) that there are in nature about as many under the Age of 16, as above it, and with the making the Total of all the Papiſts in the Province of *York*, according to *Fuller*,

equal to that in the Province of *Canterbury*, the number of the Papiſts throughout *England* will appear to be probably near what the *Author* of the *Compendium* hath eſtimated.

That their Numbers did conſiderably decreaſe after the *fermentation* in peoples minds relating to Religion followed the *Declaration* of *Indulgence*, and after the ſeverity of the Parliament to Papiſts thereby occaſion'd, a convincing Argument may be had from the *Letters* of Mr. *Coleman*, the which did confute ſeveral imputations of it in Mr. *Marvel's Growth of Popery* to the King's Miniſters, better than any *Apologies* could have done, and has enabled Fame to Trumpet them forth to Poſterity as *Confeſſors*, whom Envy here whiſper'd to be *Traditors*; and let the preſent Age ſee that their alledged *Cloſing* with Popery, was but in the way of contending *Wreſtlers*, and not of friendly *Embracers*: And no doubt then but the many Dependants and Followers thoſe Miniſters had, and the Candidates for their favour and expectants of Offices thereby, were then Enemies to all implicit Faith, but only for what they thought the Religion of their *Chiefs*.

In his *Letter* to *le Cheeſe* of *September* 29, 1675, He ſaith, *That the Lord Treaſurer, Lord Keeper, and Duke of* Lauderdale *were become as fierce Apoſtles and as Zealous for Proteſtant Religion and againſt Popery, as ever my Lord* Arlington *was before them, and in purſuance thereof perſwaded the King to iſſue out thoſe ſevere Orders and Proclamations againſt Catholicks, which came out in* February *laſt, by which they did as much as in them lay to extirpate all Catholicks and Catholick Religion out of the Kingdom.* And he in his *Letter* to the *Internuntio* of the 5th of *February* 167⅘ tells him, *That the King had ſign'd a Proclamation laſt* Wedneſday *to baniſh all the Prieſts, Natives of this Kingdom, to forbid all Subjects to hear Maſs in the Queens Chappel, and at the Houſes of Ambaſſadors, to bring home all the Youth that is now out of the Kingdom in any Popiſh Colledges, to proſecute all Perſons, as to their Eſtates, according to the Laws, which are ſo inſupportable, that 'tis impoſſible for any that is reach'd by them to have wherewithal to eat Bread, if they be executed according to the ſaid Proclamation.*

It was but about *October* 1673, that the Houſe of *Commons* in an *Addreſs* to the King, took occaſion to ſay, *It is now more then one Age that the Subjects have lived in continual apprehenſions of the encreaſe of Popery, and the decay of the Proteſtant Religion*; but what Mr. *Coleman's* apprehenſions were of the *Growth* of Popery on the 5th of *February* 1674, I have ſhewn before, and am of opinion, That though poſſibly in the following courſe of time to the birth of the Popiſh Plot, the coming of many *Romiſh* Miſſionaries here might make ſome acceſſion to the Number of the Papiſts, that however the Laity of them, here Inhabitants, hath in its Numbers ſenſibly decreaſed, and will do ſo more and more, till the moſt *timid* Proteſtants ſhall be no more aggrieved at their Number, then of that of the *Muggletonians*, or of the *Sweet Singers* of *Iſrael*.

That the diſcovery of the Popiſh *Plot* hath had a natural Tendency to the abating the Number of their perſwaſion, muſt be granted by all who believe there was one, and who know that the bluſtring attempts of the Conſpirators to ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion, and which have therein failed, muſt end in the better ſettlement of it, as all Storms that do not overthrow a Tree confirm its growth.

Mr. *Care* in his *Hiſtory of the Popiſh Plot*, mentions, *That the Jeſuites and Seminary Prieſts in* England *at the time of the Plot were about* 1800, a Number far inferior to that in the Conjuncture in King *James's* time before mention'd: And ſhort of the Number mention'd by *Prynne* in a Book

of

of his, Printed *Anno* 1659, called *A True and Perfect Narrative of what was done, ſpoken by and between Mr.* Prynne, *the old and new forcibly Secluded Members, and thoſe now ſitting*, &c. where he ſaith, *p.* 44, *That an* Engliſh *Lord return'd from* Rome *about four years ſince averr'd, that the Provincial of the* Engliſh *Jeſuites, when he went to ſee the Colledge in* Rome, *aſſured him, That they had then above* 1500 *of their Society of Jeſuites in* England *able to work in ſeveral Profeſſions and Trades which they had there taken upon them, the better to Support and Secure themſelves from being diſcovered, and infuſe their Principles into the vulgar People.*

Mr. *Coleman* complains of a *Conjuncture* as to Popery that he writ in, that *tho the Harveſt was great, the Labourers were very few*; but Mr. *Prynne* ſuppoſeth the *Labouring* Jeſuites who wrought in the Trade of Religion, and in other Trades too, were here after the year 50 above 1500; and it may therefore be well conceived that there were many Jeſuites here beſide who could only manage their Tools in the former Trade, and perhaps as many Seminary Prieſts as Jeſuites: And no doubt without ſome hint of notification from ſome one of the *Jeſuits* Provincials, their Number in any Proteſtant State can hardly be conjectured, in regard of their *Proteus*-like varying their Shapes, accordingly as a Deſcription of them is given in the Book called, *The Emperor and the Empire betray'd*, where 'tis ſaid, *There are in the Society of Jeſus Men of ſeveral ſorts, ſome of which are diſpens'd with not only to lay aſide the Habit, but to marry and bear all ſorts of Dignities*; and he further preſumes to ſay, *That the Emperor was thus in this Order in his younger days.*

Mr. *Prynne* in *p.* 42. of that Book averrs, That *Oliver Cromwel* declared to his Parliament *Anno* 1654, *That the Emiſſaries of the Jeſuites then came over in great ſwarms, and that they had then fixed in* England *an Epiſcopal Power, with Arch-Deacons and other Perſons to pervert the People*: a thing they never ſince the Reformation, I think, attempted in any *Conjuncture* till *Quarto Caroli*, and then (as appears out of *Ruſhworth*'s Collections) in a Conference between the Lords and Commons, and managed by Secretary *Cook*, he ſaid, *There was at that time a Popiſh Hierarchy eſtabliſhed in* England, *that they had a Biſhop Conſecrated by the Pope, and that Biſhop had his ſubalternate Officers of all kinds, as Vicars General, Arch-Deacons, Rural Deans, Apparitors, and that they were not Nominal or Titular Officers only, but they all Executed their Juriſdictions, and made their ordinary Viſitations throughout the Kingdom, kept Courts, and determin'd Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.*

But it appears not that they had any ſuch *Hierarchy* here at the time of the *Plot*, or that they have any thing like it at this time in this Realm.

Mr. *Prynne* tells us in *p.* 49. of that Book, That in that *Conjuncture* in *Cromwel's* time *above* 30000 *Popiſh Pamphlets were permitted to be Printed and Vended in* England, *and that of this the* London *Stationers complain'd in Print.*

But 'tis very little that they have Printed here ſince the King's Reſtauration, and the ſame private Preſſes which gave Birth to the few Pamphlets they printed, would have done it to as many Volumes as ever *Toſtatus*, as Mr. *Prynne* writ, if they had pleaſed.

The great Number of the Proteſtants muſt ſtill be naturally attractive of the leſſer to it, for the preſervation of their Perſons, tho at the price of the diminution of their Numbers, as a drop is beſt preſerved in the Sea, tho it be there ſwallowed up. This Notion is well confirm'd by *Edmund Spencer* in his Obſervations of the *Hiſtory* of *Ireland* in former times, where he ſhews in what courſe of time a handful of *Engliſh*, planted among the

Numerous

Numerous *Iriſh* muſt of neceſſity become *Iriſh*, as indeed his own Family there did, as I am told, and that *Cromwel* ſpeaking to the Grand-child of *Spencer* in *Engliſh*, that on the account of the Fame of his Anceſtor he ſhould enjoy his Eſtate, was not by him underſtood.

And there is no doubt but time will illuminate the Papiſts as to the Pope's *Politicks* being inconvenient to them, and only convenient to himſelf: For the ſame Principle in Politicks that makes every leſſer State have a regret againſt being United to a greater, namely, for fear of its being abſorbed thereby (a Notion lately in *vogue* when the Union of *England* and *Scotland* was agitated) engageth the *Pope* to keep the Papiſts from a *Coalition* with the Proteſtants here, that would drown the viſibility of their Numbers, and conſequently the appearance of the Numbers of his Subjects in this Realm, for ſo in effect they are.

The true Cauſe therefore in Nature that made the Pope by his *Bull* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time prohibit the *Papiſts* from continuing to come to our Churches, and to our *Common-Prayer*, a thing they would elſe ſtill have done, was the Pope's being enabled by ſuch *Prohibitions* to put *Marks* on his Sheep whereby to know them, and their *Numbers*: And which had he forborn, there had probably been no Number of them returnable in the Biſhops *Survey*.

'Tis therefore not to be wondred that our Church got nothing but the deſtruction of its Hierarchy in the laſt Age, by the Policy uſed then by ſome of our well-meaning Church-men, who thought that the uſe of ſome Ceremonies more than our Law required would have brought the Church of *Rome* over to us. *'Tis aut Cæſar aut Nullus* that the Pope would be; and he will here keep as many Subjects as he can, ſince not able to acquire as many as he would. And the truth is, as the attempt of an excellent Swimmer to ſave one totally inexpert therein uſually proves fatal, ſo likely will the generous and charitable deſign of a Church of a rational Diſcipline interpoſing to ſave one of an irrational, and that can do nothing by vigour of reaſon to bear up it ſelf, and is therefore meer *dead weight*.

Since the *Epoche* of the Popiſh Plot that the Preſs has been to all writing Mankind ſo much unreſtrain'd, the World hath ſeen little of the Papiſts Learned Writings, or ſcarce any thing writ with Art and Wit, except the *Compendium*, and inſtead of proving in Volumes that the Church of *England* is no true Church, or that St. *Peter* was ever at *Rome*, they have extended all the *Nerves* of their Wit in Pamphlets, only to prove that Doctor *Oates* is no true Doctor, and that he was never at *Salamanca*.

And I believe that as the aſſerting of Popery here, *per viam Thomæ*, (or in the way of the *Schools*) is in the Courſe of Nature Eternally over, ſo will the adorning it by the way of Curioſity of Wit or Fancy grow obſolete.

But here it is proper to be obſerved, that in all the *Conjunctures* before-mention'd, and in thoſe wherein our former Proteſtant Princes for deep reaſon of State have been moſt favourable to their Popiſh Subjects by the Relaxation of the Penal Laws, and when ſome Papiſts made great Figures in the Court, and got the Ballance of Court-preferment a while by ſtealth into their hands, and that *Holy Church* being anew *Whiten'd* over with ſome temporary Proſperity, many Proſelytes did *Flock to it as Doves to their Windows*, yet the *Ground* that Popery got then was but *Made* Ground and not natural, and was too chargeable to be kept. And as the vulgar have falſly imagined that a great Plague has happen'd in the beginning of every Princes Reign, ſo has it been obvious to the more refined obſervers, that in the Reign of every new Proteſtant *Prince*, Popery has made a freſh

eſſay

eſſay to augment it ſelf in the *Epocha* of a new *Conjuncture*. And that as in the moſt Peſtilential times of Mortality, even in our *Metropolis*, almoſt only the poorer ſort of People are ſwept away by it, Thus was it too in in thoſe Conjunctures here, when Popery boaſted of its many Converts.

But *Nemo decipit lumbos*, and Popery when pamper'd, did but Counterfeit a ſound ſtrength, and as *Quintilian's* words are, *Verum robur inani ſaginâ mentiri*, and was but in bad *travelling Caſe* by that *waſhy* adventitious fleſh, and ſoon tired in its furious Race; while Proteſtancy had that permanent Motion which Dr. *Jackſon* on the *Creed ſuppoſeth* the *Heavens* would have if God ſhould move them in an inſtant, and which if he did, were (he ſaith) more properly to be called *A vigorous permanency*, alluding perhaps to things ſeeming to ſtand ſtill when they move faſteſt. Dr. *Twiſſe* in anſwer to him doth to the Expreſſion of a *Permanent* Motion, with a mirth and raillery unuſual in him, apply that Verſe of a *Poet* whoſe Horſe being tired, and not moveable by the Spur, ſaid to his fellow Traveller, who *Rein'd* in his Horſe to go eaſily; *Your Horſe ſtands ſtill faſter then mine will go.* And thus (raillery apart) I do believe that Proteſtancy will *ſtand ſtill* faſter than Popery can go, let it be never ſo high mounted: And we may properly reſemble the courſe of Proteſtancy in any Conjuncture to the *Sun*, which enjoys its Natural Motion at the ſame time it ſuffers its Forced, and according to Mr. *Cowley's* Expreſſion doth at the ſame time *run the day and walk the year.*

And we may as properly reſemble the height and greatneſs of Popery in any former Conjuncture, and the greatneſs of Peoples fears of its Growth and Continuance to the dreadful Entrance and dull Exit of a *Comet.*

Many *Comets* have hung over our heads, and laſted ſome conſiderable time, that were bigger than the *Globe* of the Earth, which as they appear'd on a ſudden, ſo hath that great Maſs of Matter, of which they conſiſted, and which threat'ned deſtruction to the Earth, by little and little dwindled to nothing, or diſappear'd. And this hath been the Event of the *Growth* of *Popery*, and over-growth of its Fears here, and I believe will be in any *Conjuncture* that can come.

I believe that if ſuch an extremely improbable thing ſhould ever happen, as that the Legiſlative Power ſhould allow the Papiſts a publick place for their Devotion in every great City in *England*, the very ſight of their Ceremonies would encreaſe and ſharpen the Popular averſion againſt their Church.

Du Freſnes in his Learned *Gloſſary* in three *Tomes*, as to the *Scriptores mediæ & infimæ Latinitatis*, mentions the origination of the uſe and name of the *Surplice*, and quotes *Durand in Ration. lib.* 3. *c.* 1. *n.* 10.11. for it, *viz. Eo quod antiquitùs ſuper tunicas pelliceas de pellibus mortuorum animalium factas induebatur, quod adhuc in quibuſdam Eccleſiis obſervatur:* And cites many Authorities about its being uſed by the Clergy; and while the Antient *Monks* lived upon the labour of their hands, and wore ſuch Leathern Clothes as labouring Ruſticks in the Towns with whom they wrought, it was but a neceſſary piece of decency when they retired to their *Oratories* to Worſhip God together, to have that covering of Linnen that might hide the ſordidneſs of their Clothes, and ſo probably that Linnen Surplice appearing in it ſelf decent, and carrying with it more reſpect from the juſt Reverence thoſe Innocent Ancient Monks attracted, it came by that means firſt in faſhion in the Church to be worn by the better habited Prieſts, and being here enjoyn'd by the Laws of our Sovereign, and therein declared to be a thing not in its own nature neceſſary, it ſeems to me to

be an uncivil humour in our *Diſſenters* ſo much to quarrel the uſe of it; and do ſuppoſe that the Civility of the *French* Nation appearing in the Proteſtants of that Realm, who are here, and to whom it is natural not only to comply with Princes but even their fellow Subjects in the uſe of all Ceremonies they expect to be treated with, may inſtill ſuch a humour of *Complaiſance* into ſome of thoſe here who were aggrieved at our Churches, or, as I may ſay, our Kings Ceremonies, as all the Learned Books of our Divines have not yet done.

But if after the diſuſe of our Ceremonies in the late Uſurpation the ſight of a Surplice doth fright them ſo much from our Church, how would they be diſguſted to ſee one with a ſhaven Crown, with his *Amice Girdle*, *Aube*, *Maniple*, *Stole*, *Cheſible*, and other pretended holy Veſtments, and ſee him uſe *Croſſing*, *Turning*, *Ducking*, *Lifting*, *Whiſpering*, *Gaping*, *mingling of Wine and Water*, *Lickings*, and other variety of Geſtures, and to hear Prayers in *Latine*, and to the Saints, and for the Dead, and to have our Bells Baptiſed, to have Vailes, Holy-Water, Holy-Aſhes, Palms, &c.

Eraſmus ſaith in his Epiſtles, *p.* 108. *Ep.* 10. *An hic ſacrificulum illum malunt imitari qui ſuum mumpſimus quo fuerat viginti uſus annos, mutare noluit, admonitus à quopiam ſumpſimus eſſe legendum?* The *Verſe* of *Scripture* in which he read that word, was *Joſua* 9. 12. *En panes quando egreſſi ſumus de Domibus noſtris ut veniremus ad vos Calidos* [*Mumpſimus*] *nunc ſicci facti ſunt & vetuſtate nimia Comminuti*, no other Verſe appearing to me by the Concordance of the *Vulgar* Latine to have *Sumpſimus* in it: And the folly of the Prieſt in ſo reading was ſo famous as to come to the knowledge of our *Harry* the Eighth, and to occaſion his ſaying (as my Lord *Herbert* tells us) *Some of the Clergy are too ſtiff in their old Mumpſimus, others too curious in their new Sumpſimus.*

But that *Verſe* in *Joſua* was as unlucky and as ill boding a one to Popery for a *Prieſt* thus to ſignalize *en ridicule*, as any he could have found in Holy Writ, and carries in it ſelf a revenge for its barbarous uſage: For it naturally ſuggeſts to People that the *Antiquity* of the Doctrine of Popery is but a *Gibeonitiſh* or meer *pretended* one, and that even its *Tranſubſtantiated* Bread is not *brought from ſo far a Country* as is pretended, and that it was no longer ago then *Anno* 1212, that *Innocent* the Third in the *Lateran* Council brought in Tranſubſtantiation as an Article of Faith, and Decreed thoſe to be *Exterminated* who did not believe it, *And that Kings were to be compelled to Exterminate them, and that the Pope had power to depoſe Kings*, an effectual way to put not only the *nature* of Things but Men on the Wrack, and then make them ſay they believe any thing.

But we having been uſed to the New *Sumpſimus* theſe hundred years, ſhall be ſo *Curious in it* as to make what is barbarous the object of our Mirth, as much as *Harry* the Eighth and *Eraſmus* did, and the *Novelty* of Popery coming again here in the Maſquerade of *Antiquity*, would appear as nauſeous as would the *mouldy Bread* of the *Gibeonites* to the Men of *Iſrael*, if they had come to treat them with it a Second time.

From what hath been in this Hiſtorical way glanced at, concerning the gradual decreaſing Popery here in the ſeveral paſt Conjunctures, we may without the *Amentia Prophetiæ* (as *Tertullian* calls it) ſay, That in any Conjuncture that can hereafter come it will more and more decreaſe, and that under any new Prince Proteſtancy will be the Riſing Sun, whoſe light will be then encreaſing, and Popery acquire no more luſtre then the ſhort one of a *parelius*.

Doleman alias *Parſons* in his Book *Of the Succeſſion*, publiſhing his thoughts how ponderous the Papiſts would be in the Ballance of State in the Conjuncture

juncture of time attending the next Succeſſor, ſpeaks thus, as if it were before him in Viſion, *With theſe many others do joyn* ;Et omnes qui amaro animo ſunt cum illis ſe conjungunt, *as the Scripture ſaith of thoſe that followed* David's *Retinue* (1 Kings 12.) *purſued by* Saul *and his Forces, which is to ſay, that all that be offended, grieved, or any way diſcontented with the preſent time, be they of what Religion they will, do eaſily joyn with theſe Men.*

And when I conſider how many there are, *qui amaro ſunt animo*, by reaſon of their Condition being embitter'd by *Poverty*, and that it hath purſued them *like an Armed Man*, and is likely ſo to do ; when I conſider that the Multitude of Free-Schools in the Kingdom, diverting the Education of the poorer ſort of our Youth from uſeful laborious Trades, to the uſeleſly appearing Scholars and Gentlemen, or (according to the *Dutch* word) Idlemen, hath at laſt brought them but to fragments of knowledge and likewiſe of Bread, and tho wearing better Habits then their Anceſtors, yet to be little better than *Thiefs* in a handſome diſguiſe, robbing the World of their Labour, and its own quiet by their being Sollicitors, Make-bates, Informers, proulers into the rights of other Mens Eſtates, Tamperers with Witneſſes, Tales-men, Promoters of Office, Suers of others in the way of *qui tam*, &c. *quam*, &c. And when I conſider what is ſo truly obſerv'd by the *Author* of *Britannia languens*, *That of all other employments we have the greateſt queſting after Offices, that Men will almoſt give any thing, ſay any thing, do any thing for an Office, ſo that ſome Offices that were thought hardly worth the medling with of late years, will now yield near Ten years Purchaſe for one Life* ; And when I every where behold the torn Limbs of the Eſtates of ſo great a Party among us as may be call'd the *Luxuriants*, and who have ſold the ſame Eſtates and Conſciences three or four times over, and do likewiſe recollect the Number of all ſuch *Idle men*, who have been obſerved of late years in Shoales ſo much to depopulate the *Country* to plant themſelves about *London*, inſomuch that tho according to the Obſervator of the *Bills* of Mortality there uſually did come out of the *Country* to live in *London* but 6000, yet there dying within thoſe *Bills* 17249 in the *Year* 75, and 18732 in the *Year* 76, and 19064 in the *Year* 77, and 20678 in the *Year* 78, wherein the Popiſh *Plot* was diſcovered, and 21730 in the *Year* 79, whence according to the *Rule* of one in 30 *Yearly* dying, and there having dy'd gradualy above a 1000 a year ſince the year 75 to the year 80 (altho all years of ordinary health) ſo the remaining part in *London* did thence appear gradually encreaſed proportionably, that is, as a 1000 dy'd each year more than other, ſo 29000 lived there each year more than in the other, and that there lived in the year 79 in *London* 120000 more than did in the year 75, and that many of theſe People having broke in the Country, through the Poverty that the Plot occaſion'd, came to *London* to hide themſelves and their ſhame : I ſay, when I conſider all theſe things, I may well conclude that all theſe *Indigents* will be ready to hope for a Golden Age, and call any thing a *Religion* that will bring it them : And by a new ſhuffling of Religion will be indeed hoping for better Cards in this World.

Some of thoſe who have been *Trumpeters* to the *Puppet-Shows* of little Enthuſiaſtick Religions, and movers of the Wyres there, would if ever the great one of Popery ſhould come on the Stage, be glad to be ſharers or quarter ſharers in it, and to be either Actors or Miniſterial to them, and eſpecially to be applauding Spectators when by the ill *Poets* of the Play, they ſhall be well paid to line the Pit Boxes, and Galleries to cry it up : and thus the Wit and Philoſophy of a great *Lady* have been Celebrated in the

Univerſities

Univerſities by Heads of Colledges, and lodged there in *Libraries* on the expectance of her being a Benefactreſs.

And if any *Tecelius* would come not as a ſturdy *Pardon-Pedlar* as before to require Mony (the which thing then proved ſo deſtructive to Popery) but to diſtribute it, there would be enow to receive it; and among the *Indigents* for a while, according to the *Stylus curiæ Romanæ* in Mr. *Colemans* Letter of *March* the 12*th* 74, to the *Internuntio*, *a little Mony, I ſay a very little will do.*

But *Conclamatum eſt* as to the ſtate of Religion it ſelf as well as of the Power of any *Prince*, when men come to be bought by him either into Religion or Loyalty. The *profuſion* of Money in the way of Legacies by any one, is a ſign of his being near his end, and *Tacitus* therefore ſaith it not improperly of *Otho*, *Pecunias diſtribuit parce nec tanquam periturus.* And thus is any Princes Power and likewiſe Religion near expiring, when once he comes to buy of *Hydras* heads, as Mr. *Hobbs*'s expreſſion is in his *Hiſtory of the Civil Wars.*

I know that it hath been the common practice of *Kings* to buy of *Demagogues*, and ſome of their *Miniſters* have perhaps been apt to think that thoſe who formerly were by their Artifices able to make the Diſeaſe of Sedition in the minds of the people, had likewiſe the greateſt skill to cure it; in like manner as any *Doctor* of *Phſick* who could make a Quartan Ague, or any other Diſeaſe, would be held in the greateſt repute for ability to cure it, it being perhaps more eaſie to make a Diſeaſe then to cure it, as *compoſition* is more eaſie then *Analyſis* and *Multiplication* then *Diviſion:* but the too *dear bought* experience of Princes, hath ſeal'd the *Probatum eſt*, in this caſe of all popular *Wizards*, loſing their power of charming, when they have been *Captivated* with Royal gifts, *Witches* according to the vulgar received opinion, being unable to hurt when they are in Jayles.

There is another *Notion* I deſcanted largely on before, and that overſtocks the Market of expectants to be *bought off*, Namely, that all men naturally think themſelves equally wiſe, and therefore as any Ship that ſails faſter then another, is in the Sea-phraſe ſaid to wrong it, ſo are men apt to think themſelves *wrongd* by thoſe who with Gales of Court preferment get beyond them.

Moreover tho the power of Gold be ſtill what it always was namely the moſt *ductile* thing in nature next to degenerate Man made *ductile* by it; yet will any Prince be impoveriſh'd who buys *Gold* or Men of golden Abilities and great Parts too dear by Preferments and Donatives: for ſuch *Donees* will be *Continuando-beggers*, and everlaſting expectants of further Gifts, and their converſion either to a Princes Intereſt of State or Religion muſt be ſtill nouriſhed by the ſame thing it was made of; and therefore it was worthy the wiſdom of *Solomon* to obſerve, *That he that oppreſſeth the Poor, and giveth Gifts to the Rich, ſhall ſurely come to want.*

And moſt certainly here, as in *France*, the *Play* of a Prince who ſhall uſe that *Game* to win Souls, will not be worth the ſorry Candle of Converſion he ſhall light up; and the *Converſion* of *Sharpers* will be of ſuch who will ſoon run away with the ſtake of their Souls they have laid down.

The *Fiſherman* of *Rome* St. *Peter*'s pretended Succeſſor, can neither in *France*, nor here with a drag-net of *Converſion*, catch thouſands of Souls at a draught, as St. *Peter* elſewhere did: but muſt Angle for every Convert, and that with a golden Hook, of which the value is more conſiderable to be loſt, then is that of the Fiſh to be taken, and from which Hook too it can inviſibly get off at pleaſure.

A Prince of that Religion will have more occaſion for the multiplying Miracle of the *Loaves*, then that of *Tranſubſtantiation*; and the Multitude that follow his *Converters* for the former Miracle, will be apt as ſoon to leave him as they did our *Saviour* who followed him on that account.

The *Obſervator* on the *Bills* of *Mortality* ſhews us, that in *December* 1672. *The Proteſtants in* Paris *were but as one to* 65: and 'tis confeſſedly true on all hands, that the great Scene of the late *French* Converſions lies in *Paris*, and even there the preſent Eccleſiaſtical Policy is to Attaque the Fleet of the Hereticks, rather by Merchant-men then by *Fire ſhips*. I have never heard of any *Biſhops Survey* of the perſuaſions there relating to Religion, but in the Index of *Merſennus* his *Comment* on the firſt 6 *Chapters* of *Geneſis*, I find it ſaid, *Atheorum numerus Lutetiæ*, p. 671. and *Athei in Galliâ, Germaniâ, Scotiâ, Poloniâ*, *p.* 673. I could find neither of thoſe places in the body of the Book; but obſerve that in the Learned Fryars Dedicatory Epiſtle to *De Gondy* the *Archbiſhop* of *Paris*, he ſays, *Quibus addo te hujus urbis & orbis Pariſienſis ut vigilantiſſimum Prælatum ſapientiſſimè conſtitutum eſſe, in quâ ſicut eximiam plurimorum virtutem atque pietatem admiramur, à multorum etiam infeſto & immani ſcelere longiſſimè abhorremus: ad cujus faſtigium non video quid adjungi poſſit, cum numen omne pernegent, & ex eorum mente quibuſcum familiariter degunt, ſenſum Divinitatis, & conſenſum pro viribus evellunt. Quamobrem impii ſuorum numerum in hac Pariſiorum luce ingentem eſſe aiunt atque gloriantur.* But I have heard ſome more converſant in that Book then I have been, relate, how that great Maſter of *Numbers* doth make the Atheiſts in *Paris* to be 20,000: and it being juſtly to be ſuppoſed that thoſe 20000 Miſcreants being wretchedly poor (for that as *Ariſtotle* has long ſince well obſerv'd, rich men are naturally φιλόθεοι or lovers of God, who hath provided ſo well for them) they would preſently ſeem Proteſtants to qualifie them for turning Papiſts, and receiving their Converſion Money, and would ſay as of old, *accipe pecuniam & dimitte aſinum*, and inſtantly ſwell up the number of Converts in *Paris*. But Popery gains nothing in reality by thoſe fugitive Converts: *for the Fool that ſaith in his heart there is no God*, will be eaſily brought to ſay in his Soul, there is no Soul: and therefore ſay I, *caveat emptor* to *Meſſieurs* the *French* Converters: the volatile Converts for a good quantity of ſolid Gold, ſell them but a little Quickſilver, or rather Smoak: and I think they may as well employ their Money in converting the *Poyſoners*.

There is another thing that makes it very impolitick thus to throw away good Money on bad Converts, and that is what hath been obſerved to be the effect of this expenceful project in *France*; namely, that it makes the remaining part of the Adherents to their former Religion to be really the more ſtrong, powerful and united. The Wine that was at firſt in colder weather preſerved by the Lees in it, yet in the hotter ſeaſon improves beſt by being rack'd off the Lee, and thus it is with the Adherents to a Religion, when in the heat of Perſecution they are defecated from the viler part of its Numbers.

But yet on the other hand the Mercenary Religioniſts and Religion-traders, do grow impoveriſhed with their very Gifts, and the vigour of their minds, and natural diſpoſition to induſtry is thereby emaſculated. I ſhall here once for all ſay, that by the word *Religion-Trade*, I intend no prophane reflection on Religion as 'tis in the Scripture ſenſe, the *calling* of a Chriſtian: but 'tis they that prophane it, who by proſtituting that *high Calling* (as St. *Paul* ſtyles it) to low and vile ends, do indeed miſcall it, and occaſion others to do ſo too. And indeed we are out of the Sacred Writ advertiſed of the Religion-Trade and Religion-Traders. St. *Peter* gives

the Alarm of *False Teachers, that shall through Covetousness with feigned words make Merchandise of them*: And one Chapter in the *Apocalypse*, as generally interpreted by Protestants, makes his pretended Successor to deal in the *Merchandise of Gold and Silver and Precious Stones, and Pearls, &c. and Slaves and Souls of Men.* And as in *Rome* at present, and long since, the only considerable *Trade* that is driven, is that of *Religion*, there being scarce any Secular *Merchants* there but *Jews*, and those too chiefly dealing in *Frippery*, so is the great Trade thence forced upon the World from the Apostles See, relating to the Souls of Men. 'Tis there the great *Bank* of Souls is kept, and the security of *Rome* is expos'd for that *Bank*, as that of the whole City of *Amsterdam* for its *Bank*, the which doth not more enrich the Merchants that deal with it by saving to them the expence of their time, and preventing their receiving of bad Money, then the other *Bank* of *Souls* doth impoverish its *Merchants* by defrauding some of their good Money, and others of their pretious Souls by it, and by the lavish wasting of the time of others, and making them who embanked their Talents of good Natural Parts and Wit there, but in effect to *wrap* them up in a *Napkin*, and both by believing some of the Papal Tenets, and by being paid so much and no more for the same, and not providing for their Families as they might have better done by substantial and even Mechanical Trades, to be *worse then Infidels*.

'Tis but Natural to Suppose that a Man of two Trades will neither to any high Degree improve them, or his Estate by them, suitably to him who minds wholly one Trade: And the adventitious gain of a Man in any Profession, who is a *Religion-Trader* doth but entice him to the idleness whose effects render him unfortunate in both; and therefore I account that the See of *Rome*, unless it could pretend to infinity of Treasure, as well as Infallibility of Judgment, and whereby it might plentifully by Pensions rye all its *Devoti* only to the Religion Trade, loseth its Oyl and Labour in the largesses it affords Men of other Trades.

The prying People of *England*, next to their *Algebraing* out (as I may say) the *Authors* of *Murder*, have that Curiosity too to discover the ways by which any of their Neighbourhood do subsist, and when they knew them to have no Paternal Estates, nor to have acquired any by Marriages, or by Skill and Industry, and Success in their particular Professions, yet see them live with Equipage and Splendor, they often with Justice resolve the Cause of their Living so, into the Contributions they receive from the *Religion-Trade*: But yet 'tis a Familiar thing to observe that other Artists in the same Secular Calling with them are therein more diligent, and more dextrous, and more thriving, and too more frugal (as having that only to depend on for their Maintenance) then such Journey-men of *Rome* as are aided in their Expences by Contributions from Holy Church, by which the births of their Fortunes are thus in a manner over-laid.

Of trading Persons and Companies being undone by Donatives, and being diverted from necessity, compelling them to an excellence therein by their being provided with Golden Bridges to retreat from want and hard labour by, we have a remarkable instance in *Stow's Survey of London*, where he inserts the famous *Will* of Mr. *John Kendrick* Citizen and Draper of *London*, who dy'd in the *year* 1624, wherein he, for the advancement of the Woollen Manufacture in certain Country Corporations that were then and before Eminent for and by that Manufacture, bequeath'd great Sums of Mony to them, as for Example, to *Redding* 7500 *l.* and 4000 *l.* to *Newbery*, and moreover ordered 500 *l.* to be lent *gratis* to the Clothiers of *Newbery* and *Redding*; but under the weight of that Charity

of

of his their Trade was in the event really depreſſed, and many Merchants of *London* occaſionally broke by that means.

And ſuitably to the Operation of the Religionary Trade and the other Secular one, impoveriſhing ſeveral of our Jeſuited and other Lay-Papiſts, the late times gave us the Experience of ſeveral Tradeſmen who being of a ſlothful diſpoſition, thought it for their eaſe to get ſome little Salaries from the *State*, or voluntary Contributions from ſome of the Sectarian Populace to eek out their Maintenance, and that particularly under that great Idol *Oliver Cromwel*, who ſo fatally ruin'd the Trade of *England*, and reſembling the Pope in being a *Cape Merchant* of *Souls*, was not undeſervedly in the time of his Reign greeted in print by the Title of [illegible] by a Reverend Divine of the Church of *England*, the which was applyed to *Oliver* in the Title of the Book, and he it was that begger'd the Nation, and then taught it to Cant; and then did that *Pharoah* otherwiſe then in a *Dream* make the *lean Cattle* of Canting Words and Phraſes devour the *Fat* of the Land, and much of ſolid improvement, even in Mechanical Arts and Sciences, and then it was that various *Clanns* or Corporations of *Canters* only by being ſuch, Monopolis'd the Preferments of Church and State, and few were admitted to *prattique* there but ſuch who had the Plague, and were as idlers, peſts to the Kingdom, and who had *Embanked* their Souls in that great Religionary *Bank* of his ſetting up: And yet then thoſe adherents of his that ſold the *Wind* of inſpiration were in compariſon of the ſubſtantial other Traders, who ſoly depended on excelling in their particular Trade, as poor almoſt as the *Lap-landers* who ſell other Winds.

But that which is much more *Momentous* than the impoveriſhing of all theſe Particular *Religion-Traders*, and even the diminution of Trade in general, enſuing the profuſion of profit by donations on the account of Religion, is that Religion it ſelf is hereby impoveriſhed, and its moſt vital part Sincerity hereby in danger to be exterminated. For as 'tis a thing well known to *Merchants* and *Goldſmiths* and *Mint-Maſters*, that if the *Par* (as they call it) or exact *Proportion* between Gold and Silver be not obſerv'd in any Country, either the Gold will carry all the Silver out of it, or the Silver all the Gold; ſo it may be affirm'd too, That if there be not a *Par* or *Proportion* obſerv'd as to *Religion* and *Profit* or *Wealth*, either the Religion of a Country will carry out all the profit or *Proventus* of it, or the profit will carry out or exterminate Religion. I will not therefore here *Prophecy* that the World *will* never, but ſay that it *can* never be fixed in a quiet and orderly State, and free from the Importunity and Sedition of Hypocrites till its Preſent State be ſuch that Men can neither get nor loſe by Religion: And till the World recovers this Golden Age, namely, that Gold cannot carry out our Religion, (and People us with Hypocrites) or our Religion Gold, the World will be but a great diſorderly Houſe and ſcarce worth any Mans being Monarch over it.

As the *Iriſh* call their laſt *Rebellion* by the name of the *Commotion*, ſo ſome have happen'd to call the Preſent State of Peoples Minds in *England* which is ſo diſorderly by the name of a *Fermentation*, and this *Fermentation* can never be over in our *Engliſh* World, till there ſhall here be neither profit or loſs by Religion, and that no Man ſhall be more or leſs Rich by more or leſs Combining with any Party, to cry up or decry any Religionary Tenets or Propoſitions.

One would wonder that ſince *Religion*, and particularly the Chriſtian, with its *Credenda* doth Crown the reaſon of Man, and likewiſe annex by the

the exuberance of the Divine benignity a Crown of Glory hereafter to the Believers, that any Men ſhould for their belief of Propoſitions not contrary to reaſon, and wherein the credit of the propounder was ſupported by Miracles, expect to be rewarded in this World, a *humour* that hath been regnant even among Chriſtians, from the time of our Saviour's being on Earth to the preſent Age, and a humour that ſo poyſon'd the *Jews* of old, that they thought it not *Tanti* to have their minds freed from the ſlavery to Error, unleſs the Meſſias would have deliver'd them from the ſervitude of the *Romans* (and becauſe he did not, and did decline the being made an Earthly King when the *Jews* with their *Hoſannas* were tempting him to it, they Accuſed him Capitally for ſaying *That he was a King*, whenas it was not he, but they that ſaid it, and they put him to Death *reverà* becauſe his Kingdom was not of this World) *and a humour* that would not quit the Stage when the firſt Chriſtians did, but boldly ſtill faced the World, as appears by the notion of the *Millennium* having been ſo much applauded by all the *Fathers* of the Church and the Chriſtians before the firſt *Nicene* Council.

But methinks from the Example of the Chriſtians of old who did *Ambire Martyrium* to ſuch a degree that St. *Gregory* ſaith, *Let God number our Martyrs, for to us they are more in number then the Sands* (as if the work had been too hard for another *Archimedes* with his *Arenarius* to Calculate the number of the Martyr'd Chriſtians, and one Author accounts that, excepting on the firſt of *January*, there is no day for which *Records* do not allow 500 *Martyrs* at leaſt, and that for moſt days they allow 900, and who did ennoble the *Chriſtian* Religion, by ſhewing to the World an Example of Contempt of Death, and even of Life beyond that of the Ancient *Romans*) I ſay from the Example of thoſe Chriſtians who did in ſhoals dye daily for their Religion, *Ours* may, if they pleaſe, be taught the modeſty not to expect daily livelihoods from it, and to account they have very fair play if they do not loſe their livelihoods by it.

'Tis moreover obſervable that under the *Jewiſh Theocracy* Providence had then ſo ordered things, that no Man ſhould *get* or *loſe* by Religon. The *Tribes* had then their ſhares of the good Land by *lott*, and the *Levites* only had that affluent proportion of the *Proventus* of the other Tribes that I have before Calculated, and which would have tempted many of the other Tribes to have march'd over to the *Officium* and *Beneficium* of the Prieſthood, had not God their *Monarch* provided againſt that, by the confinement of the Adminiſtration of the Prieſthood to one *Tribe*, and its deſcendents by natural generation.

But as to the notion of *getting* or *loſing* by Religion, I ſhall recommend to your *Lordſhips* reading a ſmall *Pamphlet* printed in two ſheets of Paper in *Folio*, and call'd *The great Queſtion to be conſidir'd by the King and this Parliament*, &c. to wit, *How far Religion is concern'd in Policy or Civil Government, and Policy in Religion*, &c. *On the diſquiſition of which a ſufficient Baſis is propoſed for the firm ſettlement of theſe Nations to the moſt probable ſatisfaction of the ſeveral Parties and Intereſts therein, and ſubſcribed by the name of* Philo-Britanicus.

Who the Author of it was I cannot learn, but do eaſily find by the Book that he is a Man of great *Acumen* of thought, and that Matters of Religion and State, eſpecially relating to this Kingdom, have been very much thought of by him, and that the Author was certainly neither *Papiſt* nor *Presbyterian*, and ſo far from being a favourer of the Church of *England* that he doth *interminis* make the publick Maintenance of the Clergy to have been the *Bone of Contention in theſe Nations*, *p.* 8. and there

there ſaith, *It will be found to ſtand on the ſame foot with Abbies and Nunneries and their Lands*, and there further as a *propounder* would give all the Church-Lands to the Crown, and the Tithes to the People; and then tells us, *That all Fears and Jealouſies and Animoſities on the account of Religion, will be pluck'd up by the Roots.* That Author in *p.* the 5th doth very acutely obſerve, *That Popery hath two Parts, the one is that which is meerly Religious, that is which relates properly to Religion or Conſcience, and which is peculiar to them, ſuch as the believing of Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, Adoration of Saints and Images, yea, and the ſuperiority of the Biſhop of* Rome *over other Churchmen, all which and thoſe of this kind may be believed and profeſſed without prejudice to Civil Society, and as being matters relating to Conſcience come not properly under the Magiſtrates Cognizance: the other part is the opinion of the Pope's Power over Princes and States, his abſolving the people from their Obedience, his giving them diſpenſations to kill Princes and deſtroy them, and allowing them not to keep faith to Hereticks and ſuch like, which as they are deſtructive to Government, are truly no part of Religion, but a politick contrivance, long hatch'd by the Biſhop of* Rome *and his dependants for the eſtabliſhing to himſelf a firm Monarchy in the World, and therefore ought to be guarded againſt and puniſhed by the Magiſtrate, not as errors in Religion, but as deſtructive to the Government.*

The Author of *Omnia comeſta à Belo* as great a *Calculator* as he would go for, was yet but a Blunderer in reſpect of the *Author* of this diſcourſe, in which there is ſo much ſmoothneſs of words and plauſibleneſs of notion, that if it were poſſible he would *deceive ſome of the very Elect*, and that too, of their Eſtabliſhed Maintenance.

But whatever the Sentiments of that Author were, I muſt affirm that as ample as the Revenue of the Church of *England* ſhews, if compared with that of other Proteſtant Countries, it is yet ſo far from exceſs in its proportion as to ward off all inconveniences from the State of mens getting by Religion.

The over ballance of Land here was ſo much on the Churches ſide in the times of Popery, that it was then in our *Provincial Conſtitutions* fulminated as a *Menace* to the Layety that in caſe of ſome particular *Contumacy*, none of their Children ſhould be admitted into the *Clerical* Calling for three Generations.

But how Nugatory would ſuch a threatning now be! There are few or none of the inferiour *Clergy*, but might have in inferiour Callings arrived at greater Incomes and with leſs charge of Education, and the moſt envied of our *dignified* Clergy might in the other two of the great profeſſions, *viz.* in *Law* and *Phyſick* raiſed their Eſtates and Families on better and eaſier terms then they now can.

And that the Men of the moſt eminent natural parts would be loſers by Religion, I mean by the *Clerical* Profeſſion but for the encouragement of theſe Dignities, we have an indication from the quality of the *Divines* in the late times, who were generally ſo unlearned, that Learning it ſelf then ſeemed to have retreated from our *Univerſities* to the Colledge of *Phyſitians* in *London.* Notwithſtanding the great Sums of Money by the Uſurp'd Powers employ'd in the Augmentations of Livings, one may well ſuppoſe that all of the 10000 Livings in *England* except 600 needed, for that was the number of the Livings in *England* as beforeſaid averr'd to have afforded a Competent maintenance for a Miniſter, the dearth of Learning and Learned Men ſtill continued, inſomuch that the teeming preſs then brought forth few Learned Diſcourſes, relating to the faculty of *Theology* but what was publiſhed by Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Taylor*, Dr. *Sanderſon* and ſome other

Divines born and bred in the Sunſhine of the Church of *England.*

And I do believe that in *Holland* the Livelihoods for their Parochial *Divines,* are better then thoſe that our Livings at a *Medium* yield, eſpecially conſidering that the *Dutch* Miniſters Widdows have 40 *l.* a year paid them during their Viduity: but for want of ſuch encouragement as our *Dignities* afford for the Educating their Natives in Learning, they are conſtrained as Mr. *Philip Nye* obſerves in his Book called *Beams of former light*, p. 152. *To ſend to Forraign Parts to men to be their Profeſſors in their Academies.*

And I account that nothing leſs then the hopes of being *Dignitaries*, could in the flouriſhing condition of the Church of *England* make ſo many of our Learned *Divines* take up with the poor generality of our Livings, which are ſuch that the *Anſwer to the Abſtract* publiſhed by Authority in the *Year* 1588, mentions in *p.* 27, *That ſurely if a Survey were taken of all Pariſh Churches and Parochial Chappels in* England, *I dare affirm that it would fall out that there be double or treble as many more Livings allotted for Miniſters under the true value of* 30 l. *a year*, ultra omnia onera & repriſas, *as are above that Rate.* And that our *Divines* in the late Times look'd on ſuch a yearly Sum as an uncomfortable pittance for a Miniſter, we have an inſtance in the Story told in a *Hiſtory* of the late Times in *Print, where a Patron deſiring one to recommend to him a godly man for a Living of* 50 l. *a year he then* had void, was anſwered, *That a godly man could not be had to accept of a Living of ſo ſmall a value.*

It is moreover a lamentable thing to conſider what an *Exciſum* hath been put on the value, even of our poor Livings, by the Simoniacal Practices of Lay-Patrons: and in their hands the greateſt part of the Impropriations hath been computed to be.

Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* a Famous Parliament-man of the laſt Age, in a *Speech* of his in behalf of the *Clergy*, ſpoke in Parliament and Printed at *Oxford*, *Anno* 1628, ſpeaks there of the *Scandalous* Livings we have of 5 *l.* and 5 *Mark* a year, and Cites Biſhop *Jewel* for complaining in a Sermon before Queen *Elizabeth, That the Simony of our Lay-Patrons, was general throughout* England, *and that a Gentleman cannot keep his Houſe unleſs he have a Parſonage or two in farm for his Proviſion.*

And how generally a Simoniacal diſpoſition hath continued to infect our Gentry, appears by the vile Bonds that have been ſo much by Lay-Patrons impoſed on the Miniſters they preſented, *viz.* to reſign their Livings again to them at pleaſure; and it is for the laſting Glory of the Lord *Chancellor*, that he hath in Court declared that he will on occaſion Null all Bonds of that ſort, and no doubt but the accidental encreaſe of the poverty of the Gentry, which hath tempted them to ſell the ſame Land twice, and to ſell the ſame Living once, will tend to the encreaſe of Simony.

Moreover when it ſhall be conſidered, that the Caſe of a Miniſter is ſuch, that tho Lay-men are ſecured by the Great Charter from being puniſhed for Contempt of the King's Commands, otherwiſe then with the ſaving of their *Contenement* and *Free-hold*, yet that he holding *Virtute Officii* is lyable by the Kings Eccleſiaſtical Laws, even for thoſe things that in the Layety are no offences to be deprived of the Free-hold, that the Law ſuppoſed him as Parſon or Vicar to poſſeſs, and that he by the Artifice of the ſaid *Bonds*, hath had the benefit of his Free-hold, in effect during the Patrons *Ieneplacitum*: and further, that every New Political *Conjuncture* threatens him with New Subſcriptions from the Magiſtrate, and New Nic-names from the *Mobile*, and that on any change of Religion, he is ſure to be put in the forlorn

forlorn hope, and that he tho continually thinking of *Divinity*, which is his profeſſion, hath not yet that freedom to ſpeak all his Sentiments of the controverted part of it, which a Lay-man enjoys, and that he is ſtill expoſed by conſtant thinkin g to prey on the Membranes of his own Brain to find Notions for ſenſleſs people, methinks after he has all his life before, been conſtrain'd to take theſe bitter Pills as they are in themſelves, none ſhould repine at their being *gilded* for him in his declining age: and if among *Ten thouſand* of theſe, *twenty ſix* ſhall in their old Age have the Revenue of Biſhops, and *five hundred* of *Prebends* after ſo many ſhall have drawn *Blanks* in the *Lottery* of Preferment, thoſe few that ſhall draw thoſe *Prizes*, need not be envyed for what they have acquired by the Theological Profeſſion.

It was both with Juſtice and Prudence by our Laws caution'd that ſo great a part of the *Clerical* Maintenance ſhould ariſe from *Tithes*, for by that means our *Clergy* are engaged to make the intereſt of their Country and its improvement their own; and had they not had ſo much of their maintenance founded on *Tithes*, but on Money out of the *Exchequer*, as they had before this time loſt exceſſively by Religion, ſo Religion would have loſt their Calling: for that the price of Silver falling by the plenty of it, and the plenty or encreaſe of our people making all the Products of our Country dearer, it hath been advantageous to our Clergy to receive their Tithes in kind, as it hath been to Colleges to receive a *Quota* of their *Rent* in *Corn*.

But that ſtill the maintenance of the inferior Clergy, was too mean, will appear even by the late Enemies of our Hierarchy being Judges, for Mr. *Nye* in that Book of his, called *Beams of former Light*, having ſpoke of the Miniſters Calling, being once a gainful one, ſaith *p.* 123. *It is vtterly otherwiſe now, not but that there is a very liberal Maintenance appertaining to Miniſters and greater by the bounty of the Honourable Parliament, then the Preaching Miniſtry have formerly enjoyed.*

The gradual encreaſe of our People and Trade, hath proportionably encreaſed the *Clerical* Revenue which on the beginning of the Reformation was preſently ſunk, ſo that *Latimer* in his *Sermon* before *Edward* the *6th* ſaid, *We of the Clergy have had too much, but that is taken away, and now we have too little*; and what *Jewel* in his Sermon notified to Queen *Elizabeth* of that kind, I have mention'd, and ſo languid was the State of the maintenance of the Inferior Clergy in her time, that She by one of her Printed Eccleſiaſtical *Injunctions*, *Anno* 1599. did under great Penalties, *forbid all Prieſts and Deacons to Marry any Woman without the Advice and Allowance firſt had by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs and two Juſtices of Peace*, which I ſuppoſe was caution'd by the *Queen*, that the many Miniſters who had not competent Livings to maintain themſelves, might not marrying Wives without Dowries, by new Births, encreaſe the number of *Paupers* in Pariſhes.

It is obſervable, that in the late times the *Jeſuites* did publiſh many Pamphlets in Print againſt *Tithes*, and did animate the people to make Tumultuary Addreſſes to the Uſurpers to aboliſh that maintenance of the Miniſters, wherein as their *Politicks* were ſo unjuſt to our *Monarch*, that had they ſucceeded, they would have barricaded the way for his return in the minds of too many of the People for fear that the payment of Tithes ſhould return too, ſo likewiſe were they ſo ridiculous by cutting off all hopes of the return of Popery here in any Conjuncture of time, that leſs then an Army of *Bellarmines* would never have perſwaded the common People to hear with patience any talk of *Holy Church's* re-eſtabliſhment here.

Tho,

Tho, as I have ſhewn, that *Tithes* by reaſon of the equality in the Impoſition of them, and the diuturnity of time that hath habituated People to the payment thereof, are a gentle part of the Yoke of our Eccleſiaſtical Government, yet if the payment of them or any other Tax, whether of *Exciſe*, *Cuſtoms*, or *Chimny-money* were for many years diſcontinued, there would be no probability of bringing either the old Stagers or new Comers in the World to conſent or hearken to their being re-eſtabliſhed.

The Critical Obſervers of the *Jewiſh* State, after Ten Tribes had made a Schiſm from the other two, judge that there were two *Conjunctures* of time, wherein their piecing together was feſable, and that the great true Cauſe in Nature that hindred the Re-union of the Tribes, was the averſion in the Ten Tribes to make three chargeable Journeys yearly to *Jeruſalem*, and to pay a double Tenth yearly out of their Eſtates (beſides Offrings and other Caſualties to the Prieſts and Levites) from which trouble and charge they had been relaxed by *Jeroboam*, and by his Model of Idolatry: and therefore the People having moſt inclination to that Religion that was cheapeſt, and knowing that if they return'd to their old Religion, they muſt likewiſe return to their old Payments to the Prieſts and Levites, did venture to adhere to the cheaper *Golden* Calf: and had the *Jeſuites* here effected from the Uſurpt Powers the Abolition of the Clergies *Tithes*, which would have made the Return of the Church of *England* ſo difficult, I may well argue that it would have made the Return of the Papal Religion, and its *chargeable* Idolatry impoſſible, whoſe Yoke of Payments neither we nor our Foreſathers were able to bear.

But when ſenſeleſs *Fanaticks* came with thoſe *Petitions* againſt *Tithes*, the more ſagacious of the Uſurpers knew that the *hand of* Joab *was in them*, and they knew that hardly any Obſervation was more *trite* then that Popery gained ground, chiefly in the poorer parts of the Kingdom, where the deſpicable maintenance made the Miniſtry ſo too, and where too the Pope would no more hunt for Converts then among the poor *Norwegians*, but that it was of uſe to him to have the number of his *Subjects* increas'd in any poor places in a rich Kingdom, where he tho a ſpiritual *King* might yet call his *Subjects* to *Fight*.

Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* takes notice of *Popery's* being an intruder among the poor Benefices of the *North*, in the Speech before Cited, and there ſaith, *p.* 1. *That to plant goood Miniſters in good Livings, is the ſtrongeſt and ſureſt means to eſtabliſh true Religion, and will prevail more againſt Papiſtry then the making of new Laws, and executing the old*, and there *p.* 3. relates what King *James* had done for the ſupporting of the Proteſtant Religion in *Scotland*, *where* (ſaith he) *within the ſpace of one year, he cauſed to be Planted Churches throughout that Kingdom, the High-Lands and the Borders worth* 30 l. *a year a piece, with a Houſe and ſome glebe-Land belonging to them, which* 30 l. *a year conſidering the cheapneſs of that Country is worth double as much as any where within an* 100 *Miles of* London. And *p.* 7. he mentions ſome Paſſages of Biſhop *Jewels* Sermon before Queen *Elizabeth*, where the Biſhop having in general reflected on thoſe that then cauſed the diminution of the maintenance of Miniſters, he further ſaith, *howſoever they ſeem to rejoyce at the proſperity of* Sion, *and to ſeek the ſafety and preſervation of* the Lords Anointed, *yet needs muſt it be that by theſe means Forraign Power, of which this Realm by the mercy of God is happily delivered, ſhall again be brought in upon us. Such things ſhall be done to us as we before ſuffer'd in the times of Popery*, &c.

'Twas there before mention'd how that Man of God with a flame of Zeal, reflected in theſe words on the *Queen* her ſelf, *Our poſterities ſhall rue*

that

that ever ſuch Fathers went before them, and Chronicles ſhall report this Contempt of learning among the Plagues and Murrains and other Puniſhments of God; they ſhall leave it written in what time, and under whoſe reign this was done.

If the good Biſhop had conſidered the vaſtneſs of Queen *Elizabeth's* Expences before mention'd, in defending the Proteſtant Cauſe, *contra gentes*, he would have *given her day* to have built and endowed ſome Churches; and to thoſe *expences* before mention'd, it comes into my memory here to add what I then forgot, which is related in the *Travels* of Mr. *Fines Moryſon*, who was *Secretary* then to the *Chief Governor* of *Ireland* in her Reign, *viz. That ſhe expended in 4 years time on that Kingdom, a Million and one Hundred Ninety Eight Thouſand Pound* Sterling; which Sum ſo laid out then on *Ireland*, will ſeem the more conſiderable, when by a late *Report* of the *Counſel of Trade* in that Kingdom drawn by Sir *W. P. The currant Caſh of that Kingdom is made to be but Three Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pound* Sterling.

But this by the way, and to reſume my diſcourſe of our Clergies neither getting nor loſing by Religion; I ſhall ſay that as the acceptable free reſtoration of the *Church* as well as the *Crown* to its Lands, ſhewed that there was no fear of its injuring the Ballance of the Kingdom, or hurting Religion by its weight, ſo hath the following *acquieſcence* of all dis-intereſted men in the ſame, evinced that weight to be no *gravamen*.

In a *Pamphlet* called *a Letter from a Perſon of Quality to his Friend in the Country*, Printed in the *Year* 1675, generally ſuppoſed to be writ by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and which aſſerts the Juſtice of the *Declaration* of *Indulgence*, the *Author* in p. 5. ſpeaking of the Church of *England*, becoming the head of the Proteſtants at home and abroad, ſaith, *For that place is due to the Church of* England *being in favour and of neareſt approach to the moſt powerful Prince of that Religion, and ſo always had it in their hands to be the Interceſſors and Procurers of the greateſt good and protection that Party throughout all Chriſtendom can receive. And thus the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *might become not only* alterius orbis, *but* alterius Religionis Papa, *and all this Addition of Honour and Power attain'd without the leaſt loſs or diminution of the Church: it not being intended that one Dignity or Preferment ſhould be given to any, but thoſe that were ſtrictly conformable.*

The natural inclination in all *ingenious* Men not to caſt *an evil Eye* on the Church Revenue, appears in Mr. *Marvel's* Second *Part* of the *Reherſal tranſpos'd*, p. 146. where he ſaith, *I am ſo far from thinking enviouſly of the Revenue of the Church of* England, *&c. That I think in my Conſcience it is all but too little, and wiſh with all my heart that there could be ſome way found out to augment it.*

And our ingenious and great Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, in his *certain Conſiderations touching the pacification of the Church of* England, hath with great equity decreed our Parliaments to be in ſome ſort indebted to the Church.

Moreover that *Gentlemanly* way of writing uſed by our great *Divines*, in a late *Conjuncture* againſt Popery, and ſo ſuitable to the refinement of Wit and Reaſon in the Age, and wherein without the Pedantry of unneceſſary Words or Quotations, or raiſing a duſt out of the Learned Rubbiſh of the Schoolmen, they generally with a manly Style and clear reaſon and skill at that weapon got the Sword out of their Enemies hand by the *Argumentum ad hominem*, and ſhewed us that Popery and Implicit Faith were not Calculated for the Meridian of this Age, hath (I think) made all ingenious Men *Conformiſts* in this opinion, that if their *Genius* had been cramp'd with the *res anguſta domi*, their thoughts had not in their Books

appeared ſo great, and therefore I hope that all the well writ *works of their hands, and ſeaſonable diſcourſes againſt* Popery at that time when it was ready to *curſe* us, and to *riſe up againſt our Religion*, will make all *thinking* Proteſtants to ſay *Amen* to that Prayer of *Moſes*, *Bleſs O Lord* Levi's *ſubſtance, accept the work of his hands: ſmite through the Loyns of them that hate him, that they riſe not again.*

It will I doubt not appear to rational and thinking men, that our little interloping Churches or Congregations that ſet up with their precarious Power, and ſmall ſtock of Learning or Revenue, will no more be able to break the great Compacted Body of the Papal Church, that hath the *Monopoly* of the *Religion-Trade* in ſo many parts of the World, then a few interloping Merchant-men to break the Opulent *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, who have engroſs'd ſo much of the Spices of the World, that ſometimes they cauſe ſeveral Ships loadings of them to be at once conſumed, as knowing what quantity, and no more will be uſeful to the World. And ſomewhat like that thing too, the Polity of the *Anglican* Church in *Harry* the 8*th*'s time perform'd while it drove a *Religion-Trade* with *Rome*, and yet conſumed a great quantity of its ſuperfluous Merchandize, and the ſame thing hath been done by our National Church, as to remaining parts of the Romiſh *Superſtition* in ſucceeding times, and indeed *Superſtition* which is a kind of *Nimiety* of Religion, is ſo incident to Humane Nature, and is ſo deſtructive to the Polity of Churches, and the ſubſtantial Commerce of Nations, that it is worthy the Power and Care of Nations to conſume it.

And conſidering that the Church of *Rome* hath ſtill valued it ſelf for being *terribilis ſicut caſtrorum acies ordinata*, it is a vain thing to contend with ſuch a Regular Church Militant, without our having of *general* Officers, and as exact a Conduct, or to think to have ſuch Officers without Honourable Maintenance from the Publick: *For none doth go a Warfare at any time at his own charge.*

When I think how in the *Primitive* times, while a Cloud of Perſecution was always over the head of the Chriſtians, that yet they ſtrain'd themſelves ſo much in Contributions for the Paſtorage of their Souls, that all the Paſtors then were ſo far from loſing by Religion, that ſome were tempted to that Office for *filthy Lucre* (as we may ſee out of *Peter Ep.* 1. *Ch* 5. *Verſ.* 2.) tho yet too ſo little comparatively was to be gain'd by all thereby, that others probably undertook that Office *by conſtraint*, as the ſame *place* intimates, and that therein the *Apoſtolick* Prudence was conſpicuous in ordering it upon the whole matter, that the generality of Paſtors then ſhould not get or loſe by Religion, I may reaſonably conclude that we who live in the flouriſhing and proſperous State of Chriſtianity, ought to provide that the meaneſt Paſtor of Souls in *England*, may live competently and decently by that Office: and for my part I ſhall never give my voice for any ones ſerving in Parliament, that will not be willing to move for the diſcharge of the Debt to the *Clergy* before mention'd, as ſoon as the State of the Kingdom will bear it.

Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* in his aforeſaid *Speech* p. 3. mentioning the danger we are in of being upbraided by the Papiſts, for being willing to ſerve God with ſomewhat that would coſt us nothing, hath a *ſaying* that I have often heard Cited in diſcourſe as anothers; namely, *He that thinks to ſave any thing by Religion, but his Soul, will be a loſer in the end.*

And this Notion of his of not ſaving by Religion, doth fortifie my affirmation of the publick inconvenience accruing by the getting by it, as to which I have ſo opened the preſent State of the *Clergies* maintenance in *England*, as to repreſent them rather loſers then gainers. When

When 'tis conſidered how many there are in *England* of the *Layety*, who gape for gain by Religion, and are ready to devour one another for it, as well as Religion by it, I am ſure none can with reaſon think the *Quota* of the *Clergy's* Maintenance, ſhould be ſuch as in the time of the proſperity of the State to render them loſers.

How ſcandalous and how ridiculous, nay, how ridiculous by Poverty it ſelf, many of our Lay-Popiſh and Proteſtant *Religion-Traders* have been, I have already evinced; and do ſuppoſe that nothing can *blacken* that Trade in the fancies of the People, more then the diſcovery of the *Traders*, who muſt needs appear more odious then they who are the Mercenary Brokers, for the debaſing of Humane Nature by Luſt, ſince the Hypocritical Religion-Traders do for Rewards proſtitute the Honour of their Creator, and as much as they can make the Divine Nature ſubſervient to the diabolical Art of their Hypocriſy.

Before the late Market for Converts in *France*, I have not heard or read of any Nation in the World, wherein great Parcels of the Layety have gain'd Mony by Religion, but only in *England*.

I believe that in *Amſterdam* (whereas *Des Cartes* ſaith in one of his Epiſtles, *Nemo non mercaturam exercet*) there is not one Religion-Trader, tho yet all Religions are there tolerated. Nor yet is any Lay-man of that Trade in *Paris* who is of any other.

And in the Policy of the *Turkiſh* Empire, 'tis provided for as a *Fundamental*, that nothing ſhall be there acquired by Religion; inſomuch that all that Emperor's Subjects as well as himſelf being by their Law enjoyn'd to be able to practice ſome *Manual* Trade, when any are call'd out to diſcharge the Office of Prieſts, or Celebraters of the Publick Religious Worſhip there, ſuch exact Care is taken, that they ſhall get by the exerciſe of that Office, juſt ſo much and no more, as they did by their *Manual* Trade: for which purpoſe, an Excellent Perſon who was the King's *Ambaſſador* at *Conſtantinople*, related to me, That he complaining to the *Viſier* of ſome injury done by a *Turkiſh* Prieſt to one of his Servants, the *Viſier* deprived him of that Holy Employment, and that the Prieſt being afterward ſent to Petition to be reſtored to his place, he anſwered, that he would not, being as well content to work on in the Mechanick Trade, to the exerciſe whereof he was returned ſince his ſaid deprivation.

But this Trade and ſort of Traders that hath ſo long peſter'd our Kingdom, is now about to expire and dye a natural death, and which it could not before be brought to do by a violent. And as the *Trade* of ſturdy Beggars, the which is as much a Trade and as much conducted by Laws among themſelves, as is any incorporate one that hath the ſtamp of the Great Seal, could by no Legiſlation be extinguiſhed, but would ſoon be ſo by peoples voluntary forbearing to be their Contributers, thus too will this *ſturdy* Religion-Trade have its Period. Our Fifth Monarchy-men who thought to inherit the earth without giving ſixteen years Purchaſe for it, and who pretended to *follow the Lamb whereſoever he went*, but really out of dreams of a golden Fleece, are by all exploded. The condition of *Britannia languens*, and that too very much occaſion'd by the former inſolence of the Papiſts, being underſtood at *Rome*, will make the old *Gentleman* there think 'tis vain for him to hope to be poſſeſs'd of the Abby Lands without giving for them many Millions of Pounds *Sterling*, and the Papiſts here will I believe ſo ſoon penetrate into the preſent State of our Poverty, that they will find no way effectual for the delivering them from the vexatious Proſecutions of Proteſtant Informers, but the Removal of that decay of Trade, and general dearth of many that has neceſſitated ſo many to be *Informers*;

and

and who cauſe them to ſpend upon *under Sheriffs* more Money then they ſave by not being *high Sheriffs*, and which decay of Trade hath ſunk a 4th *part* of the value of their Lands, and which can never be cured but by the diſſolution of the Religionary one; and finding the Credit of the *Jeſuites* Society crack'd, as I have before expreſs'd, will find that their *Journeymen Calumniators* (as Mr. *Sergeant* calls them in a Paper of his I have ſeen) muſt neceſſarily *break too*, and it being found that not only our *Enthuſiaſts* are forced by neceſſity of Nature to deſiſt from expecting any gain by Religion, but all Proteſtants whatſoever, the Popiſh Traders therein will be the more content to give over one of their Trades, and the fate of them will be like that of the Aſſociated Jeſuites, to march out of their Spiritual Corporations inſenſibly, like the captious *Scribes* and *Phariſes* in the *Goſpel*, of whom 'tis there ſaid, *Being convicted in their own Conſciences, they went out one by one beginning at the eldeſt even to the laſt*, &c.

Tho as I ſaid no man in *Holland* doth get or loſe by Religion, yet ſince the Reformation there was a Controverſy of Religion, I mean the *Arminian* one which made an extraordinary fermentation in their State, and which Controverſy tho Knaves there frighted Fools with, as if it were ſtirred by the *Remonſtrants*, with an intent to bring in Popery; yet the knowing few eaſily underſtood that neither ſide of the *Queſtion* could produce that effect, and they likewiſe underſtood that the profeſſion of the belief of the ſeveral oppoſite Points of that Controverſie among the oppoſite Parties there, ſerv'd only as *Ribbands* of ſeveral colours, to diſtinguiſh Parties that are againſt each other in Arms.

And yet that very great Controverſie in *Religion*, which divided *Holland* and diſtracted our Kingdom in the time of the Royal Martyr, and the ſubſtance of which perplexed the *Trihæreſia* of the *Jews*, the *Saduces*, *Eſſenes* and *Phariſes*, and likewiſe three ſorts of Chriſtians, the *Pelagians*, *Calviniſts* and *Arminians*, and that of old divided the Sects of the Philoſophers, and hath many years raged among the *Turks*, and likewiſe among the *Jeſuites* and *Dominicans*, after its having for ſo many thouſand years troubled ſo many Millions of Mankind, ſeems lately to be retired to its Eternal Reſt, and the ſullen World ſeems reſolved to hear and read no more of it, and none I believe will get or loſe any ſecular profit by his Sentiments in that Controverſie; and 'tis probable that the Controvertible part of Popery may thus go ſilently out of the Company of People in this Kingdom, and without ſo much as troubling us by taking a formal leave, give reſt to it ſelf and us, and that none will in this our World get or loſe by that part of Popery that can properly claim to be call'd a *Religion*.

I have uſually in this *Diſcourſe* called it an *Hypotheſis* or *Suppoſition*, which I choſe rather to do then to call the entire Body of it a *Religion*, which I know that it is not and cannot be, and that *Popery* and the former *Scotch* Presbytery, and *Socinianiſm* are not in the groſs called *Religions* otherwiſe then κατ' ἀνθιφρασιν.

I will not quarrel with Papiſts for calling ſome Points before mentioned, wherein Diſputants will be ſtill playing with the Dye of Controverſie, by the Name of Religion, and I will give tho not grant them my Conſent for applying that Name, to the believing that the *Pope* is the *Principium Unitatis*, and there are not many Propoſitions in the *Chronologia hæreſium, ſectarum & ſchiſmatum*, and in the *Hæreſiographis* that many have Publiſh'd, that I would think a man to have *læſa principia* that did call Tenets of *Religion*; and there are in *Popery* many things enjoyn'd, that tho I look on as needleſs impoſitions and new inventions, for the diverting the Melancholy, I ſhall not gainſay any one that ſhall call *Religion* and repreſent them

them as of *Apoſtolical* Practice, tho the birth of many of them was *reveſt* but of yeſterday.

And thus let the mixing of Water with Wine in the Euchariſt, and the faſting on *Friday*, Pilgrimages to the Sepulchres of Martyrs, the Prieſts uſing a low voice in Conſecration, and let the Canonization of Saints, the inſtitution of *Saturday* Maſs in honour of the Virgin *Mary*, the invention of the Red Hatts and Scarlet Cloaks worn by Cardinals, the Inſtitution of the year of Jubily, the Popes every year Conſecrating a *Roſe* of Gold, the ſound of the Bell at the hour of Mid day, the *Roſary* of the Virgin *Mary*, and likewiſe the Baptization of Bells, be all baptiſed with the name of Religion, and many Notions and Practices likewiſe more peculiar to Popery.

And tho the denomination of things is from the better part, as Mines are ſaid to be of Lead, or Silver, &c. from the quantity of the Metal there moſt valuable, and ſo I can be content to call a Complication of Tenets of which ſome are erroneous by the name of a Religion, yet in any *Syſteme* of *Religion* or *Confeſſion*, that may happen to appear in the World more pure and exact then the *Auguſtane*, or the *Helvetian*, or the *Saxonic*, the *Gallic*, or *Engliſh*, or *Belgic*, or *Bohemian*, and more accommodate to the true ſenſe of the *Councils* and *Fathers*, and the beſt *Expoſitors* then the former, and containing more ſatisfactory explanations about the propagation and entrance of *Original* Sin, the Nature, Order and Offices of *Angels*, and of the Conſiſtency both of Gods immutable Decrees, with the Contingency of ſecond Cauſes, and of the Efficacy of God's Grace, with the freedom of Mans Will, and of the Time, Place and Antecedents of the laſt Judgment, one ſingle Notion relating but to a Commandment of the ſecond Table, incorporated with ſuch a *Confeſſion* of Faith, would make the applying the Name of *Religion* to the whole to be very ridiculous and nauſeous, and make it more fit in the groſs to be called a *Confeſſion* of *Faction*, or of *Conſpiracy* againſt Mankind; and any one will think ſo if that one Article ſhould be thus inſerted, *And we further think it commendable at ſome Seaſons of the year, to kill the next man we ſhall meet.* And yet as harſhly as this ſounds, there is that in *Popery* and likewiſe in the Doctrine of the *Reſiſtance* of *Princes* contrary to the *Municipal* Laws, that doth hear worſe, and that is tho not ajuſtification of the killing the next man to be met with, the effect of which would yet make men excite their natural Courage and fortifie it with skill, and be provided with good Arms, whereby to be always ready to defend their Country (juſt as the *Spartan* Law of puniſhing no man for *Theft* that was not taken in the Fact, made men more vigilant in the Cuſtody of their Goods) namely, the killing Multitudes of the beſt men that can be culled and ſingled out of the *fæx* of Mankind, and ſuch of whom the *World is not worthy*, in ſo much that we are told by *Alſted* in his *Chronologia teſtium veritatis*, that *ab Anno* 1540, *uſque ad Annum* 1580, *Novies centena millia Chriſtianorum in Belgio, Gallia, Anglia, Italia & Hiſpania, Religionis Cauſâ trucidata ſunt: atque inter eos fuerunt*, 235 *Barones*, 148 *Comites*, 39 *Principes*, and the killing of Ten thouſand Subjects next met, would not be ſo deſtructive to Kingdoms as the killing of one King, for according to the computation and the *Style* of the *Scripture*, *he is worth Ten thouſand of us.*

My Lord Arch-biſhop *Laud* in his Famous Speech in the *Star-Chamber* p. 32, 33, &c. Anſwers ſome Mens Charge of Innovation againſt our *Liturgy*, as to the Prayers ſet forth for the 5th of *November*, and ordered (they ſay) to be read by *Act* of Parliament where one paſſage was, *Cut off thoſe workers of Iniquity, whoſe Religion is Rebellion*; and in the Book

Printed 1635. 'tis thus alter'd, *Cut off those workers who turn Religion into Rebellion.*

His Grace in the *p.* 36. there weighs the Consequences of avowing that the Popish *Religion* is Rebellion: and in the next *p.* saith, *That if you make their Religion to be Rebellion, then you make their Religion and their Rebellion to be all one.*

But in my poor opinion several of the great Points of their Religion so called, as even *transubstantiation* it self and many others, are not to be term'd *Rebellion*, but other points before mentioned can properly be term'd nothing else, and when all those Tenets are so complicated by them, that they do all conjoyntly integrate their Religion, then is there pretended Religion, when really believed, and practised, a real Rebellion.

The best advice therefore that I can give to a Papist is that of the old *Philosopher* ἁπλωσον σεαυτὸν, *simplifica te ipsum*, and that of a *Jewish* Rabbi, *Come de dactylos, & projice foras duritiem.* The World is a weary of seeing any men joyn what God and Nature have parted: and of their projecting a *Communion between Christ* and *Belial*, and making *Christ the Minister of Sin*, as the *Scripture* expression is.

A great Master of *Mechanics* and of all sorts of refined Learning some years since brought to light the Invention of the *double bottom'd* Vessel, and a rude Description of it, being sent me for News into the Country, I easily guessed that such a Ship bearing much more Sail then other Ships, must needs go a great deal faster before the Wind; but I was not inform'd of the Provision that the excellent Artist had made against the danger of *Divulsion*; it being obvious that in some Tempests 'tis as much as one entire body can do to preserve it self against the fury of the Sea.

This hath been the condition of Popery with its *double bottom* of Principles, namely, to bear a great wide spreading Sail, and it has heretofore in a quiet World sail'd apace before the Wind and in fair weather, but the Tempestuous Debates its Principles have raised here and abroad in the Sea of the People, have made this old *double bottom'd* Ship of St. *Peter* in such danger of *Divulsion* that especially with such *Pauls* Marriners as it employs, it can hardly escape.

I doubt not but the Papists as well as others of Mankind, have a Right and Title to the free and undisturb'd worshiping of God and the Confession of the Principles of Religion, purchased for them by the *Blood* of *Christ*: for Religion being Mens Priviledge as well as Duty (just as the *Romans* did account that they endowed any place with a Priviledge when they gave them their Laws) they may thank their great Redeemer for being restored to it. By the vertue of his *Blood*, the *Papists* stand seiz'd of a good and indefeisable estate of *Christian* Liberty, *and they are bought with a Price*, and are therefore *not to be the Servants of Men, and one is their Master even Christ, who is the Lord that bought them.* and they are therefore to *stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free.*

Socinus saith, he went on his *Knees* to God to find out the meaning of the 58th *V.* of the 8*th* of St. *John.* And should I chance to over hear any one Member of Mankind at his Private Devotions, *and importuning Heaven to illuminate his mind with the knowledge of some point in Religion, that he conceived necessary to his Salvation, and acknowledging it to the praise of the Divine Goodness, that excited him to the use of all means whereby to discover it, that he had so far through the Efficacy of assisting Grace practised the Truths, his understanding was possest with as to satisfie his mind that he was a serious Supplicant for its being the depositary of more*, I should be so far from wishing this man delivered over to *Satan*, from differing for me in any controverted

troverted Point of Religion, that I ſhould think that if the truth he was in queſt of; imported his Salvation, *God* would ſend an *Angel* to explain it to him.

But as to *one* part of the *double bottom* of *Popery*, tho we ſhould grant it laden with fundamental truths, yet 'tis notorious that the *other* is overladen with Fundamental Errors, and ſuch as are apt to undermine the Foundations of States and Kingdoms, and there is no need of an extraordinary Meſſenger from Heaven to tell one embarked therein, that the *Pope* is not to abſolve Subjects from the obedience of their Princes, nor to cauſe an eternal fermentation and inquietude in the World, through his Kingdom, (that ſhould not be of it at all) yet being unbutted and unbounded by him in all the parts of it.

I will likewiſe tell any *Socinian* that his great Maſter *Socinus* made ſuch a *double bottom* of his *Syſteme* of Notions, that it hath forfeited its right to the Name of Religion by one Tenet complicated therewith, and that he ought to throw that off and *ſimplificare ſe ipſum*. Let any one if he pleaſeth call the *Socinians* denying of the Trinity in Unity, and Original Sin, and the Baptiſm of Infants, or the Divine Preſcience, and many other of their Notions by the Name of *Religion*; but there is own of their *Tenets* that their Maſter needed no long wreſtling with Heaven as a Supplicant to find out the truth of, and which Notion when really believed is as pernicious to Crown'd Heads and their Subjects, as the lawfulneſs of any ones ſometime killing the next man he meets, and that is, that my Prince and I may not defend our lives againſt the next Invader who comes to take them away; for as to that great Queſtion, *An bellum offenſivum vel defenſivum ſit licitum*, the *Socinians* anſwer is *negatur*, which any one may ſee who pleaſeth to conſult the *Themata F. Socini de officio Chriſti* p. 7. *Inter breves tractatus F. Socini*: and likewiſe his *Epiſtle* to *Chriſtopher Morſtius*, p. 498. among his *Epiſtles*.

And thus let the well-willers to *Presbytery*, call that erroneous opinion of their Church Government being founded on that *Divine* Right, and the immediate Command of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles a *Tenet* of *Religion*, but to confront the Laws of Kingdoms in the ſettling it, and to eradicate any part of thoſe, and eſpecially to root the inheritable Monarchs Power in popular Election or Approbation, and to make him but the Peoples *Attorny*, and his Authority as revocable by them as a Letter of *Attorney*, is *abuſively* call'd *Religion*, and is only properly to be term'd *Sedition*, or *Rebellion*.

I have been ſo copious in inſiſting on the neceſſary ſeparation of all *Tenets* that are denominable as *Religious*, from thoſe that are really *Irreligious* and *Seditious* under the groſs name of the *Religion* in any Party, as a thing perfectly juſt in it ſelf, and neceſſary for the quiet of the World, and do hope that the Age that is ſo much addicted here to the improvement and poliſhing of our *Language*, will incline it to do it ſelf that right as not to give *falſe* Names to Things, and Names of a contrary ſignification.

We know that the *Standard* of *England* in the *Mint* refers both to *weight* and *fineneſs*; and tho a piece of Money may have the Royal Stamp on it, engraven with all poſſible curioſity, yet if it be not ſtandard, 'tis ſo far from being allow'd the Name of any *Species* of the Kings *Coyn*, that 'tis inſtantly to be broken in pieces; and as this is but juſt ſo is it but neceſſary for the quiet of the People, who elſe detecting it would ſuſpect the whole credit of the Mint, as well as of that Species of Money, and would either not take it or elſe with a Clamour raiſe the price of their Commodities for it.

And

And thus it is too a thing unreaſonable and troubleſome to the World, for Men to *Coyn* falſe words or falſe denominations for any Tenet in Religion intrinſecally defective, what curious ſtamp of the artifice of any Party ſoever it may bear: its *reprobate Silver* is not to be call'd *Religion*, and it makes Religion it ſelf lyable to ſuſpicion among the inquiſitive, it will trouble every hand it paſſeth to and from, and in giving a value to it, the People will raiſe the price of their tolerating it, and the World will never be quiet till its allay from the true Silver be ſeparated by melting it down, and it takes the name of Religion only when it deſerves it.

What is more ordinary then for Clamour to raiſe this queſtion, *Will you puniſh any man for his Religion? and will you have any man loſe by his Religion?* and I ſee no end in the diſputes of the queſtion but by this Anſwer, and by this it muſt find a *Period*, viz. *I puniſh no man for his Religion*, for that *Tenet* that I quarrel with him about, is not and indeed cannot be *Religion*. It is pure and rank Sedition and Rebellion; and if any *Papiſt* or *Presbyterian* ſhall write or ſpeak to make the Kings Power a bubble blown up by the breath of the People and ſo diſſolvable, I ſhall eſteem him fit to be proceeded againſt by the new Statute of the 13*th*. of this Kings Reign againſt Sedition, and as a Subverter of the Fundamental Laws, and do ſuppoſe 'twill be ridiculous for any one to plead his *Religion* in bar of that Indictment, and he doth moreover deſerve to be puniſh'd as a *Cheater* for abuſing the World and himſelf and Religion too, by calling ſuch a particular Tenet *Religion*, or a Complication of many *Tenets* by that Name, where the vertue of them all is not ſtrong enough to correct the Poyſon of one.

The *Scripture* doth puniſh thoſe with a denunciation of a *Wo* who *call evil good, and good evil, that put darkneſs for light, and light for darkneſs*; and in this particular *Point* of the calling any of the Idolatries or Impoſtures of the Heathens or others, by the name of *Religion*, I remember not any *inſtance* in *holy* Writ, tho yet in other Caſes 'tis not infrequent for the inſpired Pen man to ſpeak *cum vulgo*.

I obſerve that in the *New Teſtament* the name of *Religion* is ſeveral times applyed to the *Jewiſh* after the World was freed from the Obligation of it: but one of the *holy* Pen-men ſpeaking in one Chapter of falſe *Apoſtles*, uſeth the Style of *hating the Deeds of the* Nicolaitans, *and of holding the Doctrine of the* Nicolaitans, *and of holding the Doctrine of* Balam: And another of the *Amanuenſes* of the *Holy-Ghoſt* ſpeaks of *Doctrines* of *Devils*.

If any man ſhall offer to my conſideration a *Scheme* of *Doctrines* that relate to Theology, and I find it is too ſubtle for my underſtanding to penetrate, I ſhall yet be ſo civil as to allow the *Propounder* to call it a *Religion*: and thus if *Papiſts* or *Proteſtants* would agree to call Dr. *Gibbon*'s *Scheme*, a *Religion* or *demonſtration* of it, I would not oppoſe their calling it any ſuch thing; and the rather ſince it enjoyns not to me any thing that would break my own or the Worlds quiet; but when *Popery* doth enjoyn ſo many *Tenets* to be believed that are incredible to a rational Man, and ſome things that are clearly impoſſible to a Moral Man, I will call Popery in the *groſs* any thing rather then Religion, juſt as *Tully* ſaith of thoſe Law-givers who did *pernicioſa & injuſta populis præſcribere*, that they did *quidvis potius ferre quam leges*.

I find not that ſince the year 1605. *Popery* hath ſo diſcriminated it ſelf by any alteration for the beter, as to overthrow the weight of King *James*'s ſaying then to both his *Houſes of Parliament*, *viz. That as it is not impoſſible but many honeſt men ſeduced with ſome Errors in Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects, ſo on the other hand, none that know and believe the grounds and School concluſions of their Doctrine, can ever prove good Chriſtians or faithful Subjects.*

There

There is one *Tenet* in the *Doctrine* of Popery that your Lordſhip ſhewed me once diſcuſt in *Print* by a *Canoniſt*, and by whom I was directed to trace it, both to the *Gloſs* and *Text* in the *Canon* Law, that I having diſcours'd of, to a Pious and Learned Neighbour of mine, who is a *Roman* Catholick, he obliged me to write to your Lordſhip, that you would pleaſe to let any of your *Amanuenſes* tranſcribe, and to ſend hither to me the Reſolution of that Lawyer, and determination of the Pope in his Law about it, and hath declared to me, that he will joyn iſſue with me in the Plea about Religion, in that being a Tenet or Principle approved by the Church of *Rome*; and your habitual inclination to afford any one, tho a ſtranger to you, *lumen de lumine*, will (I doubt not) make it eaſie to you to gratifie my requeſt in his behalf.

He grants to me that if that *Tenet* can be ſhewn to be one approved by the Church of *Rome*, that he believes there will be no occaſion for diſputants any more to attaque the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and that as an *Independant* Author in the late times writing a *Pamphlet* againſt *Presbytery*, had this Title for it, *An end of one Controverſy*, it might be ſuppoſed that a Sheet of Paper that without ſtrain'd Inferences could faſten that Tenet on the *Doctrine* of *Popery*, would with better ſucceſs make an *end* of that *Controverſy*.

My Lord this Point diſcuſſed in Print, that I refer to, is as I find it in the *Notes* I took thereof in your Lordſhips Study, in *Gundiſſalvus* his *Tractatus de Hæreticis, Queſtion.* 24. before which the *Summarium* is thus,

1. *Civitas in quâ aliqui inſunt hæretici an tota poſſit igne exuri, aut alias deſtrui.*

2. *Civitas quando dicatur hæreſim committere, ut univerſa deſtrui poſſit.*

3. *Univerſitate punitâ de hæreſi an ſinguli quoque puniti videantur, ita ut amplius puniri non poſſint.*

The Gentleman being of a nice tenderneſs of Conſcience, and having a quick ſenſe of any thing that looks like groſs impiety, was at the very nameing of the firſt and ſecond Queſtion, ſurprized with a kind of trembling, and was ſomewhat more diſcompoſed, when I told him that upon conſideration of the whole matter, it appear'd even from the moſt moderate of the *Canoniſts* that a whole City might lawfully be deſtroyed with Fire, if the Majority of it were Hereticks, and that there were the Judgment of the Church in the Caſe; and like a Man of a large and candid Soul, he ſaid, that he was ſorry that Humane Nature could in any men ſo far degenerate, as to *deliberate* about ſuch their deſtroying a whole City by Fire, but would reſerve his judgment on the Point till he ſaw it before him in the Quotations out of the *Canon*-Law, as well as *Canoniſts*. What the Event of his Judgment will be I know not; and I confeſs I have been very ſparing of my time in diſcourſing with *Roman* Catholicks, about any Point of the Doctrine of their Church, ſince I read it in *Cardinal* Tolets *Inſt. ſacerdotum* lib. 4. cap. 3. *and* 7. p. 612. and in our Countryman *Holcot* a Famous *Schoolman* in *lib.* 1. *Sententiarum Queſt.* 1. *ad ſextum principale in replica.* That *if he hears his Prelate Preaching an erroneous Propoſition which he doth not know to be ſo, and believes him, he doth not ſin, but is bound to err becauſe he is bound to believe him,* & meretur volendo credere errorem.

And he who believes he ſhall *merit* by going out of his way, I am ſure deſerves, that I ſhould not much trouble my ſelf to go out of mine, to put him in the right.

But this is not the temper of this *Worthy Gentleman*, whom I have reaſon to eſteem a lover of truth *quatenus* truth, and for its own ſake, and one who doth not account falſhood charming, or *rebelling againſt the Light* meritorious: and indeed I have obſerv'd it in ſome others, as well as him, that after they have deſerted the Church of *England*, their inquiſitiveneſs in Religion has not been at its Journeys end, but has ſtill continued in its way, and that ſo far, that Holy Church and they have oft been apt ſecretly to be weary of one another.

The Rational Religion they were firſt educated in, has had the allurements of the *Natale ſolum*, that they could never wholy overpower.

I have known three *Earls*, one whereof was of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and the other two of *England*, and all of them were men of great Wit and Parts, and ſuch who being brought up in the Religion of the Church of *England*, went off from it to the Church of *Rome*: but receded not from the candour of their tempers, nor from the Society of their old Friends, nor from the frank readineſs to diſcourſe with them, about the controverted Points of both Churches, and neither of them perverted their Wives or Children to Popery, and the eldeſt Sons of them all, are eminent Sons of the Church of *England*, and do make conſiderable figures in the State.

One of thoſe three Earls is yet living, and in him lives the great example of an *Engliſh* Nobleman, adorning Nobility by his intellectual and Moral Endowments, and by a Majeſty mixt with incomparable ſweetneſs in his familiar Converſe, and by a conſummate Loyalty to his Prince that Envy it ſelf never ſpotted, and by ſuch an exact Obſervation of his Faith, given to any of Mankind, that he would no more violate it with an Heretick, then with a Patriarch or Apoſtle, and by having been never ſuſpected from uſing any *Jeſuite-Confeſſors* to learn how to evade from ſolid Honour by ſubtle diſtinctions, or once to allow the leaſt *Chicanery* in God's Great *Court* of *Conſcience*.

And if we caſt our thoughts on *France*, we ſhall there find that the great and the brave *Turen* after he had ſo unfortunately thrown himſelf at the Popes Feet, had there his Arms as ready to embrace his Proteſtant Friends as ever.

I have heard of two Crown'd Heads of the Church of *Rome*, who were very unkind to their Proteſtant Subjects after ſtipulations to the contrary: the one was *Ferdinand* of *Bohemia*, who when Cardinal *Cleſelius* Biſhop of *Vienna* told him, that if he made War on the *Bohemians* the deſtruction of that flouriſhing Kingdom would certainly follow, anſwered, *We would rather have the Kingdom deſtroyed then damned*; the other was Queen *Mary* of *England*, who as the (*Acts* and *Monuments* tells us) being intent on the *Reſtoring the Abby-Lands, and diſcourſing with Four of her Privy-Counſellors about the ſame*, ſaid, *perhaps you may object to me again, that the State of my Kingdom, the Dignity thereof and my Crown Imperial, cannot be honourably maintain'd without the Poſſeſſions aforeſaid; yet notwithſtanding I ſet more by the Salvation of my Soul, then by Ten Kingdoms*: and the Reign of each of theſe was beſmear'd with Blood: but had they been born and bred Lambs, I believe that no *Tranſmutation* of the Blood of *Tygres* into them would have made them ſuch.

The Famous *Julian* of whom 'twas ſaid, *Nunc Apoſtolicus, Nunc Vilis Apoſtata factus*, had learned too much Chriſtianity, when he was a *Reader*, to be a raging Blood-ſucker; and if when Emperor he had had e're a *Name-ſake* that collected the *Madrigals* or Hymns againſt him, he would perhaps have done him no harm.

The

The low birth and the Poverty and Mercenary diſpoſition of *Judas*, tempted him to betray his Maſter with a kiſs, but he was ſo far wrought on by the good Company he had kept, that he afterwards kill'd none elſe but himſelf: and they are ſuch perverted Proteſtants generally that are of the ſame rate with *Judas* for Birth and Poverty, and paultry Avarice, that I ſhould deſire to ſtand out of the way from and to avoid the Vermine of ſuch *Renegadoes*; and they are only ſuch Popiſh Princes as *Ferdinand* and *Mary*, that in their Education were never imbued with better Principles then the bloody ones of Popery, that I ſhould fear as Monſters, and account any Kingdom but a Den, if I lived therein with them: and when ever I happen to diſpute about that Notion in *vogue* that Vertue it ſelf in a Popiſh Succeſſor will be a Nuſance, and make him a bloody Bigot, I anſwer with a *diſtinction* and grant it is likely to be ſo in one who paſſed from the Breaſt, in Infancy to ſuck in Sanguinary Principles, but where in any *Succeſſor*, the Tenets of Popery when he is on the Borders of old Age, are Succeſſors to Principles of a Noble and Rational Religion, that he has grown up into youth and manhood with, I ſhall account my fears very wild and irrational if my hopes do not grow up with them as to my promiſing my ſelf, that he will at leaſt anſwer *Bocalines* Character of the *beſt Reformer of the World*, namely, *one that leaves it as he finds it*, and do ſuppoſe the practicableneſs of what is Savage in Nature, being reclaim'd in one *Animal* toward another it was educated with, will be allowed from the frequent and trivial ſpectacle of the Lion and the Lamb that were bred up together, and who without the help of Miracle and Prophecy were taught by Nature *to lye down together*, and ſhall account the ſame perſons injurious to the World, who fiſhing in troubled waters of the State, ſay, *the worſe the better*, and of ſuch a Prince educated in Proteſtancy and then perhaps turning Papiſt, *the better the worſe*, and eſpecially when the Laws have eſpous'd us to his Line, *for better for worſe*.

Our acute and profound Mr. *Chillingworth* in Mature years went over to the Church of *Rome*, and in his courſe there made a *ſhort turn*, and the *Natale ſolum* of the Church of *England* charm'd him ſoon back again, and he by the culture of his reaſon made the Soil a hundred fold amends for his temporary deſerting it. But Princes and Potentates are under higher temptations then his low Station placed him in not to be ſeen to retreat, eſpecially after their having once done it before, and may ſuppoſe that other Princes will look on them as more ſlippery and unſafe to be dealt with, if the ſame Principles once congeal'd or hardened in them, and afterward diſſolv'd ſhould be congeal'd again, juſt as the Earth is more ſlippery and unſafe to be walked on in a Froſt after a Thaw.

We are told by the Conformiſt in *the Friendly Debate*, in *p.* 112. *That he has heard ſome of the Nonconformiſt Divines acknowledge, that they did not ſcruple what the Conformiſts do: but thought it unhandſome for them to do it, &c. And the meaning was, in plain Engliſh, that they were aſhamed to confeſs their error.*

But if ſome of thoſe *Divines* whoſe low Education conducted them perhaps from being Servitors in the Univerſity to domineer in their *Cures*, and who through the Track of their Lives might be traced by the ſlime of their Pedantry, and whoſe Trade was (or ſhould have been) the Study of *Divinity* (the Precepts of which and their fragments collected out of *Auguſtinus* and *Aquinas* as well as the example of the former, obliged them to retract thoſe Errors publickly, that they had ſo utter'd) I ſay that if they were yet ſo *Picquez d' Honneur*, that they would not let their fallibility appear in Villages, and even the falſity of thoſe Principles of theirs, by

which

which as many *Hundreds of Thouſands* here were ſlain as were bare *hundreds* murder'd in the inglorious Reign of Queen *Mary*, they have true Cauſe to think it diſhonourable for them to reſtrain their Compaſſion from any high born Prince, the brightneſs of whoſe great Martial Atchievements has dazel'd the Univerſe, and will continue to do it when he is in the ſhades below, and one who may ſay as the *Pope* did to the *Janſeniſts that he had never ſtudyed Divinity*, and they are very unfit to Caſhiere him from the Church Militant, if he doth not in the view of Mankind appear to make a *Retreat* at the Call of their *Trumpet*, which has been known *to give ſo uncertain a ſound*; and ſuch may be aſhamed to diſpair of his finding out any falſe Notions, he may have received in Religion, and to conclude that he hath not privately diſcovered them becauſe he doth not openly recant them, and to expect that after perhaps he hath erred in the Tenet of *Confeſſion*, he ſhould yet preſently make the World his *Confeſſor* about it, and grant him nothing of the Guard of Honour in the Caſe, but Monopolize the temptations from honour to their ſinful obſcure ſelves.

But as no man can take the meaſures of anothers Sins without taking thoſe of his temptations, ſo none but a Prince can know the temptations of a Prince. *Dic mihi ſi fueris tu Leo*, &c.

The like Pedantry therefore in the great St. *Jerom* was inexcuſable as to that ſharp ſaying of his, *Miror ſi aliquis Rex ſalvabitur*: and that Satyrical fancy of his hath ſince met with its Match by ſome that have ſent St. *Jerom* to the *Devil* as fantaſtically; for ſo I find it ſaid in Dr. *Donnes* Biathanatos, *After ſo many Ages of a Devout and Religious Celebrating the Memory of St.* Jerom, Cauſæus *hath ſpoken ſo dangerouſly, that* (Ratio. 5.) Campian *ſays, he pronounceth him to be as deep in Hell as the Devil.*

Moreover I think it great injuſtice to any Prince who has changed his Religion of Proteſtancy for Popery, that Proteſtants ſhould at the ſame time be jealous of his retaining no tincture of his former Principles, that the Bigotted and Jeſuited Papiſts are jealous of his ſcarce retaining a tincture of his new ones, and by *jealouſie* too, *as cruel as the Grave*, as appeared by the fate of *Harry* the *4th*, who becauſe he did not and indeed could not deveſt himſelf of that humanity toward his Proteſtant Subjects that was riveted in his nature, after he was abſolv'd by the Chair of Infalibility, and reconciled to the very *Scorners* Chair of the *Jeſuites*, yet merely becauſe he had not a window to his breaſt through which every capricious Prieſt might look in at, and might thereby put in what Principles he pleaſed, they were reſolved to cut one there; and after *John Chaſtel* had begun to practice his inciſion, an execrable *Apology* for it was Publiſhed, in which *Apology* Printed in *Latin* at *Lyons Anno* 1611. the *Aſſertion* or *Head* of *Chapter* 3d, *Part* 2d is, Chaſtel *had no purpoſe to kill a King*, and of *Chapter* 4*th* there, Henry *of* Burbon *cannot be called a King by reaſon of his pretended Converſion*: and of *Chapter* 8*th* there, *Neither can he be King tho abſolved by the Pope*, and of *Chapter* 9th, *Neither can he be called a King by the Right of Succeſſion*, and of *Chapter* 11th, *Hereticks and eſpecially relapſed ones are* Jure Divino & Humano *to be put to death*, and of *Chapter* 12th, *Hereticks and eſpecially relapſed ones may be killed by private Perſons, if it cannot be done otherwiſe.*

The Aſſaſſination of *Harry* the 3*d* of *France* bears with it a *Memento mori* to any *Roman* Catholick Prince, who will not be thorow paced in obeying the Precepts of Bigotted Prieſts againſt Hereticks, and to this effect runs the Clamour of the Actions of ſuch Bigots, *either you muſt go our pace to Heaven and Travel by our Mapp, ſee with our Eyes, and let us ride you when we will, and make you ride over your Heretical Subjects, or we will precipitate you to the Devil.*

I

I mention'd it before out of *D' Offat* that it was known at *Rome*, that Queen *Anne* the Wife to King *James*, *had some inclination to the* Roman *Catholick Religion*, and no doubt but she was perverted to it in some measure by some of the *Romish* Priests who were then as since insolently over officious to tempt Princes to change their Faith: and tho none of our Histories mentions any thing of her being a Papist or inclining to be so, yet *D' Offat* (as I said) relates *how* Villeroy *supposed her to have turn'd Papist:* but our Historians unanimously mention one thing, that she was designed as well as the King and Prince and others to be blown up by the Gun-Powder-Treason, a thing that may give one who turns Son of the Church of *Rome* cause to say, *Mallem esse Herodis porcum quam filium.*

No doubt but the mind of any Popish Prince coming out of the cool and sweet Air of a benign and rational Religion, to that of such a torrid Zone and Shambles of mans flesh as the Doctrine of Popery presents, will be oftener in his thoughts travelling back to that Religion then the prying World can know.

But the Gentleman my friend is not any way tempted in point of honour to delay his Return to the Church of *England*; and he lately mentioning to me his wishes of the speedy Arrival of your *Lordships* Papers, told me, that possibly he and I should be both gainers thereby, and that I should gain the Victory and he the Truth, and that he would never account those Priests of *Rome* to be the Missionaries of *Christ*, who if their Doctrine be refused, shall instead of *shaking off the dust of their feet* in any house, reduce it to Ashes; and further affirmed that it were less absurd and extravagant to wish there were no Religion at all in the World, whether reveal'd or natural, then that any such *Hypothesis* or Doctrine that Authorised a Practice of that nature, should be universally receiv'd in it as its Religion.

For tho natural Religion acquaints me with the Divine Power, and gives me hopes of my Creators not rendring me miserable by that Power, and the rather when I have seen that many of the Contemners of Heavens Thunder lived prosperously on Earth, yet if a Model of Religion pretended to be the only reveal'd one shall controuling all the Dictates of natural Religion enjoyn the firing of whole Cities, and mankinds confused outraging one another, I must abandon my further hopes of Bliss from such a Being as was it self miserable, for so that would be whose nature was still in a fermentation of Anger and Passion, and rear'd up Men as the Workmanship of its hands, only to dash those curious but brittle Vessels against one another, and that even for such a Being 'twere more eligible to be, then to be always so miserable, as well as 'twould prove so for my self too, then to be always in Torment by Anger.

But we know that as God is *the God of Order and not of Confusion*, so he is likewise an overflowing Fountain of Goodness, and so infinitely benign, that if his Nature were rightly represented to an ingenious *Atheist*, if he did not at last believe he would ardently wish there were a God: and I think if there be any number of that degenerate sort of Mankind called *Atheists*, (as was said) that such degeneracy must needs be chiefly caused by the mis-representations of the Divine Being.

I have before mentioned how *Tully* in his *de Natura Deorum* shews great Wit in his Anger against the *Epicureans*, for their representing the *Deity* as unconcern'd for Mankind; and against the rendring God careless of the welfare of his Creature man he there exclaims, *Deinde si maxime talis est Deus ut nullâ gratiâ, nullâ hominum charitate teneatur, valeat.*

How paſſionately then would he have upbraided any Muſhroom Sect of Philoſophers, if ſuch had ſprung up in the World (as in his time and before there never did) that had repreſented the Nature of the Deity as ſolicitous and careful only of procuring the miſery of Mankind and diſorder of the World, and enjoyning men to ſpit fire at one another, expoſing them to the ſury of Wild Beaſts if they lived in Deſarts, and of wilder Creatures, that is, themſelves, if they lived in Cities.

There was an Ingenious and Learned and Pious *Divine*, I mean *Creſſy* who in our days forſook the Communion of the Church of *England*, and turned *Roman* Catholick, and went beyond Sea, and returned to *England* in the Conjuncture of the *petulant Inſolence*, and was ſo far infected therewith, and likewiſe with the *Chagrin* incident to ſickneſs, that he writ very peeviſhly againſt our Church, and one of our great Church Men; and his Writings were juſtly cenſured by the Earl of *Clarendon*: but according to my former Obſervation, ſo much of the Character of the rationality of the Proteſtant Religion that he was long bred up in remain'd in him indelibile, that I believe had he been made an *Inquiſitor of Heretical Pravity*, he would neither have took away a drop of Blood from any Proteſtant, nor a hair from his head: and in his Reply to that Noble *Lord*, he is ſo candid as ſpeaking of the *Poſition* charged on *Roman* Catholicks, that no Salvation is to be had out of that Church, to affirm *that all Catholicks grant that this is not neceſſarily to be underſtood of an actual external Communion, and that many Chriſtians of vertuous* devout lifes, and *having had a conſtant preparation of mind to prefer truth whenſoever effectually diſcovered to them before all temporal advantages, they dying in this diſpoſition tho not externally joyned to the Church, will be eſteem'd by our merciful Lord as true Members of his Myſtical Body the Church.*

No Papiſt but one bred a Proteſtant, could have had thoughts ſo large concerning the extent of the inviſible Church, or fancy that what is before mentioned, is *granted by all Catholicks*, and ſhould I hear any Prieſt in a *Fryars* Cowle grant what is aboveſaid, I ſhould fancy that he remain'd an inviſible Proteſtant, and that he continued ſo exuberantly good in his natural diſpoſition as not to be able to frame an *Idea* in his mind of the damning of Mens Souls, and making Coals of their Bodies and Bonefires of their Cities, for miſtaken Sentiments in Religion: and had Mr. *Creſſy* lived till this time, 'tis poſſible your Lordſhip by your Notification of that fiery *Tenet* of the Papal Church aforeſaid, might have been an inſtrument of his viſible Return to our Church; for his labour'd heating himſelf with Paſſion upon the mention of the Practice of that thing in his *Church Hiſtory*, ſhews ſufficiently how he would have abhorr'd any Church that abhorr'd not that Tenet.

The *Place* I refer to in his *Church Hiſtory* is in the 14th *Book*, 4th *Chapter*, where he doth ſtrenuouſly endeavour to prove that *Monk Auſtin was unjuſtly Accuſed of having killed* 1200 Britiſh *Monks*: and having ſaid there §. 9th, *yet of late this poyſonous humour of Calumniating God's Saints is become the Principal Character of the New Reformed Goſpel*, he goes on thus, *I will add one example more of a Calumniator, to wit, Mr.* William Prynn, *a late ſtigmatiſed Presbyterian*, &c. *But alas what repentance can be expected in ſuch a perſon* (ſpeaking of *Prynn*) *who is* inveteratus malorum dierum, *when we ſee in his decrepit Age his rancorous Tongue againſt innocent Catholicks, yet more violently ſet on Fire of Hell ſo far as to ſollicit a general Meſſacre of them, by publiſhing himſelf and tempting others to damn their Souls alſo by publiſhing through the whole Kingdom, that in the laſt Fatal Calamity by Fire happening to* London *they were the only Incendiaries. This he did tho himſelf*

ſelf at the ſame time confeſſed that not the leaſt proof could be produced againſt them, but ſaid he it concerns us that this Report ſhould be believed. *Complaints of this moſt execrable Attentat were made, and ſeveral Oaths to Confirm this were offer'd, but in vain. But however ſurely there is a Reward for the innocent oppreſs'd, and whatſoever Mr.* Prynn *may think, doubtleſs there is a God that judgeth the World. Let him therefore remember what the Spirit of God ſaith,* quid detur tibi, aut quid apponatur tibi ad linguam doloſam ſagittæ potentis acutæ, cum carbonibus deſolatoriis, *is what muſt be given to thee, and what muſt be aſſign'd to thee for thy Portion, O deceitful Tongue, ſharp Darts caſt by an Almighty Arm with devouring Coals of* Juniper.

And it follows §. 10. *With as good reaſon therefore St.* Auſtin *may be Accuſed of the ſlaughter of thoſe* Britiſh *Monks as St.* Columban, a holy *Iriſh* Monk, *&c. might be charged with the moſt horrible death of Queen* Brunecheld, *&c.*

This good man certainly apprehended no reaſon of an additional Commandment, *Thou ſhalt not fire thy Neighbours houſe*, and had he been convinced that the Pope in his decrepit Age had made a Commandment for the firing of it, and whole Cities, and had ſo pronounced *è Cathedrâ*, would probably have imputed the *lingua doloſa*, and the *carbones deſolatorii* to his Doctrine, and the ſmoak from that fiery Doctrine would have had the effect of opening his Eyes.

But as for Mr. *Creſſy*'s *Idea* of the Maſſacring any Incendiaries tho they had been took *in flagranti*, if he had ſtaid in his old Church, I mean that of *England*, he would have found any ſuch thing ſufficiently ſtigmatiſed by its Doctrine, which makes the King to *bear the Sword, and that not in vain*, and allows not the Rabble to be a *Terror to Evil Doers*, nor Hell to break looſe for the ſupport of Heaven, and which inculcates Obedience to the Law of the Land *for Conſcience ſake*, and even that Law permits none to Aſſemble in Arms againſt a declared Enemy, but by the Kings particular Commiſſion; and he muſt therefore go to *China* or to *Rome*, that will have a Street or a Town, or the *Univerſitas* or *Community* therein puniſh'd, for the pretended or real faults of particular perſons.

Moreover the *Engliſh Genius* hath not in *Story* that I know of, been tainted with Infamy for penetrating any thing of that horrid Nature, except in the old days of Popery in relation to the *Jews*: and the Lay-Rabble was then put upon it by the Rabble of *Fryars* and *Monks*, who owing Money to the *Jews* were that way willing to confute their Creditors.

And ſince the time that that Great and High Judg of Reaſon as well as Equity, and to whom the Cuſtody of the King's Conſcience was Committed, and who hath held the Scale of Equity with as ſteady an hand and tender heart, and as diſcerning and watchful an Eye as any of his Predeceſſors, did place the dreadful Guilt of the Firing of *London*, where he did at the Condemnation of the Lord *Stafford*, and probably had ſatisfied his Judgment for the doing of it by Obſervations or Examinations of Paſſages that occured elſewhere, rather then at that *Tryal* (for there the Evidence did not riſe clear and high enough, for the occaſioning that part of his Sentence) and ſince the time that the People of *England* by their Repreſentatives threw the Guilt of that Fire on the Papiſts, and the Magiſtrates of our Metropolis inſcribed it on the *Monument*, the populace have been as calm and temperate in their judging of it, and as perfectly free from reſentments of Revenge againſt all the Papiſts in general, or any one Papiſt in particular, as if none but that poor angry Antiquary Mr. *Prynn* had cenſured them for it, and whoſe Thunder the World being ſo long uſed to,

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did ſo much deſpiſe that his popularity could ſcarce have obtain'd an outcry for the killing of a ſingle Mad Dog.

I muſt confeſs tho by the reiterated Confeſſion, and by the Execution of *Hubert* a Papiſt, it appear'd that he did ſet Fire to the Houſe in *London* from whence its rage began, and tho his Confeſſing of *Peidelow* to be one of his Accomplices in the Fact, exempts it from being doubted that Papiſts burn'd *London*, and tho after I had heard of that judgment of the Lord Chancellor, and of the *Houſe of Commons*, and of the Magiſtrates aforeſaid, and was ſhewn that Papal *Tenet* by your Lordſhip, I doubted not of the Juſtice of attributing in my thoughts one part of the Guilt of the Fire to ſome Jeſuited Papiſts, and that it might be ſaid with the ſame propriety of Speech that *London* was Fired by the Papiſts, as 'twas by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, that *Harry* the *4th* of *France*, *was kill'd by the Papiſts*; yet I never thought any conſiderable number of the Gentry among our Lay-Papiſts would have practiſed any thing of that kind, tho the Pope himſelf ſhould have Commanded it.

There was a *Book* containing Obſervations on our late Affairs of Church and State, *Printed* in the *Year* 1680, called the *Arts and Pernicious Deſigns of* Rome, *wherein is ſhewed what are the Aims of the Jeſuites and Fryars*, &c. *by a perſon of their own Communion, who turn'd* Romaniſt *about thirty years ſince:* and throughout that Book as he in general fortifies my obſervation of a Proteſtant when turn'd Papiſt, not being able to abandon all Candour his mind was firſt nouriſhed in, ſo he doth it particularly, *p.* 25. where having in *Propoſition 4th*, ſpoke of the *Miſchiefs* we have received from ſome Popiſh Orders and particularly that of the *Jeſuites*, he ſaith as followeth in *Propoſition* 41, viz. *Amongſt which the late ſad diſaſter happening to the City of* London, (*not to mention divers others of like nature happening in divers other places ſince*) *if it were a Practice of any Humane Contrivance, and not a meer judgment of God from Heaven upon us, cannot reaſonably be thought to have been the Project or Practice of any other Men then theſe, and to have come originally from* Rome, *and the Conſiſtory there: who beſide the bad Principles already mentioned, which legitimate ſuch doings at all times, that they judge it convenient for their ends, were* (*without doubt*) *willing to ſignalize that year* (1666) *with ſome remarkable miſchief done to Proteſtants in check to the fancies of ſome in that Party, who have had the confidence to affirm, and as it were to predict, that in this year* Rome *and* (*their pretended Antichriſt*) *the Pope ſhould be utterly deſtroyed.*

That it appear'd a Practice of Humane Contrivance by the very Confeſſion of the Incendiary is plain, and that it was by the People in the City then ſuſpected ſo, I have ſaid, but ſo far were our plain *Engliſh* natures from charging it on any Lay-*Engliſh* Papiſt, that Mr. *Marvel* in his *Growth of Popery*, Printed *Anno* 1677, having ſaid, *That we may reckon the Reigns of our late* Engliſh *Princes, by a Succeſſion of the Popiſh Treaſons againſt them*, adds, *And if under his Majeſty we have yet ſeen no more viſible effects of the ſame Spirit, then the Firing of* London, (*acted by* Hubert, *hired by* Peidelow *two* French *Men*) *which remains a Controverſie, it is not to be attributed to the good Nature or better Principles of that Sect, but to the wiſdom of his Holyneſs, who obſerves that we are not of late ſo dangerous Proteſtants as to deſerve any ſpecial Mark of his Indignation.*

I preſume not to charge or diſcharge any ſort of men about this Fact further then the Law hath done, whether *Papiſts* or *Prieſts*, or *Fifth Monarchy-men*, (for of a Conſpiracy to Fire the City on the day it was fired on, ſeveral of that latter Sect had been before Convicted, and deſervedly Executed for it, as we muſt either Grant or Arraign the Juſtice of the Nation, and therefore Mr. *Creſſy* had reaſon to blame Mr. *Prynn* in ſome meaſure

ſure for concluding *that the Papiſts were the only Incendiaries of the City*, when Mr. *Prynn* could not have forgot what had happen'd to thoſe Conſpirators, and that the very Principles of many of that wild Sect, are for the legitimating the moſt deſperate Out-rages and Rebellions imaginable,) but out of Juſtice to Humane Nature, will never render any man ill upon ill Proofs, and ſuch as are contrary to the Nature of things, as for example, one Argument which is ſo prevalent with many for their concluding that *London* was deſignedly burnt by many Popiſh Perſons, namely, becauſe it was apparently true and not denyable, that the Flames did break out in ſeveral places of the City at the tops of ſeveral houſes, which were at a conſiderable diſtance from the Fire, doth not in the leaſt move me ſo to conclude; for 'tis obvious in Nature, that as the heat of an ordinary Fire will put combuſtible light matter that is at a ſmall diſtance from it into a flame, a heat proportionably greater, muſt do the ſame thing at a greater diſtance: and this appear'd in Fact conſpicuous to Thouſands, while the Fire then broke out from the Timber-work in the Tower of the Old Exchange, when the great Conflagration was a quarter of a Mile diſtant from it.

Nor yet would I venture in diſcourſe with any Papiſt about the aforeſaid *Tenet*, to call it either *Tenet* or *Principle* chargeable on the Church of *Rome* as approved by it, if it were only deducible in the way of Inferences from other *Tenets*; as for example, If one ſhould ſay the Papiſts hold that 'tis lawful to burn the perſons of Hereticks, and much more therefore to burn their Houſes, and to burn the Neſt as well as to kill the Bird, and that the Goods of Hereticks are *ipſo iure* confiſcate, and therefore their Houſes; and accordingly I told my *Roman-Catholick* friend that I would never raiſe this *Principle* of Fire againſt his Church by Colliſion of Arguments, but by the help of your Lordſhips Quotations referring to the *Canon Law* as well as *Canoniſts*, ſhew him the Pope claiming the Power, *in terminis terminantibus*, to fire whole Cities as aforeſaid, and that long before his Power received ſo much acceſſion of Territory (as I may call it) of Prerogative by thoſe great Students of *Crown-Divinity*, and Aſſertors of his *Fifth Monarchy*, the Jeſuites.

I do intend to entertain only this my particular friend at this Seaſon, with the Paſſages I ſhall receive from you concerning this *Tenet*, becauſe 'tis in me an habitual temper, not *ſalem nitro ſuperaddere*, or to afflict any afflicted Lay-Papiſts who may retain ſome unſound Notions of Religion, and yet be ſound Members of the State, and I ſhall not deſire either by words or writing to imitate the ungenerous Practice of the Sons of *Jacob* toward the *Sichemites*, in attacking them *when they were ſore*. And moreover reaſon is thrown away on men in Paſſion, and during the Paroxyſme of Paſſion in either any Papiſts or Diſſenters, there is no frighting them from an abſurdity by Arguments, for there can be nothing more abſurd then their very Paſſion, and while that laſts they are as inſenſible of the wounds that are made in their Principles by objections, as ſome in a Battel are of wounds they receive there.

But I am not without hopes of a more *pacific Conjuncture* that may come wherein our *Un-Jeſuited* Lay-Papiſts may diſcriminate their Principles and Notions, from the troubleſome ones of others of them, that vex the knowing part of Mankind with their Implicit Faith, like Flies blind in one Seaſon of the year getting into Mens Eyes, and when all empty *Religion-Traders* will no more like the *Merchants* of *Tyre* paſs for *Princes of the Earth*, after they had with a bulk of *words* ſo long enſlaved the World and its *Princes*, and themſelves too, and made Religion but the *word* (as I may ſay) to *diſcriminate* Parties in War, and to know *who and who are of a ſide*, and that

by the Mutual Conſent of reaſonable men of all Parties the word *Religion*, will not be put on what is really Irreligion, and that a handful of men will think it in vain to ſtrive to keep up the acception or ſignification of any word or words, when the currency of the age and that juſtly too, hath damned the former ſenſe thereof, and that all men muſt ſpeak in the Senſe of the Rational Age or not ſpeak intelligibly; and as *he who ſeems to be Religious and bridles not his tongue, his Religion is vain*, it will be in vain too for him to think to have ought call'd Religion againſt the ſenſe of the World, and as the *Licence* was vain and ridiculous granted to a *Book* of *Phyſick* wherein the Licencer ſaid, *Nihil reperio in hoc libello fidei Catholicæ contrarium quo minus typis mandetur*, ſo likewiſe will the Vogue of granting any *Liberty* to any thing of Catholick Faith that has Treaſon and Sedition in it, be as worthy of Laughter: and then will the Publiſhing of this *Tenet* be prevalent probably with *Papiſts*, and prove like *a word in ſeaſon*, and tend to the aboliſhing the abuſe of the word *Religion*, when they ſhall be argued *with in the cool of the day*, (as our firſt Parents where after the fall) and their *Fiery* Principles be then expoſed, and then may each of them whoſe Religion ſo call'd excited their angry Prophets to deſire the deſtruction of Heretical Cities, as the *Choler* of *Jonah* at laſt animated him tho not to deſtroy, yet to wiſh the Deſtruction of *Niniveh*, be as he was ſeaſonably expoſtulated with, *doſt thou well to be angry*? and doſt thou well to be angry with others, who will not call thy firing their houſes Religion, when thou ſeeſt the World begin to laugh at the impertinence of the calling it ſo?

The *Author* I cited before *of the great Queſtion to be conſidered*, begins his diſcourſe with a Patriotly kind of Sagacity thus, viz. *That this Nation and the Nation of* Scotland *and* Ireland *concerned with it, are at preſent in ſuch a poſture, and under ſuch Circumſtances, as give juſt reaſon both of fear and care more then ordinary both to Rulers and People, is ſo without doubt, that it needs no Proof, and that we are in a dangerous Feaver, in regard both to our Civil and Religious Intereſt, all in their wits muſt know: which Diſeaſe, albeit it be now in the opinion of moſt come to a Criſis, yet few can determine, whether it will end in a natural cool, or prove a diſtemper yet more dangerous and deadly.*

But when I conſider the great number of thoſe in the Kingdom who are at their eaſe therein, either by ſubſtantial Fortunes or Profeſſions or Trades, and who would account it both trouble and ſhame to get by Religion, as an adventitious *Trade*, as much as a great firſt-rate Practitioner in *Law*, who had a Receit for the Curing the Tooth-Ach or Gout would to get *Fees* thereby, and to have a Mingle of Clients and Patients together, and which ſort of Mankind that by the ſolid weight of their Fortunes or Induſtry are come to their Center of Reſt, muſt neceſſarily hate all Projectors of Earthquakes in Church and State, and being well on their *terra firma* will never care to walk on the high Rope with the Poiſe of a drawn Sword in their hands, and who will never venture their heads by wearing any diſcriminating *Ribbands* in their Hats, nor give their heads for the waſhing or the rebaptiſing themſelves with little Names of the diſtinctions of Parties, and who generouſly valuing themſelves on unmercenary Loyalty and unbribed Orthodoxy, will neither rob *Cæſar* or *God* of the things that are theirs, and not expect that their *Prince* ſhould impoveriſh himſelf by paying *Tribute* to them and *taking them off* by Gifts, more then the Patriots in Queen *Elizabeths* days did, and when I conſider that the more thinking and knowing part among theſe and whoſe eaſe is only infringed by ſeeing ſo many objects that are uneaſie, muſt needs think and know that ſolid Trade and Induſtry can never thrive, nor the Kingdom by it,

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till the falſe *Trade* of Religion ſhall be exterminated, I do fancy to my ſelf that we ſhall ſhortly by the ſtrength of this ſound part of the Nation, be able to weather the *Criſis* or *decretory* days of our feavouriſh diſtemper, and that our diſeaſe will end in *a natural cool*, and that as ſome *fermentation* may be ſaid to be *perfective* as well as deſtructive, (and indeed life it ſelf is but a Continuation of the vigorous *fermentation of the Blood which is ſo long maintained as the Maſs of Blood is kept hot and Circulating through the Veins and Arteries*) ſo we ſhall find this fermentation that has been in the Kingdom prove perfective to it, and a continuer of the life of it. For as one very uſeful property of *fermentation* is, that while it ſeparates all heterogeneous parts, it leaves the *baſis* as it were or main Ingredient of the Maſs clear and pure, and diſcards from it recrements or ſuperfluities, and another noble property thereof is, that it exalts the Body fermented to what perfection it is capable of, theſe effects do I expect of our Political Fermentation (that hard word that is generally uſed in expreſſing the preſent diſtracted State of the Kingdom) and that it will naturally cauſe in the Body of the People that *ſuperfluity* of folly as well as *naughtineſs* to be thrown off, which will leave the ſubſtantial part of the Nation more clear and pure, and will end in *England*'s Ballancing it ſelf firſt and then the World, all our uſeleſs Religion-Traders having been ſwept away as the *duſt* of our *Ballance*.

I grant that the Animoſities among many Proteſtants of narrow Souls, and Principles may laſt too long on the account of Religion, and a great many deluders will make a great many deluded deſperately obſtinate againſt their Eccleſiaſtical Rulers: but the People of *England* are too many to be crowded into the Priſons of ſuch narrow Principles, and this great and active thing called *Nature*, that is always buſie and which ſomtimes doth its buſineſs even by mens Idleneſs (and the neceſſary effect thereof, their Poverty) will by the general neceſſitous condition of *Luxuriants* and Religion-Traders force them to be induſtrious, and that induſtry will bring us to the State of a *Britannia florens*, and too of a *Britannia triumphans*, and reſcue a populous Kingdom from the decay of its Trade, that hath happen'd by our having been embarraſs'd with a *Holy Kirk* or *Holy Church* Militant againſt the State, and that affirmation which appeared ſo ſenſeleſs in the Theology of a Popiſh Prieſt, namely, that *Reſpublica eſt in Eccleſia*, inſtead of the Church being in the Common-wealth, will equally appear ſo in the Writings of Mr. *Cartwright* (for that he there affirmed) and to be in any man's writings as abſurdly ſaid as it is in the *Lexicon Geographicum* in Folio, *Cantabrigia eſt quoddam oppidum in quo eſt Academia.*

If any Diſſenter ſhould now trouble the Preſs with ingenious Books to perplex the Layety about the lawfulneſs of the ordination by Biſhops, he would want ingenious Readers; for 'tis now as much out of faſhion for People to concern themſelves about knowing the demonſtrative certainty of the true ordination of their Paſtors, almoſt as 'twas among the *Jews* of old to queſtion who were the true Sons of *Levi* by natural Generation, a thing that none but the Mother knew.

Our *Engliſh* World is likely to the end of time, to be too buſie to mind nice Queſtions of the *uncertain Genealogies* of Churches, and each Proteſtant now will admit of the *Credo Eccleſiam Catholicam* without quarrelling about the *Latinity* of the expreſſion; and as in the *Hiſtory* of the *Council of Trent* (where the Thred of the Controverſie about *proponentibus legatis* runs through the whole Council) when it was told the *Pope* that *Vargas* granted *that if the thing deſigned were only that the Legates ſhall propoſe, no man would have complained, but the Ablative*, proponentibus legatis *did deprive the Biſhops of Power to propoſe, and therefore 'twas fit to change it into*

to

to another kind of Speech, the Pope replyed, *That 'twas now no time to think of* cujus generis & cujus caſus, ſo in our Realm all Policy it ſelf whether Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, will now be accounted but Pedantry, that by any previous queſtions puts off the debate of *Capital* Ships and their Maintenance and Equipage; and the conſideration of the neceſſity of great Supplies for that purpoſe, will carry the Vote with a *Nemine Contradicente* among the People diffuſive here, that they will give no more Supplyes to Religion-Traders, and that in order to the Nations being able as a *Britannia florens* in point of Trade to keep great Fleets at Sea, 'tis neceſſary that mens expectation ſhould be bankrupt of gain by Caſtles in the Air, or in fine, that the very Corporation of the Trade of all *Beggars* ſhould be broken which has ſo much diminiſhed our other Trade.

The great States-man of this latter Age, *Mazarine* projecting the growing Power and Glory of *France*, did not long before he dyed, wiſely lay the Foundation of it by the extirpating out of the Metropolis and other Cities of that Kingdom, thoſe publick Nuſances there called Beggars, and ſince all *Religion-Traders* are in truth and reallity of the *Trade* of *Beggars*, and the Multitude of them at preſent diminiſheth the ſhame of that very Trade, the deſtruction of it will probably by all be judged as the firſt thing neceſſary for the advancement of other Commerce. And as the wiſeſt courſe I ever heard of, taken for breaking the Trade of *Beggars* in the *Streets* was that by the *Juſtices* of *Middleſex* in their Printed Papers, ſent to the Church-Wardens, Overſeers of the Poor, and Conſtables of the reſpective Pariſhes in the Suburbs, whereby *all Perſons are deſired and required by their Order* to forbear to relieve any Beggars at their doors, or in any other kind about the Streets, ſo in like manner will nature probably by the real Poverty of People cauſe them to forbear to give relief to theſe Religious *Mendicants*, and will thereby break their Trade.

And moreover tho there hath in all Ages been another ſort of Traders, and who too were but ſplendid Beggars, and by their importunity in *Courts*, and with artifice repreſenting the Sores and Maims of their Eſtates have moved the Royal Commiſeration to exhauſt its Revenue on them, yet the vaſt publick charge likely to be impendent over us as well as our Neighbours will ſhew thoſe Firſt-rate Mendicants the vanity of the Science of *begging*, a Science that *Agrippa* doth very well Animadvert upon, in his Book *de Vanitate Scientiarum*.

And there being no way for the Heirs and Children of our many *Luxuriants*, to get from under the loads of debts and Incumbrances bequeath'd them, but by induſtry and frugality, I account that they will be neceſſitated to mend the *Genius* of the Age, and ſo to contribute to the advancement of Trade.

When the *Author* of *Britannia languens* doth (I fear) too truly tell us, *p.* 139. *That our late wealthy Yeomanry are impoveriſhed or ſo much reduced in their Stocks, that a man ſhall hardly find three in a County able to Rent* 3 *or* 400 *l.* per Annum, *and that our Poor are encreaſed to near ten times their late number within theſe laſt twenty years, and that their maintainance doth coſt the Nation* 400000 *l.* per Annum *conſtant Tax*, and had before in *p.* 138 ſhew'd, *That the Trades of Tillage, Grazing, Dairy, Cloathing, Fulling, that formerly enriched the Occupiers of them, have in theſe latter years been the uſual Shipwracks of Mens Stocks and Eſtates in moſt parts of* England, and in *p.* 27. *That we have in a manner loſt the Eaſtland and Northern Trades*, and in *p.* 240 ſhews, *That the cheapneſs of Intereſt doth not proceed from the plenty of Mony but ſcarceneſs of ſecurity*, and there obſerves, *That Perſonal Security for Mony being in a manner loſt, and that there is not one Land ſecurity in twenty*

twenty that is good, and in *p.* 291. *I hear of no new improving Manufactures in* England *but that of Periwigs*, we may well account that the Ebb of our Trade is at the very loweſt point, and that under ſo good a Prince in ſo good and populous a Land, nature will haſten its improvement.

Tho the underſtandings of the *Engliſh* have in all Arts and Sciences appear'd as ſharp as thoſe of any Nation, and particularly in the Science of the *Politics*, yet ſo it has happen'd that ſince the *Reformation* our States-men have been ſo put to it by the efforts of *Popery* and other *Religion-Trades* to ſtand continually upon their Guard, and have been ſo worn out by continual duty, that they have not had time to make Platforms of improvement of Political Diſcipline, or to acquaint the World with their *Memoires* as many of the States-men of *France* have done, and the great *Ship* of the *Nation* in its Trading Voyages (as I may ſay) under Sail, and making a great figure in the Sea of time, and having experienced Pilots at the Helm of State, hath yet been ſo clog'd in its *motion* by the little fantaſtick *Remora* of a pretended Religion ſticking to its ſide in ſeveral Conjunctures, that our making no more way in the World hath appeared a Jeſt to Critical Spectators, and no doubt but *pending* the Authority of a *Religion-Trade*, as *paramount* over others in this or any Country, its fate will be like *Reubens*, *never to excel.* Not only our States-men but our *Princes* in former times tho their abilities were very great and adequate to ſupport the weight of the Government had it been greater, were yet expoſed to perpetual toyl, by *ballancing* the Religionary Conteſt, *viz.* of the Parties of *Papiſts* and *Puritans*; which minds me how it hath been wondered at, that a ſtrong Horſe ſhould not draw a *one wheel'd* Coach with a great deal of eaſe, conſidering that he only bears up part of the weight, and keeps it upright to a *Ballance* by *thills* on either ſide of him, and that by experience 'tis found that this Horſe becomes weary ſooner then expectation: and the reaſon of it is conceived to be, that tho he bears not ſo much burthen nor draws ſo much draught as a Coach or other Carriage with two or more Wheels, yet he is ſo bruiſed and banged on either ſide with the unuſual motion of the *thills* to keep the one Wheel'd Coach upright, that he is thereby much ſooner ſpent and wearied then by ordinary drawing or bearing he would have been: and thus neither better nor worſe, hath been the fate of our Monarchs and their Miniſters, to be continually throughout the Journey of their Lives hit on this and 'tother ſide, and bruiſed with the Thills of Popery and Presbytery, while they were keeping up Religion to a Ballance; but I believe 'twill appear a ſhame to us that they ſhould be thus the *Ludibria* of Fortune any longer.

The *Author* of *the preſent State of* England, Part. 2. ſaith, *That the yearly Charge of his Majeſty's Navy in times of Peace continuing in Harbor, is ſo well regulated that it amounts to ſcarce* 70000 l.

Had he heard my Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman*'s Speech to the Parliament, *Anno* 1670. he would there have been informed, *That His Majeſty finds that by his Accounts from the year* 1660 *to the late War, the ordinary Charge of the Fleet*, Communibus annis, *came to* 500000 l. *a year, and that it cannot be ſupported with leſs.*

His *Lordſhip* in that *Speech* mentioning *to what proportion our Neighbours had augmented their Fleets, and how it imported His Majeſty to keep pace with them, if not to outgo them in number and ſtrength of Shipping*, minds me of the Force of that *ſaying* of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, L. 10. Ep. 7. *Qui mare tenet, eum neceſſe eſt rerum potiri*, and the truth of it is much more applicable to the State of the World now, then that in his time: and we ſhall always be but *damnati ad inſulam*, if we do not by a vigorous induſtry ſo ſupply

cur ſelves as to be able to ſupply our Princes, and ſo as to enable them to make the Naval Strength of *England*, as proportionable to that of other Nations, as it can be made.

As the ordinary charge of the Fleet for ſeveral years, came to the great above mentioned Sum, ſo I believe that the ordinary Naval Charge never ſince amounted to leſs then 200,000 *l. per Year*, beſide the vaſt Charge in building new Ships and rebuilding old, and the Charge of Summer and Winter Guards, and of Convoys and of Ships againſt *Algeers:* and His Majeſties moſt exact care of the defence of the Walls of the Kingdom hath been ſuch, while he beheld the emulous endeavours of Nations to excell in Naval Power, that he hath enrich'd his Realm ſince the *Year* 69, with a more valuable Fleet then it had before: and the great Cordial that Nature allows us againſt *Wars, and Rumors of Naval Wars*, when we are dejected with the ſhame of our Civil Wars having occaſioned the Neighbouring World to augment its Naval Force, and conſequently too our own vaſt perpetual Charge in the augmenting ours, is that by the neceſſary encreaſe of our induſtry we are capable of defraying it, and herein Providence is but juſt in treating us in the Confinement to our Iſland, as the *Dutch* do *Idlers* ſent to their *Work-houſes*, where care is taken that if they do not the Work appointed them, the *Sea* will come in upon them: and 'tis well for us that accordingly as is ſhewn in the 8th *Chapter* of Sir *W. P*'s *Political Arithmetick, there are ſpare hands enough among the King of* England's *Subjects to earn Two Millions* per Annum, *more then they now do, and there are employments ready, proper and ſufficient for that purpoſe.*

His expreſſion of the *ſpare hands* of the *Engliſh* minds me, how we who did before our *Commotion* only pay to our Kings, the *6th part* of *the ſpareable part of our Eſtates*, (for that was what Mr. *Vaughan* afterward *Lord Chief Juſtice* declared in the Houſe of Commons, to be the proportion that men were to be taxed in the old gentle way of Aſſeſſments, called Subſidies) were forced upon thoſe manifold payments to the Uſurpers, that amounted to one entire *Subſidy* in each Week of the Year, when as what we payed before exceeded not uſually one *Subſidy* or 15*th* in two or three years ſpace.

And afterward when inſtead of *the demanding of Five Members* from the Parliament, above 400 were forcibly ſecluded from it, moſt Exorbitant Taxes were Levyed in the Name of a *Houſe of Commons*, in which inſtead of 508 *Members* as the legal Complement of its number, and of 78 *Knights* of *Shires* for *England*, and 12 for *Wales*, there were no *Knights* of the *Shire* at all ſitting in that Houſe for theſe 26 *Engliſh* and 11 *Welch* Counties following, viz. *Bedfordſhire, Cornwal, Cambridgeſhire, Derbyſhire, Devonſhire, Dorſetſhire, Eſſex, Gloceſterſhire, Hartfordſhire, Herefordſhire, Lincolnſhire, Lancaſhire, Middleſex, Monmouthſhire, Norfolk, Northumberland, Oxfordſhire, Surry, Shropſhire, Southampton, Suffolk, Somerſetſhire, Suſſex, Weſtmerland, Warwickſhire, Yorkſhire, Angleſey, Brecknock, Cardiganſhire, Carmarthinſhire, Carnarvanſhire, Denbighſhire, Flintſhire, Glamorganſhire, Pembrokſhire, Montgomeryſhire, Radnorſhire*, and but one *Knight* of the *Shire* in each of the 9 following Counties, *Berkſhire, Cheſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Kent, Leiceſterſhire, Northamptonſhire, Staffordſhire, Wiltſhire Worceſterſhire*, and only the full number of *Knights* of the *Shire* in *Buckinghamſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Rutlandſhire, Merionethſhire.*

And *York, Weſtminſter, Briſtol, Canterbury, Cheſter, Exeter, Oxford, Lincoln, Worceſter, Chicheſter, Carlile, Rocheſter, Wells, Coventry*, had no *Citizens* in the Houſe, and *London* had only 1 inſtead of 4, and *Gloceſter* and *Salisbury* alone of all the *Cities* in *England*, had their full Number, and by a parcel

of

of about 89 permitted to ſit, was the whole *Clergy* as well as *Layety* of *England* Taxed.

Nor is it to be forgot that after the great Uſurper by his own Authority, only laid a Tax of 60,000 *l. per Month* on us, he afterward found a *giving* Parliament that Calculating the Charge of the Nation, judged it in the whole to amount to 1300,000 *l. per Annum*, whereof 200,000 *l.* for the Protectors ſupport, 400,000 *l.* for the maintenance of the Navy and Ports, and 700,000 *l.* for the Army, as we are told out of the *Hiſtory of the Iron Age* printed in the year 1656: and that they who grudged the beſt of Kings the ordinary yearly Revenue of leſs then half a Million, were brought to ſettle more then double that Sum on the worſt of Uſurpers, *viz.* 1,300,000 *l. per Annum*, and that by their helping him into the Power to break the Ballance of Chriſtendome as he did, they have entailed on us and our Heirs, a neceſſity of *labouring* hard for ever, to expiate the Guilt and Folly of their idle Politicks.

The Plenty and Pride and *Idleneſs* here that occaſioned our Civil Wars, and the *Teſſera* of one of the *Roman* Emperors, *Militemus*, and the various diſcriminating words and ſigns of Religion, have brought us to the *Teſſera* of another of them which will ſtick by us, namely *Laboremus*.

But as 'tis to be ſeen in *Scobels Collection* of *Acts*, *Anno* 1656. cap. 6. in *the humble Petition and advice* of *Cromwel*'s Parliament, the 7th *Paragraph*, which Enacts the Revenue, mentions nothing in particular of the 1,300,000 *l.* yearly, to be ſettled for the Protectors ſupport, but provides that as a conſtant yearly Revenue for the ſupport of the Government, and the ſafety and defence of theſe Nations by Sea and Land, 1000000 *l. be ſettled for the Navy and Army*, and 300,000 *l.* in general for the ſupport of the Government.

I ſhould not dilate on the Subject of thoſe paſt Calamitous Times of our Country, but that ſo great a Number of thoſe who experimented them, and were Actors or Sufferers therein is now dead, that this Age wants the *Poize* or Ballaſt of their experiences to keep it ſteddy and ſecure, from being overſet by Waves of Sedition, or *Winds* of *Doctrine*. There are ſeveral Latine *Sayings* about War, of which the Pedantly Citation is nauſeous, as was particularly *Sorbiers* valuing himſelf on the *Motto* of *Pax bello Potior*: but there is another ſaying familiar to Grammar Schools, whence the moſt Oracular Men in Cabinets of State may, and indeed ought to take their Meaſures and Eſtimates of the probable Continuance of the publick Peace in any Country, and that is from the Conſideration of the Numbers of the Inhabitants that never felt the miſery of War, and that *ſaying* is, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, a ſaying that was thought to give an Ornament to the Monumental Inſcription of our *Harry* the 3*d*, among the *Weſtminſter* Monuments, the Epitaph of which Prince whoſe Reign moved ſo much in the bloody Track of War being there thus,

Tertius Henricus jacet hic pietatis amicus.
Eccleſiam ſtravit iſtam quam poſt renovavit.
Reddat ei munus qui Regnat Trinus & unus.
Tertius Henricus eſt Templi conditor hujus, 1273.
Dulce bellum inexpertis.

And long before that obtained as a Latin *Adage*, it was one in *Greek*, viz. Γλυκὺς ἀπείρων πόλεμος: and it is well ſaid in *Vegetius De Re militari*, lib. 3. cap. 14. *Nec confidas ſatis ſi tyro prælium cupit. Inexpertis enim dulcis eſt pugna.*

And

And in *Pindar* 'tis ſaid, Γλυκὺ δὲ πόλεμος ἀπείροισιν, ἐμπείρων δὲ τις ταρβεῖ προσιόντα νιν καρδία περισσῶς, i. e. *dulce bellum inexpertis, aſt expertus quiſpiam horret, ſi acceſſerit cordi ſupra modum.*

The ſenſe of this weighty *Adage Horace*, applyes to the Contracting Friendſhip with Great Men,

Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici,
Expertus metuit.

And no doubt but the reaſon that induced the *Romans* to place their *Tyrones* in the *Van* of the Battel, was that their not knowing all the uncertainties and horrors of War, would contribute to their eagerneſs in the onſet. Partly to this purpoſe Mr. *Hobs* in his *Behemoth* or *Hiſtory of our Civil Wars* obſerves well, *That there were at firſt in the Parliaments Army a great many* London *Apprentices, who for want of experience in the War, would have been fearful enough of death and wounds approaching viſibly in gliſtering Swords, but for want of judgement ſcarce thought of ſuch death as comes inviſibly in a Bullet, and therefore were very hardly to be driven out of the Field.*

And now therefore ſhould any Great Perſon deſcend to ask my poor Opinion of the proportion of the danger we are in of a Relapſe into the Plague of War, I would give it by bringing the Doctrine of *Dulce bellum*, &c. into uſe and application thus, namely, I would *Calculate* the number of the *inexperts* now here living, and who were not living in the time of the laſt War, a thing not hard to do ſufficiently for my purpoſe: and thus I eſſayed to do it the laſt year when I fancied to employ my thoughts on that Subject, diverting my ſelf with theſe *Queries.* 1. *What part of the People of* England *now living, are* inexperts, i. e. *who are now alive that were born ſince the year in which our Wars ended, or were then Children,* viz. *Of ſuch years as not to have experienced, or been ſenſible of the miſeries and inconvenience of the War?* 2. *What numbers of thoſe who lived in* 1641, *about which time the War may be ſuppoſed to have begun, are now dead?* 3. *What proportion of thoſe now living, who lived in that time of the War, did gain by the War*; for it may be ſaid that perhaps War may be ſweet to ſuch ſurviving *experts.* 4. *The War of* Ireland *ending about the year* 1653, *how many may the number of ſuch* inexperts *there be ſuppoſed to be?* 5. *The People of* Scotland *being now above a Million* (as are the People of *Ireland*) and the *Scotch* War ending at *Worceſter* Fight, *September* the 3*d*, 1651. *How many are now living in* Scotland *that lived there that day, and what may be the number of the* inexperts *there?*

In order to the ſatisfying my ſelf in theſe Queries, tho I know that many do make the Civil Wars of *England* to end with the ſurrender of *Oxford* in Mid-ſummer 1646, yet becauſe ſeveral Acts of War in *England* were committed long after 1646, *viz.* in *Lancaſhire, Kent,* at *Colcheſter, Worceſter*, I ſuppoſed not the *Engliſh* War to end till 1651, about the ſame time with that of *Scotland*, both Kingdoms as they are but one Iſland, ſo intermixing and bringing mutual Calamities on one another: and beſides, a few years at that diſtance of time would not much alter the State of this Caſe: ſo then as to the *firſt* and *laſt* Queries, I thus concluded that the People of this Iſland in the year 1651, were and always are about one half of them under the age of 16, (before which time as they are reckoned unfit for War, ſo may they likewiſe be thought *inexperts* as to the miſeries thereof) and the other half above that age; and that of this latter half more then one other Moyety are dead in theſe 28 or 29 years, which have paſſed from

from 51 to near 80. For if we reckon only *Arithmetically* without any Conſideration of *Geomerrical* proportion in the Caſe, (which with reaſon enough the *Obſervator* on the *Bills* of *Mortality* takes in) yet 28½ (the number of years in 51, in which the ſaid half are ſuppoſed dead) and 27½ (for the years of the other half ſurviving) and fifteen (for the Age of the *Inexperts* from 1651) makes 72, the full Age of Man: ſo that the ſurviving *Experts* are not a *fourth* of the whole. And again at leaſt one half of this *fourth*, either through forgetfulneſs by Age or Dotage, or for want of underſtanding all their whole life time, may be very well counted among the *Inexperts* alſo. And thus the *Inexperts* will be above *ſeven eighth* parts of the whole People.

And if in anſwer to the third *Query*, we ſhall add the Number of the Gainers by the War, (which perhaps ſome will eſtimate but ſmall) and of thoſe who loſt by the Peace and Settlement on the Kings Reſtoration, with the Heirs, Executors and Principal Legatees of both, (and to theſe three laſt ſorts, the War was ſo very ſweet, that they may very well be reckoned for the Equivalent of three or four, or perhaps many times more the number of the other common *Inexperts*) we may on the whole matter judging modeſtly, conclude the *Inexperts* of all the former ſorts, not to be leſs then (⁹⁄₁₀) *nine Tenths* of the whole People: and to theſe alſo they who have ſpent their Eſtates, and cannot well live in Peace may be properly added.

I ſatisfied my ſelf as to the fourth *Query*, concerning *Ireland*, that it may bear at leaſt the ſame proportion, with what was aſſerted in relation to Great *Brittain*: and tho the War in the former laſted ſome years longer, yet there are other Conſiderations obvious enough, that would more then ballance that.

As for the *Query* about how many are now dead who were living in 41, the Principles I have variouſly diſcourſed of out of the *Obſervations* on the *Bills* of *Mortality*, may eaſily ſatisfie Curioſity therein.

I account that of the Lords Temporal in the Kings Long Parliament, that ſate the 8*th* of *May*, 1661. there were dead 77 at the Diſſolution of that Parliament, in *January* the 25*th*, 1678. And of the 26 Biſhops that ſate on the 8th of *May* in that Parliament, only 2 were alive in the 25*th* of *January*, 1678. And of the *Houſe of Commons* which ſate in the 8th of *May* 1661. And conſiſted of about 520 odd Members there died during their ſitting, *viz.* in 17 *Tears* and 8 *Months* 307 *Members*, viz. in each year about $\frac{1}{17}$ *th* part, which is one in about 30 of the whole of that Houſe every year.

And theſe things conſidered, we may well conclude that of the *Parliament* that ſate on the 3*d* of *November*, 1640, there are few living, and I think that of that turbulent Houſe of Commons, ſcarce 16 are now living, and that of the *Aſſembly of Divines* that met the firſt of *July*, 1643. all the *Divines* except 2 are dead. The Sculls of many of thoſe hot Spurrs of Church and State, that troubled us ſo much on the Stage of the World, have perhaps ſince diverted us in the Scene in *Hamlet*, and no doubt but of the poor handful of ſurviving *Experts* of them, the moſt conſiderate are not now conſidering how by any Projects to put the World either in Tune or out of it, but are tuning their fancies to the *ſtill Muſick* of the Grave.

We ſee that many of the Sons of the Divines of that *Aſſembly*, and of other Presbyterians, are true Sons of the Church of *England*, and are of the Clergy in it.

But tho I am no Concurrer with their Eſtimates, that make the number of thoſe who gain'd by the War to be ſmall, for as the Judicious Author of the

Regal Apology, Printed in the *Year* 1648, (and by the *Oxford Antiquities* ſaid to be, Dr. *Bate* the late Eminent *Phyſitian*) in *p.* 49 eſtimates, *That the Revenues of King, Queen, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and Delinquents in the hands of thoſe Uſurpers were almoſt one Moiety of the Kingdom, beſides many rich Offices*, &c and as to the multiplicity of Offices then, a very ingenious *Pamphlet* written in thoſe days, call'd *the City Alarum*, with a *Treatiſe of the Exciſe*, mentions in *p.* 33. *That 'twas eaſie to demonſtrate that more then* 200,000 l. per Annum, *was then conſumed by ſuperfluous Officers :* (which by the way ſufficiently ſhews the ill Managery of the publick Treaſure in thoſe days) and tho I have put the rate of the Heirs of ſuch above that of common *Inexperts*, yet I am not without hopes that poſſibly ſome what like a ſort of *Experience*, that many of thoſe Heirs have from the lateſt Hiſtories and Traditional Accounts had of the breath of the People having blown away that mighty *Ballance* of Land out of the hands of the unjuſt Poſſeſſors, and all their *Models* of Government built thereon, and of many of their Anceſtors who had by their Swords acquired ample ſhares of the Spoyles of the Crown, and Church, and Cavaliers Eſtates, growing aſhamed of their unjuſt Victories, and the Yoke they have brought upon themſelves and the Kingdom, and affraid of their Eſtates and Liberties, not being enſureable under a fluctuating Military Oligarchy, thought it the beſt of their Game to aſpire with their *All* to the feet of their Lawful Soveraign, and to be his Reſtorers without Capitulation, may incline a conſiderable part of ſuch, and who are not deſperate in their Fortunes, and have perhaps inherited the Bleſſing of their Anceſtors penitence, by their Peaceable Morals to make ſuch an exception in this caſe, as may confirm the Rule and make them according to the expreſſion before uſed, become *ſound parts of the State.*

Another momentous thing cannot but be obvious to the thoughts of the Conſiderate among them, and all Orders or Parties of men here, that if the deveſting the unjuſt Proprietors of about half the Land of *England*, by the neceſſary Courſe of the Law at the Kings Reſtoration, did in making ſo many perſons and their dependants *Paupers*, and uſeleſs in the improvement of the Land, and many to be Nuſances in it, as troubleſome Sollicitors and Barrettors, and many likewiſe to withdraw to our Forraign Plantations, and to our *inſula Sanctorum* call'd *Ireland*, unavoidably make the price of our Land ſink to the proportion it hath ſince done, that if any Sons of *Belial* and diſloyal perſons, ſhould be ever able by a new *Commotion* to introduce the old Confuſions among us, and diſpoſſeſs the Proprietors of about half our Land as formerly, that *England* it ſelf would turn *Ireland*, and our Land perhaps be valuable but at ten years purchaſe.

And tho the *Experts* now in being among us are comparatively few, yet is the work of the Loyal part of them ſo eaſie to demonſtrate to their Vicinage, every where the dreadful inconvenience of eſſaying to mend the World by War, that one *Harvy* could not more eaſily among the judicious, propagate a general Notion of the *Circulation* of the Blood, then may a thouſand of theſe ſhew to Millions of others, the impious folly of *Blood guiltineſs* again incircling our Land, and eſpecially when all our Blood and our Treaſure is neceſſary to be preſerved for the Defence of the Realm, in a Conjuncture that hath put Chriſtendom *in procinctu* : and therefore 'tis but according to the Courſe of Nature, that in ſuch a ſeaſon the generality of Peoples minds here ſhould manifeſt ſuch an *Abhorrence* of both the *Iriſh* and *Engliſh* in 41, and that the *Religion-Trade* which had us at its feet, being now at ours, if it ſhould again ſtruggle to get uppermoſt as formerly, is to expect from ſo many to find the ſalute of the riſing blow.

And

And as I love to think of theſe things without aſperity, or offering the leaſt Violence to the Sacredneſs of the great Eſtabliſhed *Amneſty*, ſo do I obſerve the ſame inclination to be very prevalent among the weightier perſons of the ſeveral Parties.

The ſmalneſs of the Number of Perſons now living that wanted that *Amneſty*, makes men generally concur in not eſteeming it, *tanti* to wiſh it broken; but tho moſt of our former Empirical State-Phyſicians are covered with Earth, their Errors are not, and People ſeem generally ſenſible that both the preſent, and in likelyhood the future State of *England* will not allow of Political Phyſicians, trying more Experiments on us, and particularly the former churliſh ones that ſucceeded ill, and eſpecially in a Conjuncture when nature is by neceſſity leading us to a Convaleſcence.

As in *Boccalines* Politick *Touch-ſtone*, Where *the Monarchy of* Spain *is repreſented, throwing her Phyſician out of the Window, and* Apollo *deſiring to know the Cauſe of it, ſhe told him how about* 40 *years ago, ſhe asking Counſel of her Phyſician, he preſcribed her a tedious and chargeable Purge of divers Oyls of Holy Leagues, of Inſurrections of People, of Rebellions, of Cauteries and other very painful Medicines that had waſted and weakened her ſpirits, and that he preſcribing juſt ſuch another Purge as before, was therefore thrown out at Window*, ſo would ſuch Purges and ſuch Purgers as we were troubled with forty years ago, be here deſervedly dealt with now.

How ridiculous will any Demagogue now appear, that ſhould in an *Engliſh* Parliament harangue it againſt ſupplying the King, in ſuch a manner as Sir *John Elliot* and Mr. *Pym* did 4to *Caroli*, who then (as *Ruſhworth*'s Collections tells us) *moved in the Houſe of Commons not to yield the King Tunnage and Poundage, till they had firſt ſettled Religion, touching the Points of Ariminianiſm.*

They might as well have moved that the King might have no Money, till they had found out the *Longitude*, and likewiſe diſcovered the *Quadrature* of the Circle, and they by that motion would have enſured to him the name of *Pochi-Dinari*, that my Lord *Herbert* in his *Harry* the 8*th* ſays, was given to *Maximilian* the *Emperor*, for his famed want of Money.

But that wantonneſs of Popularity, did ſhew the worſe in thoſe two great *Demagogues* of their Age, for the ingratitude it carried with it, they moving ſo in the Houſe of Commons as they did ſo ſoon after the great Royal Conceſſions as to the *Petition of Right*, and might well excuſe the Great Earl of *Strafford*'s then quitting their Company.

But I ſhall here obſerve to your Lordſhip, that after the diſcovery of the *Gun-powder* Treaſon, *viz.* 3 *Jacobi*, the Parliament gave him *three Subſidies*, and *ſix Fifteenths and Tenths* of the Layety, and *four Subſidies* of the Clergy, all which by eſtimation amounted to 453000 *l.* and it was but juſt in them then ſo to ſupply the Crown after the detection of that Conſpiracy, becauſe it appeared by ſeveral Examinations, *That if it had taken effect, an Aſſociation of Forraign* Roman Catholick *Princes by a Solemn Oath like that of the Holy League in* France, *was deſigned to have aſſured the buſineſs afterward*: and it was but natural for the Parliament believing the ſame, to enable their Prince with a Counter-mine of Gold, to blow up the Aſſociated Purſes of thoſe Forraign Princes; and no doubt but by the very Noiſe of that liberal Supply being heard abroad in the World, that Aſſociation was Thunder-ſtruck, as any one elſe muſt be in a Conjuncture when the Nations abroad ſhall ſee our Prince provided with effects, as King *James* was as aforeſaid, a Conjuncture I deſpair not of ſeeing, nor of its influencing the World with Terror as did the very ſound of the ſupplying the King by the laſt *Pole-Act*, to enable him for a War with *France*, and which was the

Cauſe

Cauſe that the *Panic* Fear in ſome of our ruſtical *Plebs* of the *French* landing in the *Iſle* of *Purbec*, and when ſome of the poor adjacent *Mobile*, in the air of their fancies heard the noiſe of *adventare Gallos*, as *Alexander ab Alexandro, genialium dierum*, l. 3. c. 14. ſaith, *Gallis etiam Senonibus ad urbem properantibus in novâ viâ ubi alloquutionis poſtea templum fuit, vocem auditam quæ Gallos adventare diceret, inter exempla relatum eſt*, was not more opprobrious then that fear of the *French* that marched off an Army and Royal Fleet ſo abruptly out of *Scicily*, when they heard a voice of *Adventare Anglos* (which evaporating of the *French* Forces from thence, as it was a ſufficient indication that there was no perfect love between our Kings great Miniſter of that time, and the *French* Miniſters, *for perfect love caſts out fear*, and had there been any perfect good underſtanding between him and them, the noiſ'd *Adventare Anglos* would not have exorciſed them out of the body of that Kingdom) ſo it perhaps proved an occaſion of the perfect *French* Hatred againſt his Lordſhip, that he ſo ſatisfactorily acquainted our *Engliſh* World with in one of his ſolid and ſinnewy Printed Vindications) and I do believe that the future Warlike State of Chriſtendom, will neceſſarily prompt all that affect to be *Patriots*, inſtead of ſtudying to make men unwilling to promote publick ſupplyes, to bend their brains in the way of *Calculation* to ſhew what the Kingdom is able to contribute to its defence, and how to do it with equality in Taxes and Levyes, and that he will appear the moſt popular man who ſhall ſhew our Repreſentatives, how and in what proportion the Rateable parts of Mens Eſtates may be rated, a thing that I hear Sir *W. P.* in his Manuſcript called, *Verbum ſapienti*, has eſſayed to do, and given his Sentiment, that ſuppoſing a *Million* ſhould ever be raiſed in *England*, there ſhould be Levyed on the

	m.	*l.*	
Lands	216	*viz.*	$\frac{1}{30}$ of the *Rent.*
Cattle	54	*viz.*	$\frac{1}{600}$
Perſonal Eſtate	60	*viz.*	$\frac{1}{60}$
Houſing	45	*viz.*	12 *d* a *Chimney in* London, 10*d without the Liberties:* 6*d* in Cities and Towns, and 4*d* elſewhere.
People	625	at 2*s.* 1*d per Head, or rather a Poll of* 6*d and* 19*d Exciſe, which is not full* $\frac{1}{11}$ *part of the mean expence*,	

and he doth there *Chap.* 9. §. 7. with great Judgment inſinuate, *That the over-favourable taxing perſonal faculties and Eſtates makes* Plebeians *richer and ſurlier, and that the effect of which may be feared as a tendency to Democracy.*

How favourably ſuch Eſtates were Taxed when *Subſidies* were in uſe, I have ſhewed, and how very little they came to in the Execution of the laſt *Poll* Bill is freſh in Memory, and yet in the *Dutch* Republic, when the States raiſe an extraordinary Tax ſometimes of the 1000*dth*, ſometimes of the 500*dth*, ſometimes of the 200*th* part of every Mans Eſtate richer or poorer, and men are Taxed therein according to Common Fame and Report by their Magiſtrates of their ſeveral Cities and Towns, and the Party grieved at his Aſſeſſment declaring on his Oath that his Eſtate is not worth ſo much will be always relieved, it is very rarely ſeen that any man makes himſelf poorer then common Report ſpeaks him, by means whereof that Tax is very conſiderable: and therefore for us to debaſe our Government by the making of that Tax ſo low, when they advance theirs, by chearfully making it ſo high, will to the Loyal Lovers of our Monarchy naturally in time ſeem unreaſonable.

I believe then that he will be the moſt Celebrated Parliament-man, that can in any *Mony-Bills* direct the making the *Levy* generally proportionable, (according to that ſaying *in pari jugo facilis eſt tractus*) and can in the Debate of any *Book of Rates*, provide againſt the danger of a clogging of Trade, which he who takes wrong meaſures in burthening, doth (as one ſaith) *put a pound Weight at the end of a Pole, which is heavier then twenty times ſo much placed at the hand, and doth thereby work down Land Revenues, more then the Sums actually paid*, &c. and can demonſtrate what burden the People can well bear, and that Parliamentary Impoſts may be put on them in the way that men uſe to lade the *Camel* when he lies down, ſo as he may cheerfully riſe up with his burden, and how that which is the *ſecond Principal Concluſion in Sir* W. P's *Political Arithmetick*, viz. *That ſome kind of Taxes and publick Levies, may rather encreaſe then diminiſh the Common-wealth*, may be render'd applicable to us, (and in his explicating which *Concluſion* he doth not as a Propounder, but as one having *Authority*, namely, that of Reaſon, Inſtance in three various Taxes for *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, that would encreaſe the wealth of the ſame) and how, to provide for *Equality* in Taxes, Mens Eſtates may be as accurately weighed as they were of old by the *Roman* Prudence, which for that purpoſe inſtituted the Office of *Cenſors* (and when in the *Cenſes* the *Civil Law* ordered the *Cenſors* Eſtimates to be regiſtred, and both the *bona Mobilia* and *Immobilia* to be regiſtred, and even the Sums of Money at Intereſt to be regiſtred and the names of the Debtors, and this upon Oath, and in the regiſtration of Lands their true value was ſet down and how they were fertile or barren, and every Tax was Collected where the Eſtimate was made) and that the *Quota* of Taxes might not be ſunk by Peoples being return'd as real or feign'd *Paupers*, the whole City was ratably Taxed to make up the *Capitation* or Pole-money for *Paupers*, and that the People might be exactly numbered, and all this to be done every five years, the time when new *Cenſors* entered into their Office, and to which the word *luſtration* refers, and how to *Copy* out the *Politics* of the Houſe of Commons in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, when the ſecuring the Proteſtant Intereſt at home and abroad, made them ſo inclinable to look on the giving her Mony to be the great *quid agendum*, and on which they thought *depended both the Law and the Prophets* in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and when as we are told it in *Townſend's Collections* very great maſterly skill was ſhewn in Debates as to the proportioning the Taxes, and particularly by thoſe great Maſters, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Secretary *Cecil*, Mr. *Francis Bacon*, and when *Cecil* accurately Calculated in the houſe how much a Levy came to wherein the Reſpective *Quota's* laid on Land and Goods were mentioned by him, and more skill was really ſhewn in Proportions and Eſtimates of the Publick Money to be raiſed then has by ſome Parliaments in this Age, been endeavoured after or perhaps ſo much as pretended to.

The long Parliament of 1640. ſeem to me in their Taxes in *London*, and the Aſſociated Counties to have provided only that their concern in the Kingdom might *vivere in diem*, but hath occaſioned the diſproportionate and immoderate weight of the Taxes in ſome places of thoſe Counties to be perpetual. And the prodigious Taxes laid on the Inhabitants of *London*, during the War after 41 did not end with it, inſomuch that *Lilly* the Aſtrologer in his vile Book of *Monarchy, or no Monarchy in England*, Printed in the *Year* 1651. ſaith in *p.* 92. *My proportion in the Ship-money was* 22 s. *and no more, but now my Annual Payments to the Souldiery are very near or more than* 20 l, *my Eſtate being no way greater than formerly.*

In the Parliament in *Anno Domini* 1605. and *Anno Reg. Jac.* 3. there was paſſed *an Act for the granting* 3 *entire Subſidies and ſix fifteenths and tenths granted by the Temporalty to his Majeſty, with the Reaſons why granted, and the great advantages his Majeſty hath been to the Kingdom.* And in the Act it is *inter alia* ſaid, *A firſt and principal Reaſon is that late and monſtrous Attemps of that curſed Crew of deſperate Papiſts, to have deſtroyed your Excellent Majeſty, the Queen and your Royal Progeny, together with the Reverend Prelates, Nobility and Commons of this Land; aſſembled in Parliament, to the great Confuſion and Subverſion of this Kingdom. The barbarous Malice in ſome unnatural Subjects, we have thought fit to check and encounter with the certain demonſtration of the univerſal and undoubted love of your Loyal and Faithful Subjects, not only for the preſent to breed in your Majeſty a more confident aſſurance of our uttermoſt Aids, in proceeding with a Princely Reſolution to repreſs them and to furniſh your Majeſty againſt Hoſtile Attempts both by Sea and Land, but alſo for the future times, to give their Patrons and Partakers to underſtand that your Majeſty can never want in this Kingdom means of defence of your Rights, Revenge of your Wrongs, and ſupport of your Eſtate.*

They had immediately before ſaid, *We do further think fit to add and expreſs theſe reaſons ſpecial and extraordinary, which have moved us hereunto, leſt the ſame our doing may be brought into precedent to the prejudice of the State of our Country, and our Poſterity.*

As hidebound as King *James* found Parliaments afterward (for as I ſaid) he in his *Speech* in Parliament *Anno* 1620 mentioned, *That in all his Reign he had but* 4 *Subſidies and ſix Fifteenths*, yet their Belief of that *Popiſh* Gun-powder *Plot* fired the Zeal of their Supplyes, and (as I may ſay too) made their Money burn in their Pockets, and paſs with ſpeed into the Exchequer, and with a *Salvo* to the *Caution about not drawing that Act into a Preſident*, &c. Had I been in the Parliament that ſate after the Diſcovery of the laſt Popiſh Plot, I ſhould have moved that the belief of that Plot might have ſhewn it ſelf by works of ſupply to the King, eſpecially conſidering that the Proteſtant Intereſt was then abroad, *inter ſacrum & ſaxum*, and do hope that the belief thereof will ſo ſhew it ſelf in any Parliament his Majeſty ſhall call, that we ſhall that way Expoſtulate with the *quare fremuerunt Gentes*, abroad againſt the Proteſtant Religion. And ſuch a golden Age do I expect for the Crown from future Parliaments, that I believe that nothing of Prerogative that ſafeguards the Kingdom, will be ask'd as the price of any Supplyes, and that as I thought it very abſurd in a Country Fellow, when he called for a quantity of an Opiate Medicine his *Doctor* had preſcribed, to ask angrily, *ſhall I have no more for my Money?* when as if he had had more it would have poyſoned him, it will generally appear as abſurd on any Supplies to ſwallow up ſo much of the executive part of the Regal Power, as would prove in effect deſtructive to the Body Politick.

We ſhall have ſo much occaſion to come for ſhelter under the Branches of Regal Power, that we ſhall not be tempted by any leiſure to lay its roots bare. And conſidering that even in Republicks both Ancient and Modern, there hath been a *Parentheſis* of Dictatorian or Monarchic Power in times of War, and that all the times that all the living now in Chriſtendom are to be fencing with all the way in their March to the Grave, may perhaps be times of War, I may well account that the *Sir Politics* will every where appear ridiculous, who ſhall trouble the World with Models of Republicks, *Agrarian Laws*, and *Rotations*, and ſpending time in the contrivance of *Ballotting* Boxes, and raiſe a duſt in mens eyes with the *Ballance* of Land at home, when we ſhall be

be forced ſtill to look out ſharp to keep the ballance of Power exact in the whole World abroad, and ſhall think time better imployed in notions of the building great Capital Ships to defend our Intereſt, in and by the Ocean, then in furniſhing ſuch little wooden ware for a Fantaſtick *Oceana*, and ſhall eſſay from an *Oceana* or *Utopia* to introduce an Eſtabliſhment of one Aſſembly only to *propoſe*, and another only to Enact ſuch things as the other ſhall *propoſe*, a thing that an *Engliſh* Houſe of Commons would naturally as much loath as to be tyed from eating any meat, but what a Houſe of Lords ſhould chew for them; and yet is this divided or *double-bottom* Supream Power of the two Aſſemblies by our Airy *Dreamers* made eſſential for the preventing the *Divulſion* of their Government. I lately mentioned the *proponentibus legatis* to be the thred of Controverſie that ran through the whole Council of *Trent*, and he who reads all Father *Pauls* Hiſtory of it, will find that queſtion to animate the whole, and to be there, *tota in toto* and as it were all in every part of it. The chiefeſt of the *Cardinals* were the Popes *Legates* in that Council, andthey were by their Intereſt tied ſufficiently to *propound* nothing but what ſhould promote the Papal Power, but in *Book* 6th 'tis ſaid, *That the Pope had advice from his Nuntio in* Spain, *that the moſt Catholick King was much diſpleaſed with the Style of* Proponentibus legatis, *allowed in the firſt Seſſion, and that the Pope excuſed it as introduced without his privity, but that however he would not quit it nor have it permitted that every turbulent perſon there might propound what he pleaſed.* And there in *Book* 7th 'tis ſaid, *That the Pope on further application from the Ambaſſadors of Princes that that Clauſe might be damned, as contrary to the liberty of Ambaſſadors and Biſhops in propounding what they thought profitable, thoſe for their States and theſe for their Churches, the Pope gave them good words about it but did nothing*, and *Book* 10th, *The* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador deſiring the Retractation of that Clauſe, and that otherwiſe the Council could not be called free, and that its freedom was to be dated only from the time of ſuch Retractation, and that the Emperor inſiſted on its abrogation, and that by reaſon of that Clauſe no* German *had yet come to that Council, yet nothing was effected for its revoking, and ſtill the* Proponentibus legatis *ſtood* as a Rock, and all their Addreſſes daſh'd themſelves in pieces, producing nothing but the froath of excuſatory words from the Pope about it: and in fine all that could be gained was, in the end of the *Council*, after that *Clauſe* had had its full effect, and done all its Execution againſt the freedom of the *Council*, and particularly of the Ambaſſadors and Biſhops there, and was like a Poſt-horſe ridd to his Stage, and had brought all the *Cloak-bags* with the Holy Ghoſt from *Rome*, to turn it to graſs with a Formal Declaration or Proteſtation contrary to Fact, that the meaning of the *Synod was not by that Clauſe to change in any part the uſual manner of handling matters in general Councils*, &c. A crying *Con licenſa* to the Biſhops and Ambaſſadors after the cutting of the Throats of their Liberties. And now can any *Opiniatre* yet further think that a Repreſentative of *Engliſh* Commoners will ever think thoſe Republican Projectors of liberty, who do bare faced cut them off from the freedom of their ſhare in Enacting any thing but what another Houſe ſhall *propound*, and that nothing ſhall have the Sanction of Law, but what enters the Stage with a *proponentibus Patriciis*, or by the *Propoſition* of any *other Houſe*, the Style of one of *Cromwels* two Houſes, and who do ſet up for Inventors in Politics by reviving the exploded Conſtitution of the *Athenians* among whom *Anacharſis* obſerved, *Wiſe men did conſult and Fools determine.*

But

But the days are paſs'd and gone, that gave People of ſubtle and uneaſie Brains the leiſure of digging in Politics further than the Center, which whoever doth, digs not downward but upwards, and that Center I account the ancient *lex terræ* to be, and he who hath got beyond that doth digging upwards deſtroy the real Foundations of Churches and States, while he is laying imaginary ones.

But ſince according to the ſaying *in hieme nil movendum*, men of Senſe who love to be tampering with Phyſick in other ſeaſons, will in that be averſe from ſtirring the humours and trying Concluſions on themſelves and in the churliſh State of the World abroad that is in proſpect, all State Empirics that would any where adviſe a change of Fundamental Governments, will find an unruly Patient of the World, and all our ſober Political *Virtuoſi* will be neceſſarily inclined to ſtudy how to maintain and ſupport our old Government, inſtead of projecting any new one. And in order to the ſupport of our old one, I dare ſay that there will be no more ſuſpenſion of Royal Aids on the account of the *Arminian* Controverſie, or the freedom of our Wills, while we are buſied in preparing to defend the freedom of our Eſtates and Bodies from Forraigners, and ſecuring both Prince and Peoples not being predeſtinated to ruine by them.

The Extinguiſhing the maintenance of the Clergy will not paſs for a *new* Evangelical *Light*, but the exacteſt proviſion for the Enabling Crown'd Heads to ſupport their Civil Government and their Clergy, and with the obſervance of equality and proportion in the ſame reſpecting the State of their Kingdoms, will be worthy the thoughts of the moſt *illuminated* Doctors: for as among the Divines it is on all hands agreed, that from the 40th *Chap.* of the *Prophecy* of *Ezekiel* to the end of that *Book*, the thing chiefly deſigned in the Portraiture of the great *Viſion* of the *Prophet* is to repreſent the figure of Church and State under the *Goſpel*, ſo there is great proportion kept in the ſame, and not only the curious *colouring* but the exactneſs of *draught* and *deſign* required in a great *Hiſtorical* Painting; and no wonder if the ſame appeared ſo expreſs'd on the Table of the *Prophets* imagination, when God himſelf was pleas'd there to paint it partly after the exactneſs and proportion of the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy, and with many Additions of Curioſity, and to which tho a litteral interpretation is not applicable, and on which tho no expectance of the Erection of another material Temple at *Jeruſalem* or in *Judea* is to be founded, or of 12000 *Reeds* of *Land* for the *Temple* and *Prieſts*, yet may it thence be naturally inferred that the preſerving of orderly proportion in the Revenue of the Prince and Prieſt, and with reſpect to number Weight and Meaſure in the Future times of the *Goſpel*, was then the care and deſign of Providence. The 45th Chapter that doth ſo nicely aſſign the Portion, for the Prince and Prieſt, ordains or rather predicts a Royal Patrimony for the Prince in the way of a ballance of Land, as 'tis ſaid in the 8th Verſe, *In the Land ſhall be his Poſſeſſion in* Iſrael, *and my Princes ſhall no more oppreſs my People, and the reſt of the Land ſhall they give to the Houſe of* Iſrael *according to their Tribes.*

The conſideration of this may probably reforme the men of curious imagination who are ſtill making the *Metal* of Government more fine than the Standard, and thinking to leave out there the neceſſary Mixture of the baſer allay that the frail State of humanity requires to make it currant, and without which it would be too brittle for uſe, and projecting how to make the Government of Church and State with eaſe to live upon nothing, or on Taxes in a confuſed and blundering manner laid, when the thought of an inſpired *Prophet* in this *Viſion* relating to the time of the Goſpel the which is called by the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, *the time of Reformation*

tion applied all the exactneſs of Mathematics to the ſupporting both the *Crown*, and uſe of the Keys by an ample and certain Revenue. And as the great *Tax* of *Auguſtus* on the *Roman* World or ἀπογραφὴ by way of *Capitation* or *Pole* near the time of our *Saviors* Birth, ſerved to confirm the Chriſtian Religion in the accompliſhment of the Prediction of *Chriſts* being born in *Bethlem*, and to cauſe *Joſeph* and *Mary*'s going thither, a reſembling effect in the Confirmation of the moſt rational kind of the Chriſtian Religion, I mean the Proteſtant, do I expect from our Future Legal and Equal Taxes; and as I mentioned my Lord *Bacon*'s ſaying of the Parliaments being yet in debt to the Church ſince *Harry* the 8ths time, ſo it may perhaps as juſtly be ſaid that they are in *debt* to the *Crown* for the ſafety of the Proteſtant Religion ſince Queen *Elizabeth*'s, who as I have been informed from ſome well Vers'd in our Exchequer *Records*) alienated more of the Patrimony of the Crown then any *Engliſh* Prince ever did, and that in order to her raiſing thoſe great Sums before mentioned, which were neceſſary for the ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, and rivetting it in faſt to our Laws and Government, and I am the more apt to credit ſuch my Information becauſe I ſee not by what other way ſhe could raiſe thoſe vaſt Sums, but by ſuch alienation of the Crown Lands, her ordinary expences, probably coming near ſuch her receits, which one may partly gueſs by what Sir *Robert Cotton* in his *abſtract of the Records of the Tower touching the Kings Revenue* affirms, (*Ex Computo Dom. Burleigh Theſaurar.*) that *Anno* 12, *her Revenue beſides the Wards, and Dutchy of* Lancaſter *was* 188197 l. 4 s. *and the Payments and Aſſignmets were* 110612 l. 13 s. *of which the Houſhold was* 30000 l. *Privy Purſe* 2000 *l. Admiralty* 30000 *l.* and Sir *Robert Cotton* in that *Book* mentions that ſhe did *pawn her Jewels in the Tower, and often morgage her Land*: which no doubt ſhe was conſtrained to do for the great end aforeſaid, her ordinary Revenue and extraordinary Supplies of *Subſidies* not being adequate to the great Sums that her Meaſures of State and Religion caus'd her to expend. And to how low an Ebb the Crown Lands were fall'n in the late Kings time, from what they were in the 12th year of her Reign (and when they were perhaps about 200,000 *l. per Annum*) appears in a Book of Mr. *Chriſtopher Vernon* an Exchequer man dedicated to Sir *John Culpeper under Treaſurer of his Majeſties Exchequer, where 'tis ſaid that the Revenues of the Kings Lands now in charge before his Majeſties Auditors, amounted in the whole to* 100,000 l. per Annum, *and conſiſted then for the moſt part of Fee-Farms and certain Rents.*

I have before mentioned that *ſhe laid the Foundation of the Proteſtant Religion*, being here *ſemper eadem*: & as in the Metropolis of *Holland* the Foundation of a Houſe ordinarily coſts as much as the ſuperſtructure, thus expenceful to the Crown did the Foundation of Proteſtancy by her prove: and ſhe needed not the Precaution in theſe words of St. *Luke*, *For which of you intending to build a Tower, ſits not down firſt and counts the coſt whether he hath ſufficient to finiſh it, leſt happily after he hath laid the Foundation, and is not able to finiſh it, all that behold it begin to mock him*, ſaying, *This man began to build and was not able to finiſh.* She laid the Foundation of our *Engliſh* Goſpel ſo deep in the Law of the Land, that (God be thanked) the Romaniſts have not been able to mock it further then by calling it a *Parliament-Religion*, and by my conſent let them that way ſtill *mock on*, and I ſhall mock at them who think that any Religion but proteſtancy here will ever have a *Parliamentary* Sanction: and if Popery had not been a Parliamentary Religion here in the *Marian* dayes, her Reign had not (as I may ſay) been infamous by the occaſion of any *Noble Army of Martyrs*, nor the *Eclipſe*, of Juſtice and Mercy, and the *Engliſh* good nature in her vile *Quinquennium* been made an *Epoche* of

Horror in the *English* Story, as great *Eclipses* of old in *Chronology*, like notches in the Line of Time for Mens Memories to faſten on, ſerved as dates of *Epoches* to meaſure it by; and ſetting aſide ſome juſt ground of fear of Poperies being here permitted by Heaven to be an *Epidemical* opinion of Religion, as a juſt Puniſhment of *ſuch* defection from Morality, I think the fear of the Kingdoms being Shipwrack't on it, and ſuſtaining thereby ſuch perſecution as was in *Bohemia*, would be as much to be mocked as *Shakeſpears* Shipwrack in *Bohemia*, and the fear of the Writ *De hæretico comburendo* grillading any more Chriſtians be as ridiculous as *Lithgows* mentioning in his *Travels*, that in a hot Country he ſaw Geeſe roaſted in and by the Sun.

But *My Lord* (raillery apart) the Proteſtant Religion that before Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign was only like a *Picture* hanging on the Wall, and eaſie to be removed without Fatal Prejudice to the Kingdom, hath ſince been ſo incorporated into our Laws, and the heart of our Politicks, that like the old *Freſco* Painting appearing on Walls and there wrought deeply in, it cannot be removed but with the Wall it ſelf: and whatever Popiſh *Biſhops* or *Judges* any Prince of that perſuaſion may poſſibly hereafter appoint, they muſt till ſome of our *Acts* of Parliament can be Repeal'd, which declare *Popery* to be againſt God's Law, give Judgment, that it is ſo; accordingly as 'tis rationally reſolved in *Vaughan*'s Reports in the Caſe of *Thomas Hill vers. Thomas Good*, where 'tis occaſionally ſaid, *That if a Marriage be declared by Act of Parliament to be againſt God's Law, we muſt admit it to be ſo, for by a Law, that is, by an Act of Parliament it is ſo declared.*

There is nothing I am more aſhamed of in many Proteſtants who paſs for firſt-rate ones, and carry not only ſwoln Sails of Profeſſion of it but *Flaggs* as Demagogues, then to ſee them as I ſaid value themſelves on their exceſſive Fears of Papiſts and Popery. I would wiſh that ſuch intimidated Proteſtants (if really they ſuffer that *Paſſion*, and are afraid of the Fire of thoſe *Faggots*, that they are more diſtant in nature from, then from the heat of Mount *Ætna*, and talk after the Rate of the *Martyr* in his Letter to *Cranmer*, that they muſt prepare to hold out to the Fire *Incluſive*) would not by their pittiful ill boding fears ſtain the Noble *Prophecies* of ſome *Engliſh* Martyrs, when the Fire was kindled about them at the Stake. The *Acts and Monuments* will tell them how at the Martyrdom of *Ridley* and *Latimer*, *That when a Faggot was kindled with fire and laid down at* Ridleys *Feet*, Latimer *ſpake to him in theſe words, Be of good comfort Mr.* Ridley, *and play the man; We ſhall this day light ſuch a Candle in* England, *as I truſt ſhall never be put out.* But what is ſomewhat more extraordinary and which I remember not to have heard any one obſerve out of the *Acts and Monuments*, is in the Relation of the Tryal of *Roger Holland* a Merchant-Taylor of *London*, how Biſhop *Bonner* heard him ſay after the Sentence of Condemnation was read, *God hath heard the Prayer of his Servants which hath been powred forth with Tears for his afflicted Saints, whom you daily perſecute. But this I dare be bold in God to ſpeak, which by his Spirit I am moved to ſay, that God will ſhorten your hand of Cruelty,* &c. *For after this day in this place ſhall there not be any by you put to the Tryal of Fire and Faggot:* and Mr. *Fox* ſaith, *That after that day there never was one that ſuffered in* Smithfield *for the Teſtimony of the Goſpel.*

And the Prophetic *Impetus* of *George Sophocard* a *Scotch* Miniſter was very remarkable (as *Buchanan* in his 15th *Book* of his Hiſtory relates it) and when the *Cardinal* in *Scotland* and his Train of Prieſts were Spectators of the Tragedy of the *Martyr*, he fixed his eye on the *Cardinal* and ſaid, *That the Cardinal who there gazeth on me with ſo much Pomp and Pride, within a few days ſhall fall there with more Ignominy then he now ſits with State, and*

ſo

ſo it fell out that the Cardinals Carcaſe was ſhortly dragged with infamy by that very place.

It is ſomewhat natural for dying men, and perhaps for all unfortunate men to offer at *Prophecy*. They who have good Cards dealt them in one Game, trouble not themſelves to Prophecy that they ſhall have either good or bad ones in the next; and few who have ſound minds in ſound bodies and with ſound Eſtates, can tune their thoughts to Divination. But as I would not raſhly embrace, ſo neither would I trample on the Predictions of Pious men in their laſt Agonies, and particularly of what they who are Gods Witneſſes or *Martyrs* Predict about the Cauſe of Religion: for it is the Lot of Witneſſes in any Cauſe, to be frequently entruſted with the Secrets of it. But however the moſt raiſed Intenſeneſs of Humane Nature near its period in any men may tempt them to believe that the things they wiſh to the World will have their certain Birth in it, yet whether God doth then inſpire them with the knowledg of Futurity I know not: but know that the very Prediction of Future things from dying men of valued Fame, is according to natural Cauſes, an Engin in the hand of Fate to bring the things predicted to an accompliſhment. For it being found that Sagacious men on the Confines of Eternity have foretold any alterations in the World, ſuch as wiſh the ſame will think them firſt poſſible, and then by degrees likely, and then by the next thought certain to come to paſs, and that therefore they are ſafe by Heavens Office of Enſurance that their Embarquing in Deſigns to bring thoſe things into practice will be proſperous. However when we ſee thoſe Martyrs both living in Story, and their Predictions in Nature, and when our *Martyrology* hath repreſented to us with what an Heroick Bravery their Souls flew up to Heaven from the Flames, like the *Eagles* cut looſe and Towring aloft from the Funeral Piles of the *Roman* Emperors as they were going to be made *Divi*, can we be diſpirited by dull fears and ſuppoſitions of Proteſtancy, and our Laws looſing their Vigour, and be *Proditors* of the honour of our dying *Martyrs*? I do rather both hope and believe that as dead mens Sculls do ſerve to ſtrengthen the heads and feet of the *Epileptick* living, that the aſhes of thoſe *Marian* Martyrs will confirm the faltring paces of our weaker Proteſtants from ſtaggering into an exceſs of the fears of Popery.

And as in the Hoſpitals of the mad it is often ſeen that an Hypochondriac Perſon whom irrational fears and fancied dangers brought thither, is by a real danger, imminent on his Family or Eſtate, frightning him into his Senſes led out from thence; ſuch a Reſtoration of People to their Wits, do I expect from the preſent and probable Future State of Chriſtendom, and that it will neceſſarily reſcue us from unneceſſary fears as likewiſe from all Curioſities, that would imply our ingratitude to Heaven while we would illegally mend our own Country after the example of other parts of the World that is almoſt the only quiet part in it: and *Propounders* will I believe every day grow more out of requeſt who would make Earthquakes by telling us of the danger of falling Skies. It may perhaps be rationally eſtimated that the greateſt part of mad men becomes ſuch by extravagant *Suppoſitions*, and that the *Quid ſi Cælum ruat* is the Foundation of moſt *Bedlams*; and likewiſe the ſubverſion of moſt States by Inteſtine War, making them appear as much the *Ludibrium* of Fortune, as was the Story'd Fate of the *two Brothers* killing one another on occaſion, tho not of falling Skies, yet of their imaginations travelling thither, and ones *Suppoſition* of his having Paſture Ground as ſpacious as the Firmament, and the others of his having as many Sheep as there were Stars there, and his demanding their being paſtured there, and fatally reſenting its being denyed him.

What

What a grave piece of madneſs is it in the common *Writers* of *Politics* to make it a kind of Proverbial ſaying, as I find it uſed by *Reinkingh* in his *Tractatus de Regimine ſeculari & eccleſiaſtico* as well as by other dull Learned *Writers* of *Politics*, namely, that a Prince may be reſiſted *Si navem Reip. in quâ ipſe cum ſubditis navigat, perforare velit.* 'Tis a degree of madneſs to ſuppoſe it; and the like I thought of a *Suppoſition* in a *Pamphlet* printed not long after our 41 *Commotion*, and called *Obſervations on ſome of his Majeſties late Anſwers and Expreſſes*, where in *p.* 4. 'tis gravely ſaid, *That if a Generaliſſimo ſhould turn his Cannons upon his own Soldiers, they might diſobey him*, &c. or thus ſuppoſing with *Gerſon*, *That if the Pope goes to ſtrike and box any one*, or with *Alacius de Privileg.* l. 1. c. 8. that if the *Emperor doth ſo*, that it is lawful in ſuch Caſe to lay violent hands on either of them, and thence gravely to conclude *that the Party ſo uncivilly and outragiouſly treated becomes thereby the Deputy and Lieutenant to nature, which is a common and equal Soveraign to them all*, as one Perſons words of inference in this Caſe are from thoſe *Authors.*

Bodin doth therefore very wiſely in his *De Rep.* check the affected wiſdom in a *Venetian* Edict againſt two *Banditi* who were *Father* and *Son*, and offering the *Son* his Liberty and Eſtate if he would bring in his *Fathers* head: and being angry with the *ſuppoſition* of ſuch a things being done ſaith, *That 'twere better that the whole City of* Venice *had been ſwallowed up by the Sea then that it ſhould have rewarded ſo deteſtable a Villany.*

But it is a madneſs for any to trouble the World by putting wanton impoſſible Caſes, and extending the Gold of Reaſon to ſuch a thinneſs that will make it loſe its weight and value.

To an *over ſubtle* Caſe put, that blundering Anſwer of a Lawyer was good enough, *Non eſt ejuſmodi caſus dabilis.* Mr. *Hobs* in his *Behemoth* doth to the Queſtion, *What if my Prince ſhould command me with my own hands to execute my Father, in caſe he ſhould be condemned by the Law*, anſwer well enough, *this is a Caſe that need not be put. We never have read or heard of any King or Tyrant, ſo inhumane as to command it.*

But I will ſuppoſe better things of the Future State of *England*, then to believe it will ever ſuffer ſuch real madneſs and real dangers, as formerly from *Suppoſitions* and *Fictions*, not of *Law* but of *Injury*, and when ſome injurious *Demagogues* did often acquire both Popular Air and bread by their but ſeeming to ſuppoſe what they ſeduced the people really to do, and to be really thereby impoveriſhed.

When I think how ſome men by falſe Alarmes of ſuppoſitions, would for the lengthening their Intereſts, lengthen the fears of any perſons, and among Mortal men make the dangers of Plots immortal, I call to mind that 'tis not very long ago that a Forraigner who was Phyſician to King *Charles* the Firſt, I mean Sir *Theodore Mayerne* occaſioned an Univerſal Out-cry of the Diſeaſe of the *Spleen* here, and was obſerved in many Caſes where the Diſeaſe proceeded from the fowlneſs of the Stomach or other Cauſes, yet to attribute it to that part of the Body which tho all *Animals* have yet moſt if not all may live without, I mean the *Spleen*, but however he got his Living thereby and ſo plentifully, that it may be ſaid, that he (as it were) *made* the *Spleen*, and the *Spleen* made him. And thus doth a *Spleen* of ſome Popiſh Sham-Plots, and the continuance of the fears and danger from a true one, *make* ſome perſons perhaps who made the former and the continuance of the fear of the latter: and ſuch State Empyricks would be as much impoveriſhed by the utter aboliſhing of the ſame, as ſome of our great Merchants who Trade in Companies and with Convoys, would be if there were no *Argeer*; but as the ſwelling of the *Spleen* proves the emaciating of the other

parts

parts of the Body, ſo hath the ſwoln *Spleen* of the Popiſh-Plot, particularly not more enriched ſome Merchants that Traded therein, than it hath impoveriſhed the Kingdom in general, and I do believe that a Tax of a Million of Money raiſed in *England* in the way before mentioned, would not have been univerſally ſo heavy a burthen as the Popiſh-Plot in its Effects and Conſequences hath been.

But what by the bravery of the *Engliſh Genius* to which (as was ſaid) the continuance of any ſort of fear is unnatural, and deſpair which generally grows from Sloth and Cowardize appearing ſo dull a thing (humane Nature being apt eaſier to deſcend into it, than to aſcend by preſumption) and what by Peoples being Convinced of the ſmallneſs of the Papiſts numbers here comparatively, and of the ridiculouſneſs of the rumour'd greatneſs thereof in particular places, as for example, of there being 60,000 *Papiſts* in St. *Martins* Pariſh, where there dying ordinarily about 2000 in a *Year*, there cannot be judged to live 60000 Souls of Men, Women, and Children, according to the *Rule* of 1 in 30 dying each year, and what by the late great *divulſion* of the *double bottom* of the *Pope* and the *Jeſuites* appearing by his Decree of *March* the 2*d* before mentioned, (which makes all thinking People as much to expect its Shipwrack as do the throngs of the *Plebs* reſorting to the ſhore in Tempeſts expect the Ruine of Navigating Veſſels, and to look on *Papiſme* as ſaying in effect to *Jeſutiſme*, *nec tecum*, *nec ſine te*) and what by the Notion ſo much in *Vogue* and ſo likely to be more, that 'tis as improper to call ſome of the Tenets of Popery by the Name of Religion, as 'twould be profeſſedly to miſ-call any thing obvious, as for example, to call Muſick the Art of Rhetoric, or Grammar Logic, or to call Aſtronomy or Dyalling, by Surveying or Gawging, and that 'tis only that that is *Religion* indeed, that is to be *honoured* (according to that expreſſion in the Scripture, *honour Widows that are Widows indeed*) and what by the urging Fate of Chriſtendom now ſo loudly as with the voice of Thunder repeating it to us, that *this Nation muſt either now be quiet, or that the World abroad can never be ſo*, and that the hand of this Realm muſt be ſteady, if ever it will keep the Ballance of Chriſtendom ſo, and what by the Nations having outlived all the Malignant Symptomes of the Plague of its Fears, I think on the whole matter, we may without any thing of the *Fire* of *Prophecy*, and only from the *Light* of *Reaſon* preſage that the exceſſive fear of Popery as well as its danger will here be exterminated.

I doubt not but the former as well as later experiences of the Papiſts here concerning the Inconveniences of their Artifice of making or increaſing Diſſenſions in the Kingdom (the dividing of which by them as well as other Religion-Traders hath prejudiced it more than the ſo much talk'd of *Diviſion* of the *Fleet*) will in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs incline the ſober Party of them to joyn with the Body of the People of *England*, in being ſharp Abhorrers of the Principles of the *Jeſuites*: for they can hardly go any where now in the Land without ſeeing a *Cain's* Mark ſet on *thoſe who cauſe diviſions*, or ſtill drive the old Trade that the *Bohemian* Nobleman *Andreas ab Haberingfield* in his Detection of the Popiſh Practices mentions, that Sir *Toby Mathews*, *Maxwel* and *Reade* thoſe Jeſuited Political Interlopers did in the Reign of the Royal Martyr, namely, to miſ-repreſent the Court and the Puritans to one another, and to endeavour to perſwade male-contented People, that that Pious Prince deſigned their Slavery, a thing ſo falſe that he was *Reverà* their *Martyr*, as he with great Juſtice ſaid of himſelf on the Scaffold, and which great name he might challenge even on the account of Natural Juſtice, if there had been nothing relating to reveal'd

Religion in the caſe to entitle him to it: for *St. John the Baptiſt* was a Martyr, and yet died for no Article of the Chriſtian Faith.

It may be juſtly ſaid that our Monarch fell a *Martyr* for the People, by not violating the *lex terræ*, that he was by his Oath bound to maintain, and by his therefore not owning the Juriſdiction of the Vile Court over him; and moreover the Law of Nature obliging him indiſpenſably to do nothing that by his exemplary abdicating any Right Inherent in the Crown would have incapacitated him and his Succeſſors from protecting their Liege-People in their Inheritance of the Laws, and it being a thing certain that the Law of Nature is as much the Law of God, as is the Law poſitive or his written Word (and indeed as *Gataker* ſaith well in his Book of *Lots*, *The Law of Nature written in Mans heart, is the very ſame ſo far forth as 'tis yet undefaced with the Law of God, revealed in the Word*) it may be with reaſon averr'd, that any Member of Mankind whether Prince or Subject who is put to death by any Court of Juſtice, or Armed Force, or by the hands of Ruffians or *Bravos*, on the account of his diſcharging his Obligations to the Law of Nature, may enter his juſt Claim to the Name of Martyrdom. I have therefore ſuppoſing that *Godfrey* loſt his life by vile hands for diſcharging with Courage the Duty to his Prince, that the Law of Nature and of the Land required from him, have given the Name of Martyrdom to his Fate, and I ſhould aſcribe the ſame Name to any one that ſhould ſuffer the ſame Fate by the hands of any Ruffians that called themſelves Proteſtants, for his aſſerting the Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed, and diſcountenancing the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance*, and the Principles that ſubvert the Right of the Inheritable *Engliſh* Monarchy, and doing what he was by the Law of Nature and the Land obliged to, for the aſſerting the one and diſcountenancing the other. Thus therefore do I judge that Name due to the Dire Fate that the late *Arch-biſhop* of St. *Andrews* ſuſtained from the hands of thoſe execrable Presbyterian *Bravos*, who defiled their Land and the light of the Sun there with the open Murder of that Prelate.

And ſuppoſing that the great *Harry* the 4*th* of *France*, who was ſo abandoned by Heaven to little Fears on Earth, as when the Duke of *Sully* was perſwading him not to recall the *Jeſuites*, to anſwer him thus, *Give me then ſecurity for my Life*, did yet receive the doom of the *Fearful* in this World for his continuing his Protection to his Proteſtant Subjects according to the Laws of Nature, and of his Realm; I ſhall not deny the right that the Nature of his Fate hath to be Crown'd with the Name of Martyrdom. 'Tis very poſſible that ſome wretched Proteſtants ſo call'd, may to the ſcandal of the Name of Religion deſign Out-rages and Sedition, and the late Publications of many Seditious *Pamphlets* by them, and the Re-printing of ſome of the moſt Rebellious ones that faced the Light in the times of the Uſurpation, (and for example of the *Political Catechiſm*, and of *the Rights of the Kingdom*, in which latter the Murder of the King is juſtified, and the Right of the *Engliſh* Monarchy ſtruck through the 5th Ribb, by the Authors making it Elective) hath given the Government a juſt Alarm of the deſigns of the Publiſhers of ſuch Pamphlets and of their Abettors, and they ſerve among Men of Caution as a ſuſpicious ſign of ſome miſchief intended by them, as the extraordinary Commotion of the Waters is to Whale-fiſhers, an indication of a Whale approaching, and from ſuch as well as from ſome of the Emiſſary Slaves of the *Jeſuites* here, what can any who act with the higheſt zeal in their ſeveral Capacities to aſſert the Rights of the Crown and Church expect but according to the Stile of *Cicero* againſt *Cataline*, *Niſi ut notent & deſignent oculis ad cædem unumquemque noſtrum.* But as to any who for the juſt diſcharge of their Natural Obligation and Duty,

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as Magiſtrates or private perſons ſhall ſuffer the worſt of Fates, I ſhall not deny the name of *Martyrs*, ſo neither ſhall I think him worthy the name of an *Engliſh* man, or a Regarder of the Divine Natural Law, who doth not if a Magiſtrate by the due Execution of the Laws, or if a private perſon and of Signal parts and Learning by his diſcourſe and writing notifie the abſurdities and inconveniences of any Seditious Principles chargeable, on any perſwaſion of Religion whatſoever, every Subject being under Moral Obligations duly to repreſent to the *Pater Patriæ*, and to his Brethren Subjects the dangers imminent over them by any deſtructive Principles or Practices, whatever diſguiſe of Religion the ſame may aſſume; and it is moſt worthy of the moſt generous diſpoſitions that can be in men who own the love of their Country, with Monuments of Praiſe to honour the Memories of thoſe *Heroic* Perſons who were ſo unnaturally dealt with for aſſerting the Rights of the God of Nature, and thus fell its Noble Victimes, and who in the Race of their Lives were Agoniſts for it, and to reſemble the Juſtice of the *Lacedemonians* among whom thoſe that died for their Country were proverbially ſaid, καλῶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι and were Crown'd with *Olive* and other Branches, and with Praiſes Extoll'd to the Skies: and to this Cuſtom probably the words of the *Doctor* of the *Gentiles* have a reference, where he ſaith to *Timothy*, ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως, *fight the good Fight of Faith*; and *St. Paul* ſutably was but juſt to himſelf, when writing to *Timothy*, *I am ready to be offered up*, &c. he added, *I have fought a good fight*, &c. And thus too may our Royal *Martyr* be ſaid, καλῶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι, and conſidering how great an *Agoniſt* and *Confeſſor* Queen *Elizabeth* was, and how often ſhe was deſigned for Martyrdom by ſome of her Romiſh *Antagoniſts*, the *Londoners* were but juſt to her, when adorning their Churches with the figure of her Monument they placed over her *Effigies*, the Inſcription of, *I have fought a good Fight*, &c.

And as the old Agoniſtical Games were among the *Græcians* and *Romans*, inſtituted in honour of their Gods, and as critical ſeaſons for their ſhewing their love to their Country by their then making Leagues and agreeing on the great Concerns of Peace and War, and Men, then in various Contentions of the Body and Mind ſhewed their utmoſt Abilities, ſo doth the Divine Natural and Poſitive Law oblige all Chriſtians in any Conjuncture or Seaſon of Colluctation between true and falſe Religionary Principles, to ſhew their Athletic Habits of mind in the moſt conſummate manner, *and earneſtly to contend for the Faith*: and indeed the Chriſtian Religion in the Rule of its Practice, having throughout the New Teſtament made *Agoniſme* Eſſential to its Morals (which one word of *Agoniſme* is Comprehenſive of more vigour than all the Heathen Precepts of Morality include, or perhaps all the written Practices of Piety and Devotional Books) let him by my conſent be deveſted of the Name of Chriſtian, who on any juſt occaſion ſhews not himſelf as an *Athleta* for his Religion and Country in all lawful ways by entring the Liſts with all Principles of Hoſtility to either, whatever the Event may be; but ſtill with a fair reſpect to the perſons of all Contenders; for even that the *Agonoſtic* Games required, and particularly, *Ne quis in Colluctatione vel pugilatu antagoniſtam ſtudio deditâq; operâ conficeret: alioqui ne victor Coronaretur*: nay ſo averſe were the Athletick Laws to cruelty, that they obliged all Contenders to endeavour, *Quo mollior leviorq; ictus minus læderet*, and eſpecially to abhor the Britiſh Art of *biting* one another, the abhorrence of which I do expect will grow more and more in faſhion between Religionary Antagoniſts, notwithſtanding the many exorbitant incivilities I find practiced by ſome ſuch Contenders towards the perſons of each other in the preſent *Conjuncture*,

ture, wherein I have obſerved that too many of the Proteſtant as well as Popiſh *Antagoniſts* have by *cruel mockings* and *biting* words and *Shams*, made it their chief buſineſs but in one thing to reſemble one of the old Agoniſtic Games, namely, that of the *Wreſtlers* who after their having been firſt annointedwith Oyl to ſtrengthen themſelves, did then that they might the better lay hold on one another, and might not ſlip out of each others hands, *Se mutuo pulvere ſive arenâ aſpergere, ac propemodum fædare*, a thing too many among us have done outright, and thereby ſhewed themſelves not to be ſo much as *almoſt Chriſtians*, and a *ridiculing* humour of throwing dirt that the *Colluctations* about the Land on the *Continent* of Chriſtendom, will I believe *ridicule* out of our World at leaſt, and unteach us the turpitude of ſuch *Railery*, and make the Doctrines of ſpeculative points of Religion to give us no more diſturbance than doth or ever did the Doctrine of *Lines* and *Figures*.

And as the more ingenuous and true ſober part of the people, is now moved with pity to *Nonconformiſts*, for being led away by the Noſe from our Churches by the *Jeſuites* (a thing that Mr. *Nye* himſelf affirms in his Book called, *A Caſe of great and preſent uſe, whether we may lawfully hear the now Conforming Miniſters*, and printed *Anno* 1677, and the not thinking which lawful he makes a miſperſwaſion, and ſaith in p. 24, and 25, *In moſt of the miſperſwaſions of theſe latter times by which mens minds have been corrupted, I find in whatſoever otherwiſe they differ one from another, yet in this they agree that it is unlawful to hear in publick, which I am perſwaded is one conſtant deſign of* Satan *in the variety of ways of Religion, he hath ſet on foot by Jeſuites among us*) and doth the more pity them for that ſome well meaning perſons among them who were blindfolded into ſome of their Nonconformity by *Jeſuitic* Emiſſaries, had not heretofore their Eyes opened to ſee that the ſame perſons were often Sollicitors with Magiſtrates, to do their duty and put the Laws in due Execution againſt them for their Nonconformity, and that ſuch Emiſſaries had thereby an occaſion of ſaying to them according to the Style of the *Chief Prieſts*, after they had blind-folded our Saviour, and then ſmote him, *Prophecy who is he that ſmote thee?* and for that ſuch well meaning perſons have been obſerved at the ſame time to importune the Almighty, *That he would open the Eyes of Kings and Princes*, ſo hath it likewiſe general reſentments of Scorn and Anger againſt the Principles of thoſe *bantring* Popiſh Seducers, who as they have ſome Emiſſaries here to kill Souls and others probably ready on occaſion, to kill bodies, have diſtended the Doctrine of Popery abroad in the World to ſuch an exceſs of Cruelty that no man can Calculate the number of Gods it hath made, or of men it hath deſtroyed; and I hopethat ſuch *Jeſuited* Emiſſaries will in time generally appear not only hateful but ridiculous to our Papiſts themſelves: for who indeed can chooſe but laugh at the diſcuſſing or deliberating of the *Queſtion* in p. 98. *Of the Myſtery of Jeſuitiſme*, viz. *Whether the Jeſuites may kill the Janſeniſts?* So very hateful are their Principles to ſome of our ingenuous *Engliſh* Papiſts, that I have heard a Great and *Noble* Perſon mention it with Contentment, that ſome of that Order of *Falſe Prophets* were ſince the Popiſh Plot executed for it, tho yet he doubted of the Veracity of the Witneſſes againſt them. I very much differ'd in my Judgment from that of that Noble Perſon, and would have no man damnified in the leaſt for the greateſt Crime, but by Witneſſes greater than all exception, and do account it eaſier to give Heaven an occount of Mercy than Juſtice: but yet on the recollecting of my thoughts I have found it ſo incident to humane nature to delight by ill Witneſſes to puniſh the avowers of falſe Religionary Principles, that I have read it among

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ſome *Rabbinical* Obſervators of the Cuſtoms of the *Jews*, that they anciently allowed of falſe Witneſſes againſt falſe Prophets, and of whoſe being ſuch the *Sanhedrim* did cognoſce, and ſo they impiouſly reputing *Chriſt* to be ſuch, did barefaced bring forth falſe Witneſſes againſt him, and he could not be allow'd to except againſt their Perſons but only againſt their ſayings as diſcordant: and to this purpoſe we find it in the Goſpel of St. *Mathew*, *Ch.*26.*Verſ.*59,60. *Now the Chief Prieſts and Elders and all the Council ſought falſe Witneſſes againſt Jeſus to put him to death, but found none: yea tho many falſe Witneſſes came, yet found they none. At the laſt came two falſe Witneſſes*, and in *St. Mark*, *Ch.* 14. *V.* 56. and 59. 'tis declared how the Teſtimony of the *Falſe Witneſſes* agreed not together. I have mentioned this as not in the leaſt intending to reflect on the teſtimony of any one Witneſs ever produced in behalf of the Crown in any Criminal Cauſe in any age of time, and do think that according to the ſaying that *defenſio non eſt deneganda Diabolo*, and that as a railing Accuſation is not to be brought againſt the Devil, ſo much leſs ought a falſe Teſtimony. And I am moreover in any Point relating to the ſafety of Princes Lives, and when there are exaſperated Parties in a Kingdom, criminating and recriminating each other about the ſame, inclined to do what is fairly to be done to ſupport the Credit of Witneſſes, conſidering (as the Obſervation is) that as he who is bound to the King, his Bond is good for nothing to any one elſe, ſo he that during ſuch a Conjuncture is a Witneſs for the King is liable to ſo many Volleys of Dirt from ſome one of the inraged Parties, and to have all the particular exceſſes and extravagances of his Life ſo diſplay'd, as to endanger his Teſtimonies uſefulneſs in other caſes. But yet if any Magiſtrate finds the Teſtimony of Witneſſes he would ſupport to be inſupportable, and doth not believe them to be *fide digni*, he is obliged Morally to avow ſuch his Sentiment thereof, when he is legally put upon it.

And here I cannot pretermit an occaſion of mentioning your Lordſhips great Courage and Juſtice in an Affair that my Correſpondent writ to me of, namely, that when ſome Witneſſes had in the Houſe of Lords been Examined about a Popiſh Plot in *Ireland*, and that the Vote of every one in that Houſe was given for the reallity of that Plot except your Lordſhips, you entered your diſſent as not believing any ſuch Plot in *Ireland* as was by the Witneſſes ſworn, which was certainly moſt worthy of your Lordſhip to do, if you thought not the Witneſſes worthy of your belief, and your Caution in your ſo judging, that the Papiſts in *Ireland* deſigned not ſuch a Plot to be Executed in that Kingdom, was the more remarkable in regard that 'twas ſome time ſince publiſhed in a large Pamphlet of *the Growth of Popery*, that the *Iriſh* Plot was a thing contrived only to divert and hound us away from the purſuit and Examination of the *Engliſh* one. And yet the ſame Witneſſes (as I was inform'd) obtain'd that belief from a Loyal and Honourable Houſe of Commons concerning the *Iriſh* Plot, that cauſed the Vote of its reallity to paſs with a *Nemine Contradicente* there.

What Fautors of falſe Teſtimony the Jeſuites principles are, I have ſhewn, and at the ſame time afforded my Teſtimony to the Heroic Vertue of many others of the Church of *Rome*, and think it great and pedantical kind of Injuſtice to charge all Lay-Papiſts with a readineſs to obey their Prieſts Commands by being miniſterial in Cruelty to Proteſtants. I remember I have read it in a printed *Speech* of Sir *Audly Mervin* the *Speaker* of the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, a *Speech* glowing with anger enough againſt the *Papiſts*, where yet 'tis ſaid p. 24. *In the Barony of* Eniſhoan *there are above two thouſand* Iriſh *Papiſts can bring hundreds of Proteſtants to witneſs their Civil demeanor through the whole courſe of the diſtemper in this Kingdom.*

And as the bloody Sect of the *Zealots* grew at laſt ſo odious among the *Jews*, and another Order of ſuch *ſicarii* among the *Turks*, ſo I ſuppoſe that of the Jeſuites will naturally do among Chriſtians, and the Jeſuites writ *de hæretico Aſſaſſinando*, grow obſolete, and eſpecially in places where the Scene of Mr. *Coleman's Northern Hereſie* lies, it being an old obſervation that *Northern* Countries are more hoſpitable and leſs cruel, than *Southern*.

In the very time of the dawn of Learning uſhering in that of the Reformation, it preſently grew odious to the firſt-rate *Ingenioſi* to draw Heretics blood. Our Famous Countryman *Tunſtal* Biſhop of *Durham* (who had imbibed ſo much of the Mathematical Sciences, that *Voſſius de Scientiis Mathematicis* ſaith p. 40. *Ante annos Centum & quod excurrit, magnâ cum laude præcipue ob ſermonem purum, & perſpicuum de arte ſupputandi egit Cutbertus Tunſtallus*, and whoſe Book of *Arithmetick* writ with ſuch pure Latinity is commonly extant) was of ſuch a temper that (as *Fuller* tells us in his *Church Hiſtory*) the *Biſhopric of* Durham *had halcyon days of Peace and Quiet under God and good* Cutbert Tunſtal *the Biſhop thereof.*

Sir *Thomas Moor* of whom 'tis ſaid, that 'twas writ on his Tomb, that he was *furibus hæreticiſq; moleſtus*, yet in his *Utopia* rouls neither of them in Blood: and in his *Chapter* there *concerning the Religions in Utopia*, he makes *divers kinds of Religion not only in ſundry parts of the Iſland, but alſo in divers places of every City, ſome worſhipping the Sun and ſome the Moon, and ſome other of the Planets, and the wiſeſt of them worſhipping God Almighty, and ſome embracing the Faith of Chriſt at firſt without the help of a Prieſthood, and minding to chooſe a Biſhop among themſelves, without ſending out of their own Country for the Order of Prieſthood*, and makes them affrighting none to or from the Chriſtian Religion. And that that *Book* of his may rather be thought an Original of his Mind than a mere Copy of his Countenance, we have the Suffrage of Dr. *Donne* in his Βια-θανατος, where having ſaid, *That Sir* Thomas Moor *was a man of the moſt tender and delicate Conſcience that the World hath ſeen ſince St.* Auſtin, and citing of his *Utopia*. l 2. c. *de ſervis*, he ſaith, *He was not likely to write there any thing in jeſt miſchievouſly interpretable.*

And if a man would quote things of *Eraſmus* his great Humanity to all humane kind, he muſt quote almoſt his whole Works. But how far his *Genius* led him from any brutal ferity toward *Heretics*, your Lordſhip will ſee by this paſſage in his *Supput. error. Bedæ. Dic eccleſiæ, quod ſi non audierit ſit tibi velut ethnicus & publicanus: quaſi hic ulla ſit incendii mentio. Rurſus Apoſtolum. Poſt unam & alteram correptionem devita. An devitare eſt in ignem conjicere? Iterum Auferte malum ex vobis ipſis. Num auferte valet idem quod occidere?* He had ſaid before, *Quas autem mihi narrat eccleſiæ leges? An leges eccleſiæ ſunt quenquam ultricibus tradere flammis.* And afterward *at epiſcoporum eſt quod quidem in ipſis eſt docere corrigere, mederi. Qualis autem eſt & epiſcopus qui nihil aliud poſſit, quam vincire, torquere flammis tradere? Quod ſi qui tractant hoc negotium tales eſſent, qualem ſe declarat in hoc libello Beda, hoc eſt ſi tantum ſpirarent odii ſi tantum haberent impudentiæ, tam impotens calumniandi ſtudium, tam corruptum judicium, ut videatur citius decem propulſurus in hæreſim, quam unum revocaturus. nonne belle ageretur cum delatis? Niſi fallor primum deſignare cui male vellet, eum curaret clam rapiendum in carcerem: ibi quærerentur articuli tales quales plurimos objicit mihi partim falſos, partim depravatos. Diſputatio ſi qua fieret, perageretur in carcere, ſi quid hiſceret contrà mox accerſitis tribus dilectis monachis, pronunciaretur ſententia diffinitiva. Quod reliquum eſt perageret carnifex. Ubi theologus defert rapit in carcerem, urget*

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accuſationem, damnatum tradit judici profano. Judex non ex ſuâ cognitione, ſed ex theologi præjudicio tradit flammis.

Our Martyrologiſt Mr. *Fox* could not have expreſſed more anger againſt a Biſhop *Bonner*, than *Eraſmus* a Papiſt hath here againſt Popiſh Perſecuting Prelates. Had *Eraſmus* then known of one practice enjoyn'd conſtantly by the *Canons* to Popiſh Biſhops at their Condemning of Heretics, to *ſalve* the *Phænomena* of their *irregularity* by intermedling in *Cauſâ ſanguinis* (and about which your Lordſhip ſhewed me once ſome remarkable quotations in a *Letter* writ to you by the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and of which quotations I beg a Copy from you by the firſt opportunity) namely, *efficaciter & ex corde*, to intercede with the ſecular Judge to whom they deliver the Heretic over, *to bring no pain of death or mutilation of member to him*, I believe the great Wit of *Eraſmus* would after his ingenious account aforeſaid of the *Tragedy* of the Condemned Heretic, pleaſantly entertained himſelf and Poſterity with the wanton cruelty of that *Farce* that enſued it, and let us ſee how the Popiſh Biſhop then uſing the Speech familiar to ſome Tooth-drawers juſt before their operation, *I will do you no harm and put you to little or no pain*, did at the ſame time make uſe of the power of the ſecular Magiſtrate, but as the Linnen Clout or Silk to wrap and hide the tormenting Pincers of Holy-Church in.

But to return to my obſervation of all Popiſh Canoniſts themſelves, not allowing that wanton mode of the cruel uſage and interceding with the Magiſtrate, *Efficaciter & ex corde*, to do the Condemned Heretic no harm, I think the ſame quotations mention how the famous *Panormitan* did brand the Hypocriſie of that Practice: and the truth is, 'tis very abominable that Heretics neither living nor dying, can be free from ſuffering *Shammes* by ſome Papiſts.

But again on the other hand 'tis with Juſtice to be ſaid, that ſome Papiſts whoſe names the Age riſeth up to, for their great advancement of real Learning, I mean *Peiresk*, *Deſcartes*, *Gaſſendus*, *Merſennus*, had as much tenderneſs for any differing in judgment from them as Proteſtants can have: and that mighty hunter after knowledg *Peiresk* was ſo far from eagerneſs in purſuing the blood of Heretics, that being one of the Judges for Capital Cauſes in *France*, he would always come off the Bench when Sentence of death was to be given, though againſt the moſt outragious Murderer, and he always carried in his mind a charity large enough to embrace the whole World, and maintain'd a conſtant Correſpondence with *Salmaſius*, *Cauſabon* and other Proteſtants, and did put *Grotius* on the writing his *De jure belli & pacis*, that hath taught more Civility to Nations than the Modern Papal Chriſtianity hath done, and who hath there ſo perfectly manumitted Secular Magiſtrates from being obliged implicitly to execute the Sentences of Eccleſiaſtic Judges, that he hath there aſſerted it *l.* 2. *c.* 26. §. 4. *Quin probabile eſt etiam Carnifici qui damnatum occiſurus eſt hoc tenus aut quæſtioni & actis inter fuerit aut ex rei confeſſione cognita eſſe debere cauſæ merita ut ſatis ei conſtet mortem ab eo commeritam: idque nonnullis in locis obſervatur, nec aliud ſpectat lex Hebræa cum ad lapidandum eum qui damnatus eſt teſtes vult prodire populo.* Deut. 17.

By the 7th *Verſe* of that *Chapter the hands of the Witneſſes were to be firſt on him to put him to death*, which Law no doubt had the effect of a *Caveat* with men againſt their *ambitus* of the ſtanding Office of Witneſſes by tacking thereunto the ſtanding Office of Executioners.

Moreover both common Obſervation and Curſory looking into Books, and indeed common ſenſe will teach us that the Papal Principles do not oblige

lige men at once to fence againſt Heretics lives, and againſt impoſſibilities, nor to endanger themſelves by fighting with the *Wind-mills* in Heretics Brains.

That great *Cardinal D' Oſſat* whom I have ſo often here cited, and who was ſo renown'd for his probity as well as comprehenſive knowledg of matters of State, doth in the 86th *Letter* that is to *Villeroy* in the *Year* 1597. give him an account of his diſcourſe with the *Pope* on the occaſion of his Holyneſs angrily reſenting *Harry* the 4ths obſerving the *Edict* of pacification, and that *D' Oſſat* thereupon ſaid, *That it was neceſſary for the Peace of* France *that that Edict ſhould be obſerv'd: that for want of ſuch an Edict* France *had not been quiet for* 35 *years. That the Date of the Edict,* 1577. *ſhewed 'twas not the preſent King, but the late King* 12 *years before his death that made it, that the late King and King* Charles *his Predeceſſor and Brother, did not make ſuch Edicts of Pacification with their good liking and frankly, but were conſtrain'd to it by neceſſity, even for the good of the Catholic Religion, and the Realm after having found that many Wars made by Heretics ſerved for nothing but in many places to aboliſh the Catholick Religion, and in a manner all Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, Juſtice and order,* &c. *And that beſides that neceſſity hath no Law in whatever Subject and Matter it be,* Jeſus Chriſt *hath taught us in his Goſpel to tolerate the Chaff in our Fields, when there was danger of plucking up with it and ſpoyling the good Corn: that other Catholick Princes uſed ſo to do, whom none ſpoke ill of for it. That the Duke of* Savoy *as great a Zealot as he makes himſelf for the Catholic Religion doth tolerate Heretics in their Religion, in the three Valleys of* Italy, *of which he is Lord. That the King of* Poland *did as much not only in the Kingdom of* Sweden *but of* Poland: *that all the Princes of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *and who are Celebrated for being Pillars of the Catholic Church, did as much not only in the Towns of the Empire, but alſo in their own proper Eſtates, as in* Auſtria *it ſelf from whence they take their Name, in* Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Sileſia, Luſatia, Stiria, Carinthia, *and* Croatia. *That* Charles *the* 5th *Father of the King of* Spain *was he that taught the King of* France *and other Princes to yield to ſuch a neceſſity by making the* Interim (*that every one knows*) *even after his having Conquered the Proteſtants of* Germany. *That his Son the King of* Spain *at this day who is reputed to be Archi-Catholic, and to uphold the Catholic Religion as* Atlas *doth the Heavens, doth yet tolerate in his Kingdoms of* Valencia *and* Granada *the* Moors *with their Mahumetaniſme, and hath cauſed to be offered to the Heretics of* Zealand *and* Holland, *and other Heretics in the Low-Countries, the free exerciſe of their pretended Religion, if they will for the future acknowledge and obey him,* &c. And concludes his diſcourſe to the Pope ſaying, *That the Kings ableſt Counſellors were of opinion that if his Holyneſs ſaw things ſo near as the King did, and that the* Pope *was to Command* France *in the State the Realm was at preſent, his Holyneſs would not in this point do leſs than the King did.* To all which *D' Oſſat* ſaith, *The* Pope *made no reply.*

And I think it may with parity of reaſon be affirmed, that if the *Pope* himſelf were to Commmand *England* in the State it is in at preſent, he would be no hammer of Heretics ſo as to knock any one of them on the head.

I know that after the date of that Letter, *viz. Anno* 1597. of *D' Oſſat's* laſt mentioned, the various Revolutions in Chriſtendom made the Scene of the toleration of Heterodoxy in thoſe Countries to be altered with a Vengeance; for ſix years after the death of *D' Oſſat, viz.* in the *Year* 1610. King *Phillip* the 3d of *Spain* made an Edict for the exterminating the *Moors* with

with their Mahumetatiſme out of his Realms,and which was executed with great Cruelty; and the *Union* of *Utrecht* entered by the Provinces in 1579, and the blow given to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy by Queen *Elizabeth* in 1588, and the Patronage the United Provinces had from her and the kindneſs they found from *Harry* the 4th of *France*,made his Conditional offers of favour to the *Dutch* Heretics not thank-worthy,but even at this very day, tho in the Low-Countries both of the United and *Spaniſh* Provinces there is a certain reciprocal liberty for the Papiſts in the Dominions of the States, and for the Proteſtants in the Dominions of the *Spaniard*,yet is the liberty not equal: for in the United Provinces the States allow the Papiſts a certain number of Prieſts to officiate among them *in ſacris*,which is done by an expreſs Conceſſion. But in the *Spaniſh* Dominions there is no ſuch Conceſſion,and the Miniſters who there privately officiate among Proteſtants do it at their peril.

And in the *Year* 1599. *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* expelled the *Lutherans* out out of his Provinces: and in *Auſtria*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*,and all the heritable Lands of the Houſe of *Auſtria*,*Franconia*,*Bavaria*,and the upper *Palatinate*, no Proteſtants are permitted to have the publick Exerciſe of their Religion: and the Effects of the Emperor's Perſecuting the Proteſtants of *Hungary* the World knows and feels, and have with horror gazed on the Proteſtants of *Tranſylvania* putting themſelves under the Protection of the *Turk*, that they might enjoy their Profeſſion of Chriſtianity. And how the *Bohemians* were treated by a Jeſuited Emperor twenty years after 1579 I have ſpoken, when I gave an account of the Jeſuites Emblem painted on the Arms of *Auſtria*, viz. *I have practiced.*

That the *Duke* of *Savoy* practiced nothing of Cruelty to his Heretical Subjects in the *Valleys* about the time 1597, thoſe poor Proteſtants may under God thank their old friend *Harry* the 4th,who in the year 1600 took almoſt his whole Country, after his having been before in a Conteſt with him by way of demand for the *Marquiſat* of *Saluſſes*, and his having applied to the Pope to interpoſe therein,the Emperor having likewiſe demanded that *Marquiſat* in Right of the Empire; and while that Duke was in fear of being fleeced by the Pope and Emperor, and *Harry* the 4th, 'tis no wonder if he ſuffered his Heretical Subjects to graze or ſleep in whole Skins in the Neighbouring Valleys of *Piemont*; but in the year 1655 there ran in thoſe Valleys ſuch a torrent of Proteſtant blood as did bear away all the dire Examples of Cruelty before it that Hiſtory could ſhew, as appears out of *Sir* Samuel Morelands *Hiſtory of the Churches in thoſe Valleys*,and *Book* 4th,and *Chap.* 4. where in his *Audience Speech* as Envoy to the *Duke* of *Savoy* in the behalf of the Proteſtants in thoſe Valleys,on that ſad occaſion, he ſaith, *Si reviviſcant omnes omnium temporum & ætatum Nerones (quod ſine ullâ celſitudinis veſtræ offenſione dictum velim,quemadmodum & nullâ ejus culpâ quicquam factum eſſe credimus) puderet profecto eos: ut qui nihil non mite ac humanum (ad hæc facinora ſi ſpectas) excogitaſſe ſe reperirent,interim exhorreſcunt Angeli, Mortales obſtupeſcunt, Ipſum cœlum morientium clamoribus attonitum eſſe videtur, ipſaq; terra diffuſo tot hominum innocuorum cruore erubeſcere.*

And as for the Kingdom of *Poland*, the fear of the *Turkiſh* Power then gave the Prince there no leiſure to attend ſquabbles about Hereſy and Heretics: and as for the intereſt he had in *Sweden*, which too in the year 1599, had a Popiſh King (as *Sandys* ſaith in his *Europæ Speculum* that year writ) yet were the Papiſts there then (as he ſaith) few,and conſequently the Heretics too many to be perſecuted.

The very *Interim* ſpoke of by *D' Oſſat*,or *Formula inter-Religionis* as 'twas called,was a double bottom of Popery and Proteſtancy, and nothing was expected to be its Fate but Divulſion. *Alſted* in his Chronology mentions its

Date with the words of *Infælix partus*, and the *Proteſtants* in *Conſtance* rather than they would embark in that double bottom, threw themſelves overboard into the Sea of the Power of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* and Brother of *Charles*, who ſoon uſed them not as their *Protector*, but their Conqueror: and 'tis notorious that the *Interim* was profeſſedly deſigned to continue only till the Council of *Trents* determinations were ended, and 'tis likewiſe as notorious that that Council was called deſignedly and *reverâ* for the *exterminium* of Heretics; and its being called *ad reſtituendos collapſos eccleſiæ mores*, was but *umbrage* and *ſhamme*. And what Quarter Heretics were to expect from the *Tridentine* Spirit, Father *Paul* hath told us in his Hiſtory, *p.* 693, and that as to the year 1563. *Advice came to* Rome *that the King of* France *had made a Peace with the Hugonots, the particular Conditions being not known of yet: And the Pope thinking it proceeded from ſome Prelates, who tho they did not openly declare themſelves to be Proteſtants, yet did follow that Party, he reſolved to diſcover them, and was wont to ſay he was wronged more by the Maſqued Heretics then by the bare-faced. Whereupon the laſt of* March *he gave order that the Cardinals who governed the Inquiſition ſhould proceed againſt them. The Cardinal of* Piſa *anſwering that there was need of proper and ſpecial Authority, the Pope ordain'd that a new Bull ſhould be made which was dated the 7th of* April, *and contained in Subſtance that the Pope being Vicar of Chriſt, to whom he hath recommended the feeding of his Sheep, and to reduce thoſe that wander, and to bridle with temporal Penalties thoſe who cannot be gain'd by Admonitions, he hath not ſince the beginning of his Aſſumption omitted to execute this Charge, notwithſtanding ſome Biſhops are not only fallen into Heretical Errors but do alſo favour other Heretics oppoſing the faith. For Proviſion wherein he commands the general Inquiſitors of* Rome *to whom he hath formerly commended this buſineſs to proceed againſt ſuch, tho Biſhops and Cardinals inhabiting in places where the* Lutheran *Sect is Potent, with Power to cite them to* Rome *by Edict, or to the Confines of the Church to appear perſonally, or if they will not appear, to proceed to Sentence, which he will pronounce in private Conſiſtory.* The Cardinals in Conformity to the Popes Commands cited by Edict to appear perſonally at *Rome*, to purge themſelves from imputation of Hereſie, and of being favourers of Heretics, the *Cardinal* of *Chaſtillon*, the *Arch-Biſhop* of *Aix*, the *Biſhop* of *Chartres*, and other *Biſhops* in *France*.

His Holyneſs it ſeems thought that Cardinal and the Arch-Biſhop and the Biſhops to be *Proteſtants* in *Maſquerade*, and has given an example to ſome *Furioſi* among Proteſtants thus to miſcal ſome of the better ſort of them.

In fine that which I aim at by referring to theſe Hiſtorical Paſſages is this, to ſhew that ſome of the very Grandees of the Church of *Rome* hold Principles in Religion that allow indulgence to the perſons of Heretics. I have inſtanced how *D' Oſſat* in the Popes preſence was a Confeſſor for moderation in this kind, and ſpake like a skillful *Divine* when he ſaid, *That Chriſt hath taught us in his Goſpel to tolerate the Chaff in our Fields, when there was danger of plucking up with it, and ſpoyling the good Corn*: and *Theophylact* on that place tells us, that by Tares are meant *Heretics*.

Nor can it be unknown to men of great thought among the Papiſts, that the ſanguinary uſage of Heretics, hath much encreaſed their number, nor perhaps will it be denyed by the Critical Judges of things in the Papal World, what was by one of our *beaus eſprits* and great States-men, I mean the Lord Viſcount *Falkland* obſerved in Print, *That the Maſſacre in* France *made more Proteſtants in one night than all* Calvins *Works have done ſince their firſt publication.*

According

According to that Obſervation, *That nothing ſurfeits ſooner than man's fleſh*, 'tis but natural to ſuppoſe that the Papal World muſt be ſurfeited with it at laſt. And indeed the experience Popiſh Polititians have had of their ſucceſs by *dividing* us formerly (as was ſaid) would tempt them to omit other courſes and to perſiſt ſtill in that if it were not now generally ſeen through.

'Tis *in viridi obſervantiâ* how our Famous great Uſurper *Cromwel* who founded his Dominion in pretended Grace or Religion, and was afraid of Thunder from every Cloud of Enthuſiaſme he ſaw over his head, and was awed likewiſe by the Serene and Rational Religion of the Church of *England*, had no other Game to play in order to the dividing the ſeveral Religionary Parties but by in ſome manner tolerating all according to the Mode of *Julians* Politics.

The *Papiſts* were the firſt who miſcalled any of our *Engliſh* Princes by the name of *Julian*, and that they did in the Caſe of King *James* as appears in his Learned *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* printed *Anno* 1609. where being much concerned for his being ſo termed (and that too by no meaner a man then *Bellarmine*) he doth with great ſtrength there largely prove that that name was congruous (as his words are) *in no point ſave one, that is, that* Julian *was an Emperor and I a King:* and indeed 'tis a very impotent humour of Calumny in any Proteſtant to call any one an *Apoſtate* or eſpecially the Apoſtate, merely for the alteration of his Judgment in ſome controvertible points of Faith between Papiſts and Proteſtants, and which are denominable by the name of Religion; and 'tis a great folly to cheriſh immoderate fears that any *Engliſh* Prince who poſſibly may happen in ſuch Controvertible Points to change his perſwaſions in Religion, will if a Papiſt attempt *à la Julian* to plant Diviſions among his Subjects by the Inſtrument of Religion, for that their being kept undivided and all of a piece will be eſſential to the life of the Kingdom as the State of Chriſtendom is likely to continue; nor is it probable that any ſuch Prince can ever think in the ſingle courſe of his life to make this Nation all of a piece or united under the perſwaſion of Popery. For if any one would ſuppoſe it poſſible that in the Reigns of three or four Succeſſive Princes of that perſwaſion, the nature of things might be ſo far forced as that Millions of men might by artifice be made to abandon a Rational Religion, and one that is framed to ſupport the Government, for one that is not ſo, ſuch one Prince muſt be ſuppoſed to have acquired the gift of long life that *Ante-diluvian* Patriarchs had, and to extend the Span of his life to that of three or four Princes. It is a known Rule relating to *Mathematics*, *That there is no reconciling time and force*, and he who would have one man do as much as four, muſt allow him to be as long a doing it as four one after another.

But the ſurviving *Experts* have ſeen too much of the effects of the ſhaking all Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Polity by a Proteſtant Uſurper, ever to wiſh for another in any Caſe, and to have the ballance of Chriſtendom again broken, and the Kingdom be again divided to preſerve his Families intereſt and to keep that entire, which is notorious to have happen'd under the aforeſaid Uſurper both of Religion and the Kingdom: and the name of *Julian* is moſt properly applicable to him or any Proteſtant Uſurper, and who will be neceſſitated to follow him in his Track of Politics: and the notion of which *Ammianus Marcellinus lib.* 22. ſet us right in, where he ſhews us that *Julian*, that he might weaken the Power of the Chriſtian Religion which he feared, knew no way ſo eaſie as to endeavour to do it by it ſelf, and therefore recall'd the Biſhops baniſh'd by *Conſtantius*, and gave

gave them and the People leave to be Chriſtians tho himſelf was a Heathen, *Nullas infeſtas hominibus beſtias ut ſunt ſibi ferales plerique Chriſtianorum expertus*, i. e. becauſe he had never found Beaſts ſo cruel to one another as he had moſt Chriſtians, and therefore as he travelled through *Palæſtina*, cryed out, *O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatæ, tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni.*

Thus did the Uſurper promote the Animoſities among Religionary Parties, and was enforced thereby to weaken the Kingdom to ſtrengthen himſelf: ſome indulgence he ſhewed to Congregations where Divines of the Church of *England* worſhip God in the way of its Church, yet permitting none to have Benefices but ſuch as were of the Presbyterian perſwaſion generally, and among ſuch and the Independants he diſtributed his Donatives of preferment in the Univerſities, and he took care that no form of Church Diſcipline or particular Church might preponderate by his being a Member therein. He made ſome Lay-men and ſome Divines differing in Judgment about Presbytery and Independency to be *Tryers* of Miniſters fitneſs for Livings, and Commiſſioned many ignorant Lay-men in the ſeveral Counties to be Judges of the ſufficiency of Miniſters, for their continuing in Livings. The preſs was open to all unlearned Wranglers about Religion. Many of his Military Preferments he placed on *Anabaptiſts*, and did ſuffer many of the *Fifth-Monarthy* Religionaries to diſturb the *Apocalypſe* and the World thereby, gave freedom to *Muggleton* the Impoſtor to ſet up for a Prophet, and *one* of the *two Witneſſes*, and was a particular Patron to *Manaſſeth ben Iſrael*, and in treaty with him here to introduce the *Jews*, and tolerated *Biddels* Congregated Church of *Socinians*, further likewiſe ſo far giving an occaſion to Mr. *Marvels* Writing a Book then of *the Growth of Popery*, that Mr. *Pryn* in his *Book* called, *A true and perfect Narrative of what was done*, &c. Printed in the Year 1659. ſaith in p. 57th, *That Sir* Kenelm Digby *was his particular Favourite, and lodged by him at* White-hall, *that* Maurice Conry *Provincial of the Franciſcans in* England, *and other Prieſts had his Protections under Hand and Seal, and that he ſuſpended Penal Laws and Executions againſt Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuites, tho ſometimes taken in their Pontificalibus at Maſs, and were ſoon after releaſed, and that he endeavoured to ſtop the Bill againſt Papiſts the very Morning he was to paſs it, by his* White-hall *Inſtruments, who moved its ſuſpenſion for a time, as not ſuting with the then preſent Forraign Correſpondencies, againſt whom it was carried by* 88 *Votes, that it ſhould be ſent up with the reſt then paſſed, and that he writ to* Mazarine *to excuſe his paſſing that Bill as being carried on by a violent Presbyterian Party much againſt his Will, and that yet it ſhould not hurt them tho paſſed*, &c.

And I ſuppoſe an Author more profound in his Obſervations than Mr. *Pryn*, doth in a Loyal Pamphlet Printed in the *Year* 1656. *Called a Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament*, &c (and generally conceived to be writ by the late Lord *Hollis*) there in *p.* 58. and the following ones charge *Cromwel* home for the ſwarming of the *Jeſuites* then in *England*, and transforming themſelves into ſeveral ſhapes among the divided Sects here, and ſaith, *What liberty the Prieſts and Jeſuites take, how far they prevail on the People, what Countenance they receive from this Government is apparent enough by not proceeding againſt them in Juſtice, as if no Laws were in force for their puniſhment. Your private Negotiations with the Pope and your promiſes that as ſoon as you can Eſtabliſh your own greatneſs, you will protect the Catholics and the inſinuations that you will countenance them much further, are ſufficiently known and underſtood: and of their dependance upon and devotion to you, there needs no Evidence beyond the Book lately written by Mr.* White *a Romiſh*

Romiſh Prieſt, and dedicated to your Favourite Sir Kenelm Digby, *Entitled,* the Grounds of Obedience and Government, *in which he juſtifies all the Grounds and Maximes in your Declaration, and determines poſitively that you ought to be ſo far from performing any promiſe or obſerving any Oath that you have taken if you know that it is for the good of the People that you break it, albeit they foreſeeing all that you now ſee, did therefore bind you by Oath not to do it, and that you offend both againſt your Oath and Fidelity to the People if you maintain thoſe limitations you are ſworn to, and ſure what you do muſt be ſupported by ſuch Caſuiſts.* And afterwards ſpeaks how *Cromwel* in diſtruſt of the whole *Engliſh* Nation was Treating to bring over a Body of *Swiſs* to ſerve him as the *Janiſaries* do the *Turk.*

The *Declaration* here referred to was *Cromwels* Declaration of *October* 31, *Anno* 1655, and which was ſuppoſed to have been worded by his Lord Keeper *Fiennes,* wherein all the meaſures of Juſtice toward the Cavaliers, and particularly the Public Faith of the Parliament, for the punctual and exact performance of Articles with them after the vaſt gain that had accrued to the Parliament by their *Compoſitions,* and an *Act* of *Grace* and *Oblivion* afterward granted to the *Royal* Party, are avowedly broken: and in *p.* 36. of that *Declaration,* 'tis ſaid, *If the Supreme Magiſtrate were tyed up to the ordinary Rules and had not liberty to proceed upon the illuſtrations of reaſon, againſt thoſe who are continually ſuſpected, there would be wanting in ſuch a State, the means of Common Safety,* &c. and before in *p.* 12, and 13. the *Jeſuites* are out-done as to the *keeping of no faith with Heretics,* by the aſſerting in effect in general, that *nulla fides eſt ſervanda,* and the humour of Pope *Paul* the 4th is Repeated, who as the Author of the *Hiſtory* of the Council of *Trent* tells us, declared it in the *Conſiſtory, That 'twas Hereſie to ſay the Pope can bind himſelf.*

And we are aſſured out of Mr. *Peter Walſh* his *Hiſtory and Vindication of the* Iriſh *Remonſtrance,* that *Edmund Reilly* the titular Popiſh *Primate* of *Ireland,* who at a public Dinner boaſted that he never had been friend or well wiſher to the *King* and his *two Brothers* and the Duke of *Ormond,* did yet write *Precepts* under his *Seal* to all the Province of *Armagh* to pray for the Health, Eſtabliſhment, and Proſperity of *Cromwell* Protector and his Government.

More need not be ſaid of the danger of Popery and Arbitrary Power to the Nation, if God and man had not hindered *Lamberts* Uſurpation over it. I have mention'd how ſome of the *Plot-Wineſſes* have depoſed ſomewhat thereof: and ſome of his Countrymen have in diſcourſe affirm'd his having been there a *Fautor* of Papiſts: and my ſelf obſerving it to a worthy Gentleman of *Yorkſhire,* that one of the Popiſh *Lords* in the Tower did in *February* 1662, paſs a Grant from the Crown of ſeveral Mannors in *Yorkſhire* forfeited by the Attainder of *John Lambert,* he averr'd it to me that *Lamberts* Son enjoys that Eſtate at this day. It had been juſt for the Almighty to have puniſhed the extravagance of the Fears and Jealouſies that Reigned in the time of the *Royal Martyr* about his not being a Proteſtant (a Character of Religion he had conſtantly own'd in the view of the World, both by his publick *Devotions* and *Alliances,* and particularly that with *Holland* which chiefly his Zeal for that Religion made him to enſure by the Marriage of his Daughter with the Prince of *Orange,* in the time that the War between the Crown of *Spain* and the States was depending) by permitting a private Gentleman whoſe name perhaps had not come to public knowledg but for the figure he made in illegal Arms, ſo far to march with his Religion undiſcern'd through the Quarters of all the gathered Churches and the Claſſical ones too, that he *deceived* in that point ſo many

 that

that called themſelves *the very Elect*, and who were as well vers'd in the buſineſs of all Religions as *Jews* are in Coines and in the way of adulterating them, and who after that Religion had always been the *Staple* Commodity of *England* as much as Wooll, did almoſt nothing elſe but Weave and Dye and Tenter the ſame with all ſubtilty of Art poſſible to them: and as the *Iſraelites* marched out of *Egypt* without the farewel of a *Dogs* barking at them, we were then near the point of being driven back to *Egypt*, to Civil and Spiritual Slavery without the leaſt harm given us by any of our beſt and deep mouth'd Dogs againſt Popery. But the extreme danger to Proteſtancy from that intended Uſurpation hath been long ſince over; nor do I expect that any fatality of that kind can ever happen to it from any Prince of the Right Line, how much a Papiſt ſoever he may be, that is to ſay, from one who was ſwathed with the Laws in his Cradle, and will be Circumſcribed with them in his Crown.

According to that great ſevere truth I obſerved before of the fate of the *ten Tribes*, after they had made a defection from the Line of *David*, that they were puniſhed with a Succeſſion of 10 Kings, and not one good one in the whole Pack, and their falling at laſt as a Prey to Forraigners, it was the Lot of *England* juſtly to ſuffer what has been here deſcribed, from various Governments and Governors for its defection from the Royal Line, and the experience of our diſaſtrous paſt Calamities muſt needs convince all men of ſerious thought and ſenſe, that we can have no Uſurper how true a Religion ſoever he may own, but will be falſe to the Intereſt of the Nation, and that particularly by dividing it, and thereby as much *depretiating* it in the view of all Chriſtendom, as a great *Diamond* would be if cut in two: for tho *Diamonds* or *Pearles* be equal and like in their Figures, Waters, Colours, and Evenneſs, yet if they differ in their Weights and Magnitudes, thoſe are the Roots of their Prices, and a Diamond of *Decuple* weight is of *Centuple* value.

I therefore think the Kings Loyal long *Parliament* did conſult the public Security when in the great Act of the Teſt they enjoyn'd the taking the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and thereby the laying on the *takers* an Obligation to the Kings *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, that was to outlaſt the Life of the *King*, and without any diſtinction of the Religion true or pretended of ſuch Heirs and Succeſſors.

Of the Obligation to the Kings *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* ariſing from thoſe Oaths, Mr. *Pryn* in his *Concordia Diſcors*, Printed in the *Year* 1659. hath writ uſefully: but becauſe ſince the time of the late *fermentation*, many Pamphlets have been writ *pro* and *con* of the *Political* part of the *Queſtion* relating to a Popiſh Succeſſor, and none that I have heard of has profeſſedly writ of the Caſuiſtical Part thereof, and particularly with relation to thoſe *Oaths*, and becauſe I have heard that in ſome diſcourſe about the ſame in ſome good Company where the Obligation by thoſe *Oaths* to the Kings Heirs in point of Conſcience hath been aſſerted, ſome good men have been blundered out of their apprehending the ſame, by miſtaking the ſaying in the *Civil-Law*, that *nemo eſt hæres viventis*, and likewiſe ſome things obvious in the *Common-Law*, and I did fear that it might thence grow a common and vulgar error that there is no ſuch Obligation reſulting from thoſe Oaths, and that as a Supine neglect of the uſe of means to find the true ſence of the ſame, would be very culpable, ſo that a ſerious and diſpaſſionate repreſenting the ſame would to all men that regard the weight of an Oath, be very acceptable, I have with as much recollection of th ught as I could fairly and impartially writ my opinion thereof Caſuiſtically, and ſhall very ſhortly ſend it your Lordſhip for your peruſal.

And

And indeed as I ſhould not think I dealt candidly with any perſon of the Popiſh perſwaſion if I ſhould be ſevere to him, before I had a Moral Certainty of his having imbibed any of the Principles imputable to Popery, that may be called unmoral or inhumane, ſo it would eſpecially ſeem to me ſomewhat like the *drawing on a naked man*, for a Proteſtant at this time to write for the deveſting any Popiſh Prince of his legal Property, when few or no Writers of the Church of *Rome* either do, or dare, for fear of offending the Pope, draw their pens for the preſervation of ſuch his property, without reſpect to any Religionary Tenets he may hold.

What the *Pope* did to obſtruct King *James*'s Succeſſion, I have mentioned, and what favour any Proteſtant Prince can hope for from the Holy See, may appear out of *D' Oſſat*'s Letter to *Villeroy* in the *Year* 1598. *Book* 4th, where having ſpoke of the Artifices uſed to the Pope to make him believe, that if *Harry* the 4th recovered the *Marquiſate* of *Saluſium*, it would be Commanded by *Hugonots*, he thereupon adviſeth the King to declare the Contrary to the Pope and adds, *I would not interpoſe to write this to you, if I did not know that the Pope and all this Court hold that to maintain the Catholic Religion in a Country, and to preſerve it from Hereſie, his Holyneſs may and ought to deprive the true Lord and Poſſeſſor of it, and give it away to any other who hath no property therein, and who ſhall be more able and willing there to preſerve the Catholic Faith.*

I met with ſome paſſages lately in a *Pamphlet*, that concerned the *Succeſſion*, where the *Author* having liberally deſcanted on the words *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, in the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, ſaith, *as I will not take up Arms without the Kings Commiſſion, nor enter into any Aſſociation to commence in his life time againſt his Conſent*, &c. *ſo any one by whom or for whom any reſignation of his Majeſties Power ſhall be extorted ſhall not reign over me:* and there was another very courſe expreſſion there applyed to a very fine Perſon, and one ſo every way truly great that every Age doth not produce, *viz. That the Houſe of Commons conned little thanks to* George *Earl of* Halliſax, *&c.* but according to the licence of Speech uſed by that *Author*, I ſhall venture to declare that where ever I have a Suffrage in the Choice of a Parliament-man, if any Candidate ſhall tell me that he ſerved in the place before and was for an *Excluſion Bill*, rather then the Kings Offers, and without adviſing with his Country would have any one of the Royal Line Secluded from his Title to the Throne, on the account of any Religionary Tenet (for our *Engliſh* Antiquities afford Footſteps of Parliament-men on ſome weighty matters, conſulting their Towns or Counties that choſe them) ſuch a one if I can help it, ſhall never repreſent me: and moreover he who doth not with acknowledgments of Honour and Gratitude to the Earl of *Hallifax*, mention that *Bill* that he brought into the Houſe of Lords, in order to the extermination of Popery, that I ſpake of before, and wiſh it lodged in our Statute Book, that man if I can help it ſhall never repreſent me.

I am not ſo raſh in my efforts againſt Future time as perhaps that Author was, and can cite a great *Name* for the reaſonableneſs of *Repreſentatives* adviſing with thoſe they repreſent in matters of great moment to the State, and to this purpoſe the Lord Viſcount *Falkland* Secretary of State, in a Printed Draught of a *Speech* concerning *Epiſcopacy*, &c. ſaith p. 4. *Mr. Speaker, Tho we are truſted by thoſe that ſent us in Caſes wherein their opinions were unknown, yet truely if I knew the opinion of the Major part of my Town, I doubt whether 'twere the intention of thoſe that truſted me that I ſhould follow my own opinion againſt theirs*, and thereupon his Lordſhip adviſed

viſed the Houſe of Commons not to do any thing againſt *Epiſcopacy*, and at leaſt to ſtay till the next *Seſſion*, and conſult more particularly with their Electors about it. And if according to the example of that great man any of our Contenders againſt *Popery* had thought fit to conſult with thoſe they repreſented, about the meeting thoſe Royal and Frank offers with hearty embraces, they would perhaps have found the generality of thoſe they repreſented, zealous for their ſo doing: and if they that perhaps with a well intended Gallantry of Courage and ſcorn of Popery, threw out the *Bills* that came from the *Lords* in the *Year* 1677, ſhould ask thoſe they repreſented if they do not now wiſh thoſe Bills had then paſſed into Laws, I believe they would ſay, they did: and if they were asked whether that Bill I mentioned before that was brought in by the Earl of *Hallifax* had not likewiſe paſſed into a Law, I believe they would wiſh it had.

I preſume not to inveigh againſt any of our late Loyal *Parliaments* whatever ſlips in Politics were by any there made, or Arbitrary Votes there paſſed againſt particular Perſons, and am as impatient when I hear any inveigh againſt our Repreſentatives who in the contention of Popery exerted all the ſtrength of the faculties of their minds what ever errors they fell into, as I ſhould be if I heard any Principal ſpeak unkindly of his Second, who contending for him in *loco lubrico*, or fencing on the Ice did ſlip, and ſhall be as apt as any to wiſh and hope that now ſuch have conſulted with their Country as the *Agonothetæ*, and know their opinions better then formerly, that they will take other meaſures; and eſpecially when they ſee the preſent State of Chriſtendom importuning us to be quiet more then formerly, and thus in the old *Agoniſtic* Games many of the *lapſi athletæ* came to be Crown'd. The *Rule* in thoſe *Games* was that the Agoniſts were to make three Attaques on each other, and he that did ſlip or go back in the firſt and ſecond, if yet he overcame in the third On-ſet was lawfully Crown'd, and *good luck* (ſay I) *have they with their honour*, who having an opportunity of a third Aſſault againſt Popery, ſhall out-do not only others but themſelves: and I have the Charity to believe that what the great *Athletæ* did in the Excluſion Bill was thought lawful by them, and that they thought therein they did not *tranſilire metas*.

And 'tis but with Juſtice that the generality of the People of *England* ſeem as *Agonothetæ* to have judged of the temper of our Prince in this Religionary *Certamen*: and I believe whatever time can cauſe, that yet among all compoſed and ſedate Minds, his Majeſties deportment in the late Conjuncture will never happen to be forgot, and particularly his *wreſtling* with his Parliaments (as I may ſay) by ſeveral Gracious Offers and Meſſages relating to the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, and to the making of *Engliſh* Men everlaſting *Comprehenſors* of the ſame. He notified it to them by the *Lord Chancellor* on *March* the 11th 78. *That this is the time to ſecure Religion at home and ſtrengthen it from abroad, by ſtrengthening the Intereſts of all the Proteſtants in* Europe, *&c. The reſults of this Council ſeem to be deciſive of the fate of this Kingdom*, &c.

And I muſt confeſs I wiſh that *tempus acceptabile* (as I call'd it before) had been accepted of, that great Critical *Moment* of time when the curious needed no intelligence from that Oracular Stateſ-man of the meaſures taken abroad to extirpate Proteſtancy, and when its Enemies in ſome Countries thought they had the *life* of that Religion as ſure within their gripe as he had that of the *Bird*, when out-braving the *Oracle*, he ask'd if the Bird in the hand were dead or alive, and when all his Majeſties real *acceptable* offers were thus reiterated to all the noble Contenders, and offered like the

water

water of life to prevent their fainting in their Race, and that *without Money and without Price.*

And becauſe his Majeſties Title hath appear'd as due to his *Agoniſts* Crown as to his Inheritable Royal one, for having in the ſeveral *periods* of his life at home and abroad *contended* ſo *earneſtly* for the Proteſtant *Faith*, and purchaſed an immunity from Envy it ſelf (and that according to the right of that *Law* in the *Code*, that reſtrains the obtaining of *Immunities* only to ſuch a one who hath ſtriven *per omnem ætatem. cum coævis*, and hath to the *Athlotletæ* given proof of his valour from his youth, and who hath at leaſt *in tribus agonibus* been Conqueror) I think the rather that a *Crown* of *Juſtice* is laid up for him both in time and in eternity for his preſerving the property of his *Line*, in ſome of thoſe his earneſt *Meſſages* aforeſaid, and for that he did not by the infringing the Legal Rights of that (as I may ſay) *tranſilire lineas*, or by doing any thing of the Juſtice whereof he doubted and much more of the Injuſtice whereof he was fully convinced.

As the figure of a Crown muſt be entire, ſo muſt every good Action conſiſt of entire Cauſes that is to be rewarded with it: and any Prince who doth deliberate of the doing a thing in it ſelf unjuſt has need of the *Caution* given to the *Angel* of the Church in *Philadelphia*, *hold faſt that which thou haſt, that no Man take away thy Crown:* and indeed for a Monarch to do an Act of Injuſtice is a greater misfortune to him than to be depoſed, the latter being but the evil of puniſhment, and the former of ſin. I reading lately in *Klockius de ærario* was aſhamed to ſee the 41 *Summarium* of *Chap.* 109th, *Book* 2d, to be this, *viz. A Juſtitiâ licite in parvis ſubinde variari ut in majoribus inviolata ſit:* and aſhamed to find in that Chapter *Tacitus* quoted by him for it, and ſaying, *Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum*, and *Plutarch* cited for ſaying, *A juſtitia in parvis rebus nonnunquam abeas, ſi ſalvam eam voles in magnis.* But honeſt *Cicero* tells us better things, and that, *Nihil honeſtum eſſe poteſt quod juſtitiâ vacat*; and the Chriſtian Morallity I am ſure prohibits the doing of one unlawful Act, tho the effect of it would be the reſtoring the whole Creation *in integrum* to its firſt State in Paradice, and it enjoyns the fortitude of *not fearing thoſe that kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul*, as our *Saviours* words are in *St. Math.* 10. 28. and where he doth not ſay, *fear not thoſe that can kill the Body*, but who do actually and frequently kill the Body: *but are not able to kill the Soul*, implying that unjuſt men often labour to do that, and would do it if they could, and their curſed ſollicitude therein is not capable of being practiſed more then by endeavouring to prevail on Men by fear of imminent bodily danger to warp from principles of Juſtice, and the Scripture doth annex *the Crown of Life* to the condition of being *faithful unto death*, and to not *fearing the things to be ſuffered*, as 'tis ſaid in *Rev.* 2. 10. the *ominous* Text Preached on at the *Coronation* of the Royal *Martyr.*

And as it is a ſaying that *Muſt is for the King*, ſo *he that Rules over Men muſt be juſt, ruling in the fear of God*, as part of the laſt words of King *David* aſſures us, and muſt not by fear of Man do any unjuſt thing that would imply his intermitting the filial fear of Heaven, which is juſtly puniſhed by being abandon'd to the Servile Fear of Man, and to that *fear bringing a Snare* (as that *Kings* Son hath in his *Proverbs* told us) and when otherwiſe he might have made his own wrath *as the roaring of a Lion as* Solomons *words are.*

And 'tis when exact Juſtice is as it ſhould be fixed in the Firmament of a Princes Mind, that its brightneſs is above being Ecclipſed by any popular

temptations or fears, that it reſembles the fixt Stars whoſe great height dazles the eyes of gazers and which Stars cannot be eclipſed by the ſhaddow of the whole earth.

The Populace and their Multitudes and Commotions are in the Scripture frequently compared to *water* and the *Sea*, and like that, they are apt to be eating towards the Roots of the Powers of Soveraigns; but while the Mountains of their Power are bottom'd on Natural Juſtice, all the preying of the Sea of the People there makes but the promontory more ſurely guarded, and appear more majeſtic as well as be more inacceſſible. And of this Sea of the People as I would wiſh every Prince in the juſt obſervance of the Municipal Laws of his Country to eſpouſe the Intereſt as much as the *Duke* of *Venice* doth his *Adriatic*, yet ſhould I ſee one for fear of Popular Envy or Obloquy forbearing to adminiſter *Juſtice*, and to follow the real laſt Dictates of his practical underſtanding rightly informed, and ſervily giving up himſelf to obey any mens pretended ones, I ſhould think it to be as extravagant a Madneſs as *Hydrophoby*, or fear of water, on the biting of a Mad Dog; and while a Sovereign obſerves the immutable Principles of Juſtice, he may acquieſce in the reſults of Providence, and expect that the *troubling of the waters* may be like that of the *Angel* before the time of healing, or a Conjuncture of the Peoples being poſſeſſed of healing Principles: and in fine, a King when he finds the Waters of Popular Diſcontent more tumultuous by Religionary Parties as *two Seas* meeting, as for example, Papiſts and Presbyterians, he may depend on his being near Land, that being always near where two Seas meet: and let every Prince be aſſured that 'tis not only *Popery* but *Atheiſme* in *Maſquerade* to do an unjuſt Act to ſupport Religion.

I know that it hath been incident to ſome good men to ſtrain pretences beyond the nature of things for juſtific Cauſes of War abroad in the World to advance the Proteſtant Religion. And thus in the laſt Age, the Crown and Populace of *England* being *clutter'd* with the Affair of the *Palatinate*, the Prince Palatine had here many well-wiſhers to his Title for the *Bohemian* Crown: and *Ruſhworth* tells us in his *1ſt Vol. Ann.* 1619. *That he being Elected King of* Bohemia *craved Advice of his Father in Law the King of Great* Brittain, *touching the acceptation of that Royal Dignity: and that when this Affair was debated in the Kings Council, Arch-Biſhop* Abbot *whoſe infirmity would not ſuffer him to be preſent at the Conſultation, wrote his mind to Sir* R. Nauton *the Kings Secretary*, viz. *That God had ſet up this Prince his Majeſties Son in Law as a Mark of Honour throughout all Chriſtendome to propagate the Goſpel, and protect the Oppreſſed. That for his own part he dares not but give advice to follow where God leads, apprehending the work of God in this and that of* Hungary: *that by the Peece and Peece the Kings of the Earth that gave their power to the Beaſt ſhall leave the Whore, and make her deſolate, that he was ſatisfied in Conſcience that the* Bohemians *had juſt Cauſe to reject that Proud and Bloody Man who had taken a Courſe to make that Kingdom not Elective in taking it by Donation of another*, &c. And concludes, *Let all our Spirits be gathered up to animate this Buſineſs, that the World may take notice that we are awake when God calls.*

Ruſhworth ſaith, that King *James* diſavowed the Act of his accepting that Crown, and would never grace his Son in Law with the Style of his new Dignity.

And in King *Charles* the Firſts time, in the *Common-Prayer* relating to the Royal Family, the Prayer runs *for* Frederick *Prince* Palatine *of the* Rhine, *and the Lady* Elizabeth *his Wife*; yet in the Aſſemblies *Directory* afterward

afterward as to the Prayer for the Royal Family, that Lady *Elizabeth* is Styled *Queen of* Bohemia.

But our Princes not being ſatisfied, it ſeems that the *Palatine* of the *Rhine* had a juſt Title to the *Bohemian* Crown, thought it not juſt for them to aſſert it.

However, that Arch-Biſhop *Abbot*, the *Achilles* of the Proteſtants here in his Generation, thought that the *Engliſh* Crown ought to deſcend in its true *Line* of Succeſſion whatever profeſſion of Religion any Member thereof ſhould own, appears out of Mr. *Pryns Introduction to the Hiſtory of the Arch Biſhop of* Canterburies *Tryal*, where having in *p.* 3. mentioned the *Articles* ſent by King *James* to his Embaſſador in *Spain* in order to the *Match* with the *Infanta*, and that one was, *That the Children of this Marriage ſhall no way be compelled or conſtrained in point of Conſcience of Religion, wherefore there is no doubt that their Title ſhall be prejudiced in caſe it ſhould pleaſe God that they ſhould prove Catholicks*, and in *p.* 6. Cited the ſame in *Latin* out of the *French* Mercury, *Tom.* 9. as offered from *England*, *Quod liberi ex hoc matrimonio oriundi non cogentur neq; compellentur in cauſâ religionis vel conſcientiæ, neq; leges contra Catholicos attingent illos, & in caſu ſiquis eorum fuerit Catholicus, non ob hoc perdet jus ſucceſſionis in Regna & Dominia Magnæ Britanniæ*, and afterward in *p.* 7. mentioned it as an Additional *Article* offer'd from *England*, *That the King of Great* Brittain *and Prince of* Wales *ſhould bind themſelves by Oath for the obſervance of the Articles, and that the Privy Council ſhould Sign the ſame under their hands*, &c. He in *p.* 43. mentions Arch-Biſhop *Abbots* among other Privy-Counſellers accordingly Signing thoſe *Articles*, and further in *p.* 46. mentions the Oath of the *Privy-Council* for the obſervance of thoſe *Articles* as far as lay in them: and had before given an account not only of Arch-Biſhop *Abbots*, but of other *magna nomina* of the Clergy and Layety in the *Council* that Signed the ſame, and particularly *of* John *Biſhop of* Lincoln *Keeper of the Great Seal*, Lionel *Earl of* Middleſex *Lord High Treaſurer of* England, Henry *Viſcount* Mandevile *Lord Preſident of the Council*, Edward *Earl of* Worceſter *Lord Privy-Seal*, Lewis *Duke of* Richmond *and* Lennox *Lord High Steward of the Houſhold*, James *Marqueſs of* Hamilton, James *Earl of* Carlile, Lancelot *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, Oliver *Viſcount* Grandiſon, Arthur *Baron* Chicheſter *of* Belfaſt *Lord Treaſurer of* Ireland, *Sir* Thomas Edmonds *Kt. Treaſurer of the Houſhold*, *Sir* John Suckling. *Comptroller of the Houſhold*, *Sir* George Calvert *and Sir* Edward Conway *Principal Secretaries of State*, *Sir* Richard Weſton *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, *Sir* Julius Cæſar *Maſter of the Rolls, who had done the ſame.*

Mr. *Pryn* afterward in *p.* 69. having mentioned the Diſſolution of the *Spaniſh* Match, gives an account of the bringing on the Marriage with *France*, and ſaith, *It was concluded in the life of King* James, *the Articles concerning Religion being the ſame almoſt* Verbatim, *with thoſe formerly agreed on in the* Spaniſh *Treaty, and ſo eaſily condeſcended to without much Debate:* and referreth there to the *Rot. tractationis & ratificationis matrimonii inter Dom. Carolum Regem & Dom. Henrettam Mariam ſororem Regis Franc.* 1 *Car.* in the *Rolls.*

The *Demagogues* of the old long Parliament who made ſuch loud Outcries of the danger of Popery here and of their ſtrenuous endeavours to free the Kingdom from it, had nothing in their *Famous* 19 *Propoſitions* to bar the right of any Heir to the Crown for the being a Papiſt. *The exact Collections* afford many inſtances of their declaring, *That they would provide for the greatneſs of his Majeſty and his Royal Poſterity in future times*, and in which there was no *Proviſo* reſpecting any Religionary Tenets they ſhould profeſs.

It

It appears in Mr. *Pryns* memorable *Speech* in that *Houſe* of *Commons* on *Monday* the 4*th* of *December*, 1648. *touching the Kings anſwers to the Propoſitions of both Houſes, whether they were ſatisfactory or not in the Iſle of Wight* Treaty, that that Parliament that was concern'd for the ſaving of their own Credit as well as the Souls of the People to make that Treaty to end with the extermination of Popery from *England*, did not in the application of the moſt proper means for that purpoſe, judge the debarring any *Popiſh* Prince here from his Inheritance of the Crown any proper, or neceſſary one. For in *p.* 58. of that *Speech* 'tis ſaid, *As to any danger to our Church from Religion there is as good Security and Proviſion granted us by the King, as we did or could deſire even in our own terms.* Firſt, *He hath fully conſented to paſs an Act for the more effectual diſabling of Jeſuites, Papiſts and Popiſh Recuſants from diſturbing the State and deluding the Laws, and for the preſcribing of a new Oath for the more ſpeedy diſcovery and Conviction of Recuſants.* Secondly, *To an Act of Parliament for the Education of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion.* Thirdly, *To an Act for the due Levying the Penalties againſt Recuſants, and diſpoſing of them as both Houſes ſhall appoint.* Fourthly, *To an Act whereby the practices of the Papiſts againſt the State may be prevented, the Laws againſt them duely executed, and a ſtricter Courſe taken to prevent the ſaying or hearing of Maſs in the Court or any other part of the Kingdom: whereby it is made Treaſon for any Prieſts to ſay Maſs in the Court or Queens own Chappel.* Fifthly, *To an Act for aboliſhing all Innovations, Popiſh Superſtitions, Ceremonies, Altars, Rayles, Cruciſixes, Images, Pictures, Copes, Croſſes, Surplices, Veſtments, bowings at the name of* Jeſus *or toward the Altar*, &c. *By all which Acts added to our former Laws againſt Recuſants, I dare affirm we have far better Proviſion and Security againſt Papiſts, Jeſuites, Popiſh Recuſants*, &c *for our Churches and Religions Safety and States too, then any Proteſtant Church, State and Kingdom whatſoever: ſo as we need not fear any future danger from Papiſts or Popery if we be careful to ſee thoſe Conceſſions duely put in Execution, when turned into Acts, and our former Laws.*

And afterward in that *Speech* p. 110. he ſhews how dear the Kings conſenting to paſs *five* ſuch *Acts* coſt him: for ſaith he, *The Jeſuites underſtanding that the King beyond and contrary to their expectation hath granted all or moſt of our propoſitions in the Iſle of* Wight, *and fully condeſcended to five new Bills for the Extirpation of Maſs, Popery and Popiſh Innovations out of his Dominions and putting all Laws in Execution againſt them, and for a ſpeedier Diſcovery and Conviction of them then formerly*, &c *are ſo inraged with the King and ſo inexorably incenſed againſt him (as I am credibly informed) that now they are mad againſt him and thirſt for nothing but his Blood.*

Mr. *Pryn* had mentioned in that *Speech* before, that ſome Jeſuites and Jeſuited Agitators had engaged the Army to diſſolve that Treaty with the King: and 'tis no wonder if that prying *Order* who knew the Kings Averſion to Popery, as well as the moſt ſtupid of his Enemies did when they ſaw him conſenting to paſs *five* ſuch *Bills*, was the more brisk in executing its Deſigns againſt him, and that as Mr. *Pryn* ſaith in his *perfect Narrative*, a Prieſt preſent at the Kings death flouriſhed his Sword with an exclamation, *That now the greateſt Enemy we had in the World was gone.* But this by the way. I had not mentioned how dear the conſenting to thoſe Bills that would have been ſo fatal to Popery and have prevented the *Phraſe* of its *growth* from being uſed at this time of day, but that ſome perſons not vers'd in the paſſages of thoſe evil days, ſeem to think that there was nothing of Religion to ſupport that Kings Title to *Martyrdom*, but what concern'd his Adheſion to Epiſcopacy and its Revenue.

In

In the very *ſolemn League and Covenant* its takers declared, *they had before their Eyes the honour and happineſs of the Kings Majeſty and his Poſterity.* And I have ſeen a printed paper of the Presbyterian *Divines* of one of the *Aſſociations* in the late times, wherein they do expreſly affirm and argue it that any of the Royal Poſterity here ought not to be debarr'd from their Hereditary Right to the Crown, by being either Papiſts or Idolaters.

If we look ſo far back as the great Conjuncture in the beginning of King *James*'s Reign, namely in the year 1605. we ſhall find that there was then a Paper before mentioned publiſhed in Print called a *Proteſtation of the Kings Supremacy made by the* Nonconforming Miniſters which were ſuſpended or deprived that year, and that the firſt *Paragraph* or *Tenet* in that *Proteſtation* is this, *We hold and maintain the ſame Authority and Supremacy in all Cauſes and over all Perſons Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, granted by Statute to Queen* Elizabeth, *and expreſſed and declared in the Book of Advertiſements and Injunctions and in Maſter* Bilſon *againſt the Jeſuites, to be due in full and ample manner* (*without any limitation or qualification*) *to the King and his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever*, &c. And the 4th *Paragraph* in that *Proteſtation* (part whereof I have before recited) is, *viz. We hold that though the Kings of this Realm were no Members of the Church but very Infidels, yea and Perſecutors of the Truth, that yet thoſe Churches that ſhall be gathered together within theſe Dominions, ought to acknowledge and yield the ſame Supremacy to them. And that the ſame is not tyed to their Faith and Chriſtianity, but to their very Crown, from which no Subject or Subjects have power to ſeparate or disjoyn it.* And in the 18th *Paragraph* they ſay, That *if the King ſubjecting himſelf to Spiritual Guides and Governors ſhall afterward refuſe to be governed and guided by them, according to the Word of God, and living in notorious ſin without repentance, ſhall willfully contemn and deſpiſe all their Holy and Religious Cenſures, that then theſe Governors are to refuſe to Adminiſter the Holy Things of God to him and to leave him to himſelf, and to the ſecret Judgment of God, and wholy to reſign and give over that ſpiritual Charge and Tuition over him, which by calling from God and the King they did undertake. And more then this they may not do. And after all this we hold that he ſtill retaineth and ought to retain entirely and ſolidly, all that aforeſaid Supreme Power and Authority over the Churches of this Dominion, in as ample a manner as if he were the moſt Chriſtian Prince in the World.*

If therefore any ſhall think it reaſonable to pronounce that the ſubſtantial Intereſt of Proteſtancy, and of the Kingdom doth *Stare moribus antiquis viriſque*, I have pointed them to Arch-Biſhop *Abbot*, to Biſhop *Andrews* the Antagoniſt to *Bellarmine* (under the weight of whoſe Arguments *Bellarmine* fell in the *Certamen*) and to others of our old *Counſellors* of State, and particularly *Arthur* Baron *Chicheſter* of *Belfaſt*, Lord Treaſurer of *Ireland*, your Lordſhips Noble *God-Father*, (in compariſon of many of whom when we look on ſome of our great *Politic* and *Proteſtant-would-be's* of this Age, and who would let none be Proteſtants but themſelves, we may well cry out, *In qualem paulatim fluximus urbem*) and have ſhewn how thoſe great *Confeſſors* by their Overt Acts provided againſt the belief of the Doctrine of Popery, without the barring any of the Royal Line from the inheriting the Crown. And when I ſee ſome of our (till of late) unheard of *Statiſts* ſo eager to diſpoſſeſs the Land of the *Evil Spirit* of Popery by illegal means, and the uſe of the great Name of *Proteſtancy* as a *Spell*, I fancy to my ſelf that they may be call'd on by it, as the *Jewiſh Exorcits* were in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, who *taking on them to call over*

them which had evil Spirits, the Name of the Lord Jesus, saying we adjure you by Jesus whom Paul *preacheth, the evil Spirit answered and said,* Jesus *I know, and* Paul *I know, but who are ye?* Thus to any who shall say that there is no way possible to secure *English* Mens continuing Protestants, but by breaking in on the Succession in the Right Line, may it be returned by Popery, the old Protestants of the Church of *England* I know, and the old *Nonconformist Protestants,* and the old *Covenanting* Presbyterian Protestants *I know,* who knew otherwise to secure Protestancy, and likewise the *French* Protestants *I know,* who never practised any Out-rage against the Great *Harry* the 4th of *France's* Government after he had left Protestancy, *but who are ye?* The truth is, the Protestants in *France* so vastly numerous in his time (which any one may imagine, who considers that the most careful thinking men in that Realm make them now to be two *Millions,* and that a judicious *French* Author hath writ, that the *Jesuites* have lately computed them to be above a *Million* and a half) have shewn the World a great example of their Protestant Loyalty in that they were ready as chearfully to obey their Prince when he was a Papist, as when they served him in *set* Battels against the Power of the *holy League,* and the Majority of his Nobles, and of his *Metropolis,* and of the chief Cittadels in his Realm.

After they saw him go to *Mass,* they never call'd him *Julian,* or *Lampoon'd* him in *Hymns,* or *demurred to his Beard,* or had any fears or jealousies of his touching a hair of their heads, nor threatned him that the *Galilean* would foil him: and no Language could have more truly expressed their Sentiments then that of the Famous *Pierre du Moulin* in his *defence of the Faith, Nous sommes prests d' exposer nos vies pour la defence de nos Rois, contre qui que ce soit, fust-il de nostre Religion. Quiconque feroit autrement, ne defendroit point la Religion, mais serviroit son ambition, & attireroit un grand blame sur la verite de l' evangile.* i. e. *We are ready to expose our lives for the defence of our Kings against whomsoever it be, although of our own Religion. And whosoever should do otherwise, should not defend Religion, but serve his own ambition, and would draw a great reproach on the truth of the Gospel.* Considering the indeleble Character of *Hary* the 4*ths* Protestant Good Nature, his Subjects of that Religion did prepare their thoughts to be *Lachrymists* for *him,* rather then *themselves,* and knew that by his Coversion to Popery, *if in this life only he had hopes, he was of all men most miserable,* and that his absolution left him only in the State of a Crown'd Victime.

I have before mentioned the *Apology* for that *Scholar* of the Jesuites *John Chastel,* which endeavours to prove that *Harry* the 4*th* was by that Assassin not only wounded *very fairly* according to the *Language* of the *Brothers of the Blade,* but in the *Style* of their Honour according to the *Jesuites* Morals very heroically, and as the *Contents* of *Cap.* 1. *Part.* 3*d,* of the *Apology* expresses it, *Actus Castelli heroicus est in substantiâ suâ.*

He moreover tells us in plain terms *Part.* 2. *Cap.* 7. that *Excommunicatio quæ ob hæresim irrogatur, remedium potius est ecclesiæ quam excommunicato,* &c. and that *Excommunication for Heresie doth quite take away any Regal Right;* And in *Cap.* 8. before mentioned, (*viz. Neque etiam à Papa absolutus Rex esse potest*) he asketh, *Quod si quæratur quid ergo absolutio præstet, si jus amissum non redeat?* And it followeth, *Quod si absolutus impœnitens existat, effectus alius non foret, quam is de quo supra, ita si (quod Deus velit) pœnitentia foret vera, certe effectus propterea non exiguus esset futurus: utpote in spiritualibus, remittendo illum in ecclesiæ gremium, & regni Cœlorum Capacem*

cem reddendo: temporalium vero reſpectu, quicquid illa operari poſſet, foret ad reddendum eum compotem novi juris, & per electionem auferendo impedimentum in foro fori: quo durante is ille eſſe non poſſet. And then he ſaith, *The Pope cannot confer ſuch new Right to the ſame Kingdom on him, for that it depends not ſimply on the power of the Keys ſo to do,* and in fine, makes the Right to the Crown *irrevocably* devolv'd on the next perſon *capable* who has a right to it, *quum* (ſaith he) *ratum ſit inter jurisconſultos, incapacem haberi ut mortuum, & non impedire ſequentes.* In the 3*d Chapter* of the 2*d Part* namely, *That* Henry *of* Bourbon *cannot be called King by reaſon of his pretended Converſion,* the vile *Apologiſt* derides the *Converſion* of this Great *King,* and labours to prove by *fifteen* Inſtances, *That after his Converſion he did favour the Cauſe of Hereſy more then ever, and particularly by his obſervance of his Leagues and Agreements with the Queen of* England *and other Hereticks, ut experientia* (ſaith he) *per novas ejus actiones locupletiſſime teſtatur.*

Etenim primò fœderum pacta cum hæreticis ſarta tectaq; ſervat: quibus ut hactenus nondum renunciavit, ita neque dum renunciare cogitat.

Secundò ipſi hæritici in Germaniâ, Genevæ & alibi ejus actiones comprobant.

Tertio contemnit Catholicos & promovet hæreticos: illos repudiat atq; rejicit, hos verò muneribus honorat ampliſſimis & auguſtiſſimis in toto regno, & alibi tum bello, tum pace, &c.

Quartò conſilium ſuum è puris putis hæreticis ſtabilit, &c.

So that after he had with St. *Peter* denied his Lord, the followers of St. *Peter's* pretended Succeſſor, call'd him in effect a *Galilean,* and ſaid that the *Speech* of his Actions *bewrayed him*; and after his abſolution he continued in effect, what the Pope ſtyled him in his *Bull* of Excommunication, *filius iræ,* and after as a *Prodigal* having fed among heretical *Swine,* he returned to his *Romiſh* Ghoſtly Fathers houſe, and had cryed, *peccavi,* and *abjured,* and *his Father had compaſſion on him,* he experimented the contrary to, *for this my Son was dead and is alive again,* and himſelf was the fatted Calf that was ſlain; and ſo much wantonneſs was ſhewed by the contrivers of his dire fate, that *Gaſſendus* in *his life of* Peiresk, *Book* 2*d* ſhews how in the beginning of the *Year* 1610. *An Almanack or yearly Prognoſtication was brought out of* Spain, *in which the Accidents of* Harry *the* 4ths *death were foretold, and that it was ſent to his Majeſty to read, who ſlighted it, as* Gaſſandus *did likewiſe all judicial Aſtrology,* but yet ſuppoſed that the figure-flinger might poſſibly be acquainted with the *Plot* againſt that Kings Life: and ſaith, *ſure I am it could not be perfectly conceal'd either in* Spain *or* Italy: *for even the Kings Ambaſſadors and particularly the moſt excellent* Johannes Bochartus *Lord of* Champigny *then Agent at* Venice, *had already preadvertiſed his Majeſty thereof: and it was ſufficiently proved that all the Sea-faring Men of* Marſeilles *who for two Months before came from* Spain, *brought word that there was a report ſpread abroad in* Spain, *that the King of* France *was already or ſhould be killed by a Sword or Knife.*

Poor *Harry* the 4*th*! He who while a Proteſtant had *Dominion* over his own *Stars,* and his Enemies Stars too (for they were his Enemies who made him firſt be call'd *Great,* and their deſigning to ruine him by embroiling *France* in Civil Wars, tended to the advancement of his Intereſt and his Glory, and the Artifices by which they thought to have chaſed him out of *Guyen* brought him into the heart of *France,* and their former by unjuſtifiable practices urging the *King* his Predeceſſor, to have proſecuted him with more violence then he had done, were the cauſes of his being reconciled to that King) and who then in the moſt dark and ſtormy night of his

Affairs

Affairs never wanted that Illumination from above, which was like a *Star* to him, and not only a ſign of fairer weather, but a mark of direction in the ſoul, and which would have furniſhed his Portraiture in Story with another gueſs Star than that uſually engraved on *Cæſars* Image, and which by its blazing ſeven days ore the Games conſecrated to *Cæſar* by *Auguſtus*, did make him *inter Divos*, and did awe the World as being thought his Soul which vouchſafed from Heaven to viſit it with its luſtre, this *Harry* the 4*th*, was at laſt grown the *ludibrium* of Star-gazers.

And if any one ſhall ſay that *Franciſcus de Verona Conſtantiuus* the *Author* of the *Apology for Chaſtel*, was not a *Voucher* good enough for the ſpreading the Belief of the *Doctrine*, that *Heretical Princes by their abſolution from the Pope are not reſtored to their Regal Rights*, let him conſult the Great *Thuanus* and he will find that in his *Book* 135, and on the *Year* 1605 (where he gives an account of the *Gun-powder Treaſon* here) he ſaith that the Conſpirators therein, *Ante omnia conſcientiam inſtruunt, eâq; inſtructâ ad facinus audendum obſirmant animum: ſic autem à Theologis ſuis diſſerebatur. That Hereticks are yearly excommunicated by the Pope in the* bulla cœnæ, *and are* ipſo facto, *fallen into the puniſhment of the Law, and that thence it followeth that Chriſtian Kings if they fall into Hereſy, may be depoſed, and their Subjects releaſed immediately from their Princes Dominion, nec jus illud recuperare poſſe, etiamſi eccleſiæ reconcilentur. Eccleſiam communem omnium parentem cum nemini ad eam redeunti claudere gremium cum dicitur, adhibitâ diſtinctione interpretandum eſſe, modo non ſit ad damnum & periculum eccleſiæ. Nam id verum eſſe quoad animam, non quoad Regnum. Nec ſolum ad Principes hac labe infectos pœnam extendi, ſed etiam ad eorum filios qui à Regni ſucceſſione ob vitium paternum pelluntur: hæreſim quippe lepram, & morbum hæreditarium eſſe, atque ut diſertius res exprimatur, Regnum amittere qui Romanam Religionem deſerit, diris illum devoveri, nec unquam ipſum aut illius poſteros in Regnum reſtitui: quoad animam à ſolo Pontifice poſſe abſolvi. His ſe rationibus cum ſatis tutos intus exiſtimarent, munimenta externa conjurationi quærere cœperunt &c. ita ad facinus non ſolum licitum & laudabile, verum etiam meritorium à Theologis ſuis auctorati acceſſerunt.*

They thought it ſeems that by the Authority of the Doctrines of thoſe *Divines* they might blow up the King and three Eſtates with Gun-powder *very fairly*.

It is a thing that cannot have eſcaped your *Lordſhips* curious Obſervation, that both the *Nonconformiſts* and *Papiſts* were ſturdy Petitioners to King *James* in the beginning of his Reign, that he would be a Fautor to them and their *Hypotheſes*. In *April* in the Year 1603, a Petition was preſented to him call'd, the *humble Petition of the Miniſters of the Church of* England, *deſiring reformation of certain Ceremonies and Abuſes of the Church*, and there they particularly deſire, *that Miniſters may not be urged to ſubſcribe but according to the Law, to the Articles of Religion and the Kings Supremacy only, and that none migat be excommunicated without the conſent of his Paſtor*, and therein *they complain of Miniſters being ſuſpended, ſilenced, diſgraced, impriſoned for Mens traditions.*

This *Petition* was commonly called the *Millenary Petition*, the Petitioners averring themſelves to be *more then a thouſand*: and an animadverting *Anſwer* was made to the ſame by the *Vice-Chancellor and Doctors, and Proctors, and Heads of Houſes in the Univerſity of Oxford*, and printed in the *Year* 1604.

Methinks a *Humble* Petition with a *thouſand* hands is a kind of *Contradictio in adjecto*. But the *Univerſity* in their *Animadverſions* on the *Petition* do obſerve that the two contrary Factions of *Papiſts* and *Puritans* did

ſhew

ſhew themſelves by their Petitions diſcontented with the preſent State and Eccleſiaſtical Government. They mention particulars as parallels wherein their *Petitions* agreed and reſemble them to *Samſons Foxes*, &c.

I had occaſion before to mention to your Lordſhip the *Supplication of the Papiſts to King* James, that was Contemporary with that of the *Puritans*, and printed too in the ſame year; and tho I remember not any of our *Hiſtorians* to have given the World an account of that memorable Petition, yet the Impartial *Thuanus* doth it: and in *Book* 135. and on the *Year* 1605. going to relate the *Hiſtory* of the *Gun powder* Treaſon, he ſaith, *Ad libellum ſupplicem pro libertate Conſcientiarum à Majorum Religioni addictis* (i.e. the Papiſts) *in proximis Comitiis oblatum, & à Rege rejectum, fama erat, alium his proximis, quæ jam aliquoties dilata erant, porrectum iri, qui non repulſæ ut prior, periculum, ſed conceſſionis vel ab invito extorquendæ neceſſitatem adjunctam haberet. Itaque qui regni negotia ſub principe generoſo ac minime ſuſpicioſo procurabant, nihil pejus veriti in eo laborabant ut petitiones & iis adjunctam neceſſitatem eluderent. Verum non de gratiâ, de quâ deſperabatur decimò obtinendâ, ſed de repulſâ illâ vel cum regni exitio, quod minime rebantur illi, inter conjuratos agebatur.*

And as to the *Puritans* Petition to King *James*, *The Reſolution of the Lords* and likewiſe of the *Judges* aſſembled in Star-Chamber ſhortly after, doth I think refer to it in the 3*d* §. viz. *Whether it was an offence puniſhable and what puniſhment they deſerved, who framed Petitions and Collected a Multitude of Hands thereto to prefer to the King in a publick Cauſe, as the Puritans had done with an intimation to the King that if he denied the Suit, many thouſands of his Subjects would be diſcontented, where to all the Juſtices unſwered, that it was an offence finable at diſcretion and very near Treaſon and Felony in the puniſhment, for they tended to the raiſing of Sedition and Rebellion, and diſcontent among the People, to which reſolution all the Lords declared that ſome of the Puritans had raiſed a falſe rumour of the King how he intended to grant a toleration to Papiſts*, &c. *And the Lords ſeverally declared how the King was diſcontented with the ſaid falſe rumour, and had made but the day before a Proteſtation to them that he never intended and would ſpend the laſt drop of Blood before he would do it.*

I remember not in the *Millenary* Petition any ſuch expreſſion as the inſolent intimation, that *thouſands would be diſcontented if it were not granted:* but do on the occaſion of this ruffianly way of petitioning by Papiſts and Puritans, remember what *Alexander ab Alexandro* ſpeaks of the *Perſians* who worſhipped *Fire*, that *they did once in their ſupplicating their God, threaten him that if he would not grant their Requeſt they would throw him into the water.*

It was therefore no imprudent Act of the *Nonconforming Divines* who had been deprived of their Livings to publiſh voluntarily ſuch a *Proteſtation* of their Tenets as aforeſaid, after the detection of the Papiſts *Gun powder* Treaſon Plot, and by which Act the Government was diverted from putting ſuch a Cautionary *Teſt* on their Party as was on the Papiſts by the *Oaths* of Allegiance and Supremacy.

Certain it is that both the Parties appeared very rude in the manner of their Petitioning. In the *Decrets* where the *Text* ſaith that a thing is done *Contra fidem Catholicam*, the *gloſs* explains it to be *Contra bonos mores*, and ſo it may be ſaid that both the Petitioners for the *Roman* Catholick Faith, and for the others alledged Catholick Faith were injurious to each by their *unmannerly* Petitionings, as well as to their Prince: and their being both ſuch frequent *Aggreſſors* againſt his quiet, gave occaſion for the *Queſtion* to vex his Reign, viz. *Which were the worſe of the two, or whether they were not equally bad*, and ſo

many may carelesly render them according to the saying, *Rustici res secant per medium.*

What Bishop *Elmore* the Bishop of *London* thought in such a Case I have said, and yet that *Bishop* as *Fuller* tells us in the *Church History*, *was a Learned Man and a strict and stout Champion for Discipline, and on which account was more mock'd by Mar-Prelate and hated by the Nonconformists then any one.* And a great *Son* of the Church and *Minister* of the *State*, hath judiciously in a publick *Speech* inculcated the different regard to be had *to those who stray from the Flock and those who would destroy it.* Moreover a great *Justiciary* of the *Realm*, in the Tryal of one of the *Popish* Plotters, took occasion to observe, *That Popery was ten times worse then the Heathen Idolatry.*

And Dr. *Burnet* in a *printed* Sermon, having said, *That in many places Lutherans are no less and in some they are more fierce against the Calvinists then against Papists*; adds, *like a strange sort of People among our selves, that are not ashamed to own a greater aversion to any sort of Dissenters then to the Church of* Rome. I hope the *Authority* of that great *Divine* and excellent Person will in the point of this Comparison help to allay such a mistaken Aversion to some mistaken Dissenters. I care not who knows the great deference I have to the judgment of that great *Historian* of our *Reformation*, and whose History of which as the *House* of *Commons* has done right to by one of their Votes, so likewise hath the highest Judicatory in *England*, I mean the *House* of *Lords* by a late *Order* of theirs, by which *the Thanks of that House are given him for the great service done by him to this Kingdom, and to the Protestant Religion, in writing the History of the Reformation of the Church of* England *so truly and exactly, and that he be desired to proceed to the perfecting what he further intends therein with all convenient speed*, &c. As the words in the *Journal* are.

My reading lately ten small printed *Controversial* Discourses between two *Baronets* of *Cheshire* near of kin to each other (in which are many references to Historical Antiquities) concerning the *Illegitimacy* of one *Amicia*, Daughter to one of the Earls of *Chester*, and my observing that one of those *Authors* blames the other *for not better learning the duty to his deceased Grand-mother* (as his words are) *then by divulging the shame of her Illigitimacy*, and saith, *there is no Precedent in Scripture of any man that did divulge the shame of any person, out of whose loyns he did descend except the wicked* Ham, and that the other *Author* thinks himself on the account of truth, and for its sake to assert her *Illegitimacy*, those many Tracts passed about that Controversy from the Year 1673 to 1676, occasioned my thinking that thus have some Writers that would take it ill perhaps not to be thought legitimate, and true Sons of the Church of *England*, took too much pains to prove the Birth of its *Reformation* to be illegitimate, to the great Applause of the Papists, and that our Reverend *Historian* of it, did seasonably come in to Aid his Mother Church, by publishing the very *Records* that would secure her from a blush on that account, and leave that *Mauvaise honte* (as the *French* call it) to be Enemies, and hath appear'd by his very laborious and judicious Writings, to be a Person as of very great Abilities, so of a great and frank inclination to employ them even to the *over-obliging* a Country, and which though naturally attended with envy from some must too be with acknowledgements from others of that Dignity and Authority that his mind is possessed of, and such as *Valerius Maximus* speaking of as *innate* in Famous Men who have no *extrinsic* Authority, saith of it, *Quam rectè quis dixerit longum & beatum honorem esse sine honore.* And he who in the course of his *History* and his other Works hath appear'd so Impartial

and

and Accurate in his Obſervations of Men and things, may very well be ſuppoſed not to have been partial in his compariſon of Papiſts and Diſſenters, nor do I think he receded from his uſual cloſe judging of things, when in one of his Books he ſaid, that *it is not to be denied that it were better there were no Revealed Religion in the World, then that Mankind ſhould by its influences be ſo vitiated as to become more barbarous and cruel then it would be, if Acted by no higher Principles than thoſe are with which Nature inſpires Men.*

I will not with our Learned and Reverend *Judge*, undertake to compute how many times Popery is worſe then the Religion of the *Romans*: but this I will ſay that had I been in the *Roman* Senate and had there heard any one propound to them a removal of their minds out of that Coaſt of Religion which by the light of Nature lay open before them, into the Region of the *Jeſuites* Morals, I would have ſaid, *My Maſters let us keep where we are:* and ſhould have expected that the Reaſons I would have urged for their ſo doing, would have had the effect of the good *Omen* that happen'd in that remarkable *Criſis*, when the *Roman* Senators were debating whether they ſhould qu t *Rome* or remove to *Veij*, and when a Souldier then coming on the Guard, and his Captain being heard to cry out to him, *Signifer ſignum ſtatue, hic optimè manebimus*, occaſioned their adhering to *Rome.*

I think that no Proteſtant who compares the *Tenets* of the Nonconformiſt *Divines* in King *James*'s time with the *Tenets* of Popery, will prefer the latter before the former. But it is not deniable that before King *James*'s time, and then and ſince many *Puritans* and *Nonconformiſts* have made great Schiſms in the Church and diſturbances in the State, and that eſpecially in ſome particular *Conjunctures*. The great *Epoche* of 41 in *England*, and likewiſe in *Ireland*, will in our Hiſtories preſerve the Memory of the outragious Principles of many *Presbyterian* Divines in the one Kingdom, and of *Popiſh* ones in the other: but if any ſhall be ſo partial to the *Papiſts* as either to juſtify their *Commotion* in *Ireland*, or to deny all part of the influence that *Commotion* had on ours here, he will find himſelf a vain impoſer on the World.

A great inſpector into our modern *Engliſh* Affairs, I mean the late Earl of *Clarendon* hath in his *Animadverſions* on *Creſſys*'s Book againſt Dr. *Stillingfleet* ſaid, *That nothing can be ſtranger then that Mr.* Creſſy *ſhould ſo magnify the general obedience of all* Roman Catholicks, *that none of them was ever in Rebellion againſt the King or his Father, when he knows very well and hath ſome marks of it, that the whole* Iriſh *Nation (very few Perſons of Honour excepted) joyn'd in Rebellion againſt the King: but for that Rebellion neither Presbyterian, Independant, or Anabaptiſts had been able to have done any harm in* England. *For the* Scots *Rebellion was totally ſuppreſſed, and their Army diſbanded before the* Iriſh *Rebellion begun. It was that which produced all the miſchief that ſucceeded in* England, *and gave thoſe Sects in Religion opportunity to bring in their Confuſion to the deſtruction of Church and State*, &c.

But as to the Papiſts coming in for their ſhare in the guilt of our *Commotion* here, we have the inconteſtable Authority of the *Royal* Martyr, who in one of his printed *Declarations* ſaith, *And we are confident that a greater number of that Religion* (meaning the Popiſh) *is in the Army of the Rebels then in our own*, and 'twas there before ſaid, *All men know the great number of Papiſts which ſerve in their Army, Commanders and others.*

The Author of *the Regal Apology* printed in the *Year* 48, in p. 36, anſwereth that part of the *Declaration of the Houſe of Commons*, that ſo unworthily reflects on his Majeſty, as to offering a toleration to the Papiſts in *Ireland*,

Ireland, tontrary to his former reſolutions, which ſaith the Author, *was on great and preſſing neceſſity which hath no Law, and to that degree of neceſſity as the two Houſes had driven him, ſo the Conſequences were to be ſet on their Score not his own, yet even then in his Letters about that Affair publiſhed by themſelves, he doth inſiſt on it that the Bargain may be made as good as can be for him. But I have ſeen other Letters from one of his Secretaries to the* Iriſh, *which I am aſſured were true, wherein where theſe expreſſions after expoſtulation of their delays in his Aſſiſtance, He is inform'd that taking advantage of his low Condition, you inſiſt on ſomething in Religion more then formerly you were contented with. He hath therefore commanded me to let you know that were his Condition much lower, you ſhall never force him to any further Conceſſions to the prejudice of his Conſcience and of the true Proteſtant Religion in which he is reſolved to live, and for which he is ready to die; and that he will joyn with any Proteſtant Prince, nay with theſe Rebels themſelves how odious ſoever* (meaning his two Houſes) *rather then yield the leaſt to you in this particular.*

I ſhould with extreme reluctance touch the Sores of theſe *Sects* who yet have both at ſeveral times given ſuch deadly wounds to the peace of the Kingdom, but that they are Nuſances to the publick quiet in raking up the odious Compariſons of one anothers practices, and that the Papiſts on the occaſion of any of the worſe ſort of Proteſtants or Nonconformiſts being Convicted of Sedition or Treaſon (a thing that may be expected from the degeneracy of Humane Nature to happen oftener from ſome of a Religion of ſo great Numbers, then from a perſwaſion that has Comparatively but a *handful* of men for its Diſciples, juſt as accordingly perhaps where one Papiſt is hanged for Clipping or Coyning twenty Proteſtants are ſo) are ſo apt to expect that the World ſhould acquit the preſent Principles and former practiſes of that Sect from Diſloyalty on their Out-cry that they are no Puritans or Presbyterians, and as ridiculouſly as if a falſe *Coyner* Arraigned for the Fact, ſhould trouble the Court with a Plea and Noiſe, that he was no *Houſe-breaker*, and but that on the detection of a *Plot* of *Papiſts*, ſeveral perſons that have in their publick Capacities done many Acts of Hoſtility to the Intereſt of the Kingdom, yet entirely by being more buſie *Anti-Papiſts* then others, have been immediately admitted to the good Graces of the People, and cried up by them as *Patriots* and *Hero's*, and by their afterward *eſpouſing* the true Intereſt of the Kingdom as to the point of Popery, all their former *ſpurious* Actions have been not only *pardoned*, but almoſt according to the *Canon* Law *legitimated*; and as the Popes in any *Croyſad* for the *Exterminium* of *Hereticks* were wont to give plenary *Indulgences* for all Sins paſt and to come for many years, ſo have the People heaped ſuch Indulgences on ſuch Perſons that in any Conjuncture ſhewed their zeal in the extermination of Popery.

And though to an ordinary view theſe mens *Title* to their Fame may appear by ſome of their former Actings much *incumbered*, yet who ever *pryes* into it is as much generaly hated as are thoſe *Projectors*, who rake for their Bread among the *weak Titles* of other Mens Eſtates, and cry out εὕρηκα when they have found out a *flaw* there.

'Tis obſervable that S. *James C.* 2. in his Aſſertion of Juſtification by works, gives two Inſtances of Perſons ſo juſtified, and that one is of *Abraham*, and the other of *Rahab the Harlot*, in v. 25. *likewiſe alſo was not* Rahab *the Harlot juſtified by workt, when ſhe had received the Meſſengers, and had ſent them another way:* and yet too that *ſend ing the Spies another* way as the *Fact* is Hiſtorically mentioned in *Joſhua* the 2*d*, would to ſome *Scruplers* ſeem unjuſtifiable. Thus do the People in their way juſtifie all

that

that they believe are assistful to them in the attaquing of the Romish *Babylon*, and look on them as their *Saviours*, and as captious as they are against others, yet think of nothing but *saving them and all that they have*; as was in the case of *Rahab*.

Nor is it to be wonder'd at that Men who have so much to account for to the Public should be thus discharged by the populace, tho many of them are *Gallios* in Religion, and were no more concern'd for the Eclipse of Protestancy or the light of the Gospel in the *year* 1678. or 1680. then they were for the four Eclipses of the Luminaries, *viz.* two of the *Sun*, and two of the *Moon*, that will be in the year 1701. and particularly of that of the Sun, which will be in *January* then and not seen by us, but only by our *Antipodes*; but there is that adherent to Popery, that if it could rivet it self into our Law here, it would make the light of the *Sun* not worth the looking on, namely the *Confiscation* of the Goods and Estates of those that *Holy Church* calls *Heretics*, and the throwing them into such forlorn Prisons where they could see neither Sun or Moon: and therefore as the *Devils* those Seducers in Chains are hated by Men, because they know those Fiends *would* destroy their lifes if they *could*; for the same reason all that lye open to the Name of *Heretics*, will be animated with a brisk hatred against Popery, and magnify those as their tutelar Angels that shall pretend to defend them from it; tho such did before conspire against them. But therefore because a Zeal against Popery is a remedy so cheap and so easie to be had, and yet so infallible a one against the Peoples being discontented with Men who did before so much by their Principles poison the Realm, 'tis the common interest of us all, both Protestants and Papists, out of love to our Country, to wish that no Men may be tempted so fatally to injure it hereafter, by being beforehand sure of purchasing both Pardon and Adoration, from the People on such easie terms.

The strong currents of *Inclination* I find in my self, and observe in others, not only to *Pardon*, but to extol and magnifie, nay to *bless* all Men that help their Country, as it is contesting with Popery or Presbytery, or either of those or any *Religion-trade*, and to say to them as the Expression is in the Psalms, *We bless you in the name of the Lord*, will I hope be accompany'd with such an *Extirpation* of it as will not leave any *Fibre* behind it in our *English* World.

As it need not be told to our *Divines* of the Church of *England*, that they are under no obligation to strain any point of Courtesie whereby to render the *Papists* generally not worse than *Puritans*, and that their Character hath been by the *Papists* all along render'd more vile than that of the *Puritans*, and that *Doleman* in his *Book of the Succession*, *weighing* the Parties in *England*, and having first spoke of the Protestants of the Church of *England*, afterward *p.* 242. saith, *That the Puritan party is more generally favour'd throughout the whole Realm, with all those which are not of the Roman Religion, then is the Protestant upon a certain general persuasion that the profession of the Puritan Party is the more perfect, especially in great Towns, where Preachers have made more impression in the Artificers and Burgesses, than in the Common People. And among the Protestants themselves, all those that are less interested in Ecclesiastical Livings, or other Preferments depending on the State, are more affected commonly to the Puritans*, &c. And *p.* 244. *The Puritan Party at home in* England *is thought to be most vigorous of any other; that is to say, most ardent, quick, bold, resolute, and to have a great part of the best Captains and Soldiers on their side, which is a point of no small moment*; and that *Weston*, *Lib.* 3. *de Trip. Hom. Offic. Cap.* 16. *p.* 226. in a very *janty* manner, crying up the *Puritans*

beyond the Proteſtants of the Church of *England*, ſaith *Proteſtantibus in re Sacrâ præſtabiliores puritanos. Qui enim eſtis Proteſtantes, hominum judicamini ignaviſſimi omnium, religionis etiam fuco deſtituti, impiiſſimi æruſcatores, parati jurare in cujuſvis verba, modò inde emolumentum rebus veſtris accreſcat*, and in *p.* 227. *Puritani ſane multò ſolidius ac ſyncerius ſua dogmata profitentur*; So neither need it be told the *Papiſts* that the *Divines* of the Church of *England* did never prefer the *Tenets* of *Popery*, or Profeſſors thereof to thoſe of Puritaniſm or Presbytery *as ſuch*, and that they never complain'd of the Protection the *Dutch* and *French* Churches have long here enjoy'd with Liberty to worſhip God according to their peculiar Rites and Church Diſcipline, and that upon the late great migration of many French Proteſtants from their own Country hither, under great Circumſtances of want, our *Divines*, and particularly thoſe in and near *London*, ſhew'd all the *efforts* of their Art of Perſuaſion from their *Pulpits* to move their Hearers to liberal Contributions to them, that they could have poſſibly done in the caſe of their own Countrimen or Kindred; and that one of thoſe *Divines* in one of the greateſt *Cures* there being for his Learning and Life and Endowments proper to his Function a great *Ornament* to the Goſpel, when he with great Eloquence ſo pathetically beſpoke the Relief of his Great Auditory for thoſe poor *Hugonots*, did characterize them as ſuch *of whom none was ever ſuſpected to have machinated any thing againſt their King's Perſon or Government, or to have attempted the burning of his Metropolis.*

I have granted that the *Puritan* and the *Popiſh* Petitioners did both in the beginning of King *James* his Reign offend *Contra bonos mores*: but if any ſhould ask me which *Sect* was the more peccant by ſuch incivility, I will ſay that in one regard the *Puritans* were ſo, for that they were bred to the Knowledge of better things: but that in another regard the *Papiſts* moſt certainly were ſo, if *Thuanus* may be believ'd, who in the place I laſt cited out of him, relating to the *Gun-powder* Plot, (by which it appears that their Petitioning was but a ſtalking-horſe, or as I may ſay, a *Trojan* Horſe to hide and encloſe armed Men) further ſhews, That *the Jeſuites in* England *employ'd one privately into* Spain *in the Name of the Catholics with Letters of Commendation to* Creſwell *the Jeſuite there reſiding, to negotiate with the Government there, to ſend an Army into* England *in the latter end of Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign, and that afterward one* Wright *was ſent into* Spain *upon the ſame Errand, and that then likewiſe* Guy Faux *was by ſome of the Jeſuites ſent thither to* Creſwel *to haſten the Deſign, and that* Faux *was inſtructed to take Care that it ſhould be ſignify'd to the King of* Spain, *that the Condition of the Roman Catholics would be worſe here under King* James *than it was under Queen* Elizabeth, *and that it might be effected that* Spinola *ſhould then Land an Army in* Milford *Haven.* And then ſaith the great Hiſtorian, they not being able to effect that, proceeded to the Plot of the *Gun-powder* Treaſon.

The Popiſh Petitioners then did eſſay how they might *flectere ſuperos* and *Acheronta movere* at the ſame time.

But in truth, as in *Whale-fiſhing*, 'tis cuſtomary for Marriners apprehending Danger to the Veſſel from the greatneſs of the Whale, to throw out an empty Barrel into the Sea, for the Whale to toſs about on the Waters, and to receive ſome diverſion from it, that while he is ſo diverted, they may the more ſecurely wound him with their dead-doing Irons, thus did the Papiſts throw out their empty Petitions to that King only to divert and amuſe him, that they might ſuprize him with the fate they intended him.

Yet

Yet now if any one ſhould put the Interrogatory to me, which Perſon I had the leaſt Kindneſs for, namely, a Non-Conformiſt that favour'd the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance*, or a Papiſt that believ'd the Grounds and School-Concluſions of the Doctrine of Popery, as King *James*'s before-mention'd Expreſſion was (and which *whoever did*, he ſaid, *could neither be a good Chriſtian or a faithful Subject*) I ſhall by way of Anſwer crave aid from a Judgment given by *Philip* of *Macedon*, who having heard the Merits of a Cauſe or Complaint that happen'd between two lewd Perſons, gave the Decree, That *one of them ſhould preſently fly out of* Macedon, *and that the other ſhould run after him as faſt as he could.*

But againſt any Seditious Proteſtant, I would wiſh more ſeverity exerciſed than againſt ſuch a Papiſt: for the former doth not only rebel againſt his Prince as the latter; but doth according to *Job*'s Expreſſion, more *rebel againſt the light*: and is guilty of the *Simulata Sanctitas*, and ſo according to the Expreſſion before mention'd out of the *Apocalypſe*, *Reward her as ſhe has rewarded you, and double unto her double*, &c. deſerves to be *doubly* puniſh'd for his *duplex iniquitas*; and ſhall magnifie the Juſtice of the King's Miniſters done to their Prince and Country, and to themſelves, when in any Conjuncture they ſhall find any call'd Proteſtants *turning* Gods and the King's *grace into wantonneſs*, and Religion into Rebellion, they ſhall level their moſt ſolicitous endeavors with all the ſharpneſs of the Law againſt ſuch nominal Proteſtants; for then the *ſalus populi* will engage them as the *Phyſicians* ſay, to mind the *Urgentius Symptoma*, and for which they have a Rule, that *Cum diverſæ repugnanteſq; inter ſe committuntur indicationes, parendum eſt omnino fortioribus.*

'Tis fit I ſhould recompence the trouble I have given your Lordſhip by what I have ſaid of this *Queſtion* by diverting you with the News of another *Queſtion*, that among ſome Company was lately bandy'd in Diſcourſe here, between a Papiſt and a Non-Conformiſt (and 'twas a much more *termagant* Queſtion than the former) namely, *Whether Popery or Mahumetaniſm be the worſt?* I was ſorry to find the *Non-Conformiſt* to give his Judgment as he did in a groſs and undiſtinguiſhing manner, that the Impoſtures of *Mahomet* were fitter to be embraced than ſeveral *Tenets* he named in Popery, which tho *erroneous*, yet are denominable as Tenets of Religion; but did for a while forbear giving my Opinion in the *Caſe* or relieving the Papiſt with any notion of mine, tho I found the Non-Conformiſt as ſomewhat the better Diſputant preſſing too hard on him, gave me occaſion to have done it, than if I would.

I calling to mind how the *Papiſts* of old have ſo often decided it, that *Heretics* are worſe than *Turks* or *Infidels*, and that they have ranked our Religion of the Church of *England* with *Atheiſm*, ſince I allow not of works of *ſuper-erogation*, would not ſuper-erogate in being too haſty in moderating in the Diſpute.

Thus *Maldonate* on St. *John*, ſaith, *Qui Catholici ſunt Majore odio Calviniſtas cæteroſq; omnes Hæreticos proſequuntur quam Gentiles.* And thus *Stapleton* in his *Oration* or *Speech* againſt the *Politicians*, ſaith, *That the Heretics are worſe than Turks.* And *Maſon* in his *Vindiciæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 1. *p.* 8. cites *Gulielm. Reinold.* in his *Calv. Turciſ. l.* 1. *c.* 7. and *l.* 4. *c.* 11. for ſaying *Religionem noſtram* (meaning that of the Church of *England*) *ipsâ Turcicâ eſſe deteriorem. Maſon* further brings in *Briſto*, ſaying *Religionem noſtram nullam eſſe ipsâ Experientiâ probari*: And cites another *Popiſh* Author for ſaying, *Proteſtantes nullam habent fidem, nullam Spem, nullam Charitatem, nullam Pœnitentiam, nullam Juſtificationem, nullam Eccleſiam, nullum Altare, nullum Sacrificium, nullum Sacerdotium,*

Sacerdotium, nullam Religionem, Chriſtum nullum, and quotes Cardinal *Alan* for ſaying, *Noſtram liturgiam, ſacramenta & Conciones iſtiuſmodi eſſe, quæ ſine dubio æternum afferunt exitium.*

The well meant pains of the Compilers of our *Litargy* in inſerting there ſome good Prayers out of the Maſs, to render it more agreeable to the Papiſts, was it ſeems all loſt; and that perhaps occaſion'd that angry Exclamation of Mr. *Cartwright* of old, *That in Ceremonies we ought to comply with the Turk rather then the Pope.*

I acquainted the Diſcourſers that Mr. *Fox* in the *Edition* of *the Acts and Monuments* printed together in one Volume in *London*, in the *Year* 1596, doth Combat this mighty *Queſtion* in *p.* 702, and in the *following* Pages, viz. *Whether the Turk or the Pope is the greater Antichriſt*, and at laſt ſaith *p.* 710. *In comparing the Turk with the Pope if a Queſtion be asked whether of them is the truer or greater Antichriſt, it were eaſie to ſee and judge that the Turk is the more open and manifeſt Enemy againſt Chriſt and the Church. But if it be asked whether of them two hath been the more bloody and pernicious Adverſary to Chriſt and his Members, or whether of them hath Conſumed and Spilt more Chriſtian Blood, he with Sword or this with Fire and Sword together, neitheer is it a light matter to diſcern, neither is it my part here to diſcuſs, who do only write the Hiſtory and Acts of them both.*

And I then telling the Nonconformiſt that the *Jews* for many obvious reaſons did prefer the Doctrine of *Mahumetaniſme* to that of *Popery*, ſome *Papiſts* beforementioned had preferd it to Proteſtancy, and as he the Nonconformiſt had preferred it to Popery, he mention'd his fears that a ſort of *Enthuſiaſts* among us called *Seekers*, might hereby be in great danger of ſtumbling on the Religion of *Mahumetaniſme*, accordingly as of old when one went to demand of the *Philoſophers* of the ſeveral *Sects*, *which was the beſt of them*, every one named his own *Sect* or *Party* in the *firſt* place, but all of them in the *ſecond* place granted *Plato* to be the moſt eminent, that is the *next beſt*: whereupon thoſe *Seekers* preferred *Plato*, becauſe ſetting aſide prejudicate Affection and Self-Love, *Plato's* Philoſophy had thus carried the Garland.

I then took occaſion to tell the Company that I thought 'twas extremely unjuſt to preſer Mahumetaniſme with the many ridiculous and ſenſeleſs things it comprehends to Chriſtianity in Papiſts, blended with many erroneous *Tenets* which yet are capable of the name of Religion, and ſuch as thoſe great pious Papiſts beforementioned, *viz.* Father *Paul*, *Thuanus*, *D' Oſſat*, *Eraſmus*, *Peiresk* perhaps own'd the belief of, as many thouſands of others may ſtill likewiſe do: but frankly interpoſed my opinion that I thought that *Popery* complicated with the real belief of the *Jeſuites* Morals, and their vile Caſuiſtical *Tenets* branded by the preſent *Pope*, was as unworthy of God and Humane Nature as any *Hypotheſis* of Religion could be: and I as frankly told the *Nonconformiſt* whom I looked on as one who would not outrage the Law of the Land to advance the Goſpel, that tho ſome erroneous points relating to Nonconformity, might without abſurdity aſſume the name of *Religion*, yet among whomſoever thoſe *Tenets* ſhould be incorporated with the real belief and practice of the lawfulneſs of the *Doctrine* of *Reſiſtance*, and of any perſons Reforming the World by Arms without Warrant from the Municipal Laws ſo to do, yet ſuch a *Faith* would be *Faction*, and ſuch a Nominal Religion would be a real Rebellion, and much worſe then *Mahumetaniſme.*

I farther acquainted the Company that according to the diſcreet *Motto* of the Houſe of *Ormond*, *Comme je trouve*, and the *Mode* of the Age to take

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the measures of knowledge by experiment, the usage that the better sort of Christians have found under *Turcism* hath been by very many degrees milder then under Popery. *Erasmus* indeed was of a contrary opinion, for in his *Utilissima Consultatio de bello Turcis inferendo*, printed in the Year 1530, he saith that *Exaudiuntur interim & eorum voces abominandæ qui jactant esse tolerabilius agere sub imperio Turcicorum, quam sub Christianis Principibus ac sub Pontifice Romano*, and there he goes on at large to prove the inconvenience of living under the *Turkish* Government: but the order of the *Jesuites* was not then invented, and after a hundred years observation since, Protestants have judged as they did in *Erasmus* his time.

And in a Popish *Book* called *the Right of the Prelate and the Prince*, I find *Luther, de sæcul. potestat.* cited *p.* 55. for saying that the Turk is *decies probior, prudentiorq; nostris principibus.* And I think it may seem greater wisdom in him to sell such Heterodox People for slaves that he takes by force, than to burn them.

But in the Year before that Book of *Erasmus* was printed, I find in *Magerus* his *Advocatia Armata*, Laurent. Surius *in Comment. rer. in orbe gestar. ad annum* 1529, cited for the *Hungarians* throwing themselves on the *protection* of the *Turk*, rather then they would be deprived of their *Right* to chuse their King: and it seems under *Popery* in that *Kingdom* they had a greater kindness for the *Turk* then the Emperor of *Germany*.

And the great Observer *Thuanus* on the Year 1597 in his 3d *Tome*, discoursing how the *Germans* being under apprehensions of the Power of the *Turk* and of *Spain* at the same time, were thoughtfully weighing their danger, *Et Comparatione Alchorani cum inquisitione Hispanicâ facta, an potius cum Orientali quam occidentali Turco sibi rem esse velint*, thereupon saith, *& si quidem res merito suo, ac semoto omni affectu privato æstimetur, haud dubium esse quin, optione data, orientalem eligant, quippe ut viribus præpollentem, sic victis tolerabiliorem futurum*, &c.

Dr. *Heylin* likewise seems to favour that opinion for in his *Geography* in *Folio*, he saith, *The* Turks *compel no man to abjure the faith in which he was born. I have heard many say that 'tis better for a man that would enjoy Liberty of Conscience, to live in the Countries professing Mahumetanism than Papistry.*

And I think I have read it in the *Author* of the *Zealanders Choice*, that if he were to lay the Scene of his life any where with respect chiefly to the freedom of owning any Religious Sentiments, it should be either in *Amsterdam* or *Constantinople*.

As I was reading the other day in an old *Canonists* Tractate of *Heresy*, I found this *Position* asserted there, that *'tis unlawful for a Master of Requests to deliver a Petition for Mercy to be shown to a Heretic*; but then I occasionally thought of a more manly and god-like temper shining in part of the *Alcoran*, as Mr. *Gregory* relates it in his *Opusc.* where he saith, *The Mahumetans have another Lords Prayer called by them, the Prayer of* Jesus *the Son of* Mary, and that endeth thus, *And let not such an one bear rule over me that will have no mercy on me, for thy mercies sake, O thou most merciful.*

He who separates Mercy from Justice, is unjust to the very name of Justice, and robbeth it of the better half of its signification, leaving its Teeth and Claws, and taking away its Heart and Bowels.

Jarchas the *Indian* and chief of the *Brachmans*, in *Philostratus*, is brought in finding fault with *Apollonius Tyaneus* and others of the *Greeks*, for that they confined and applied the word δικαιοσύνη to those only *who do no wrong to*

one another and telling them that they were in an error: for ſaith he *among the chiefeſt Offices of Juſtice*, χρησότης & ἀγαθότης *Bounty and Goodneſs*, together with φιλανθρωπία, *ought to be reckoned up*. And δίκαιοι & χρησοὶ, *juſt* and *kind* men are convertible terms in *Ariſtophanes*, and joyn'd both together in *Plutarch*: and *Ariſtotle* ſaith, τὸ ἐπιεικὲς *Moderation or Clemency* is δίκαιον δικαίου τινὸς βέλτιον, *a piece of Juſtice better then all Juſtice*. And if a man would not wiſh his *Soul*, yet he would his *Body* among *Heathens* of that temper, or *Mahumetans*, rather then ſuch fiery *Canoniſts*.

There was one thing that I told the Gentleman, who was the *Papiſt*, in the Cloſe of this Diſcourſe that much ſurprized him, namely, that thoſe two *Anti-Chriſts*, the *Turk* and the *Pope* have ſometimes held a good Correſpondence together, and that the *Pope* has been a *Penſioner* to the *Turk*.

King *James* in his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* doth in *p.* 74 mention *how* Alexander *the* 6th, *took of* Bajazet *two hundred thouſand Crowns to kill his Brother* Gemen, *or as ſome call him* Siſimus *whom he held Captive at* Rome, *and how he accepted of his Conditions to poyſon the Man and had his pay.*

King *James* voucheth for the Hiſtory of this Fact *Paul. Jovius*, and *Guicciardine*, and *Cuſpinian*. It was a vile Miniſtry to the *Turk* that that pretended Vicar of *Chriſt* then engaged in. King *James* mentions not there how that Popes predeceſſor, *Innocent* the 8*th*, was likewiſe *Bajazets* Penſioner in the ſame deteſtable Affair: for 'twas in his time that *Siſimus* having rebell'd againſt his Brother and retired to *Rhodes*, was brought to that Pope to whom *Bajazet* ſent the Title of our bleſſed Saviours Croſs in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, as a preſent, and effectually obliged him to detain his Brother in Cuſtody during his Pontificat: and that Pope had a yearly Penſion of 40,000 Ducats from the *Turk* for the continuing his Brother a Priſoner; and it ſeems that *Charles* the 8*th* King of *France*, making War againſt Pope *Alexander* who was not able to reſiſt him, the Pope was conſtrained to conclude a Peace, and one Condition was that he ſhould ſet the *Turks* Brother at liberty. But then his Holineſs being thereby to loſe the ſaid yearly Penſion of 40,000 Ducats, received from the *Turk* the gracious offer of 20,0000 Crowns to cauſe *Geme* or *Zizimus* to be poyſoned, and ſo he was. Theſe faults are particularly ſet down in *Cyprian Valera* of *the lives of the Popes*, writ in *Spaniſh*, and tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *John Golbourne*, and printed at *London*, *Anno* 1600, *Pag.* 130, 131, 136. and many other Popiſh *Writers* accord herewith, and particularly *Sabellicus*, *Tome* 2*d*, of his *Works*, *Ennead.* 10. *Book* 9, ſays that *Bajazet* promiſed that Pope, *Magnam auri vim ſi fratrem veneno tolleret*, and that *fuerunt qui crederent eum veneno ſublatum, fuiſſeq; Alexandrum pontificem ejus conſilii non ignarum*, p. 781. ib. King *James* in *p.* 74. of that *Apology* mentions another of *Chriſts Vicars*, namely, *Alexander* the 3*d*, that writ to the *Soldan*, *that if he would live quietly he ſhould by ſome ſlight, murther the Emperor, and to that end ſent him the Emperors Picture.*

That Emperor, King *James*, ſays was *Frederick Barbaroſſa*: and it ſeems to have been extraordinary ill nature, in that Pope *Alexander* after he had not without ridiculing that piece of Scripture, *Conculcabis leonem & draconem*, trampled on that *Emperors* neck, to write to the *Pope* to cut his Throat.

And that the *Greek* Church refuſing to ſubmit to the *Pope* was betrayed by him, to the *Turk* is a thing enough known, as it likewiſe is that the Pope has often effected it, that Arms raiſed in Chriſtendom againſt the *Turk*, ſhould be employed againſt *Heretics*. I believe there is none thinks that the

the Pope by all the Treaſures that the Souls or Sins of any Chriſtians yield him, could have hired the *Turk*, ſo far to have degenerated from Natural Conſcience as to practice any baſe Art of killing the body of any of his Vaſſals, contrary to the Law of his *Prophet* or of the *Empire*: and I acount nothing more ridiculous than to believe that the Grand *Seignior* doth employ for his Spies in the *Europæan* World, a wretched ſort of Mankind that appear within the Claſs of Monſters, and are call'd by the *Italian* and *German* Writers of Politics *Cingari* and by the *Spaniſh Hittani*, and the *French Egyptii*, and by our People *Gypſies*, and who are fooliſhly imagined by any to have come from *Egypt*, and more fooliſhly by *Reinkingk de Regim. Sæcul.* & *Eccles. lib.* 2. *claſs.* 1. *cap.* 7. *n.* 10. and the generality of the Grave Political Authors to be *exploratores & proditores qui Germanorum conſilia & negotia Turcis produnt*, and he ſaith further, *nulla in imperio ſecuritate gaudent, ſed impune à quovis offendi poſſunt.*

Magerus de Advocatiâ armata, p. 299. ſaith of them, *Nihil aliud ſunt quam manipulus furum & colluvies peſſima otioſorum & fraudulentorum hominum ex variis nationibus non ita remotis, ſed vicinis collecta, qui extra civitates in agris, in triviis tentoria erigentes, proditionibus, latrociniis & furtis, deceptionibus & permutationibus, atq; ex chiromanticâ oblectantes homines, iis fraudibus victum mendicant*: but renders them no Commiſſaries or Spies for the Grand *Seignior*, or Correſpondents with his *Vifier*, and ſaith, that *Nonnullorum magiſtratuum animos vana ſuperſtitio velut lethargia adeo invaſerit, ut hoc hominum genus violare nefas putent, eoſq; graſſari & furari & ſubditis imponere paſſim impune ſinunt.* And if not only Magiſtrates but private perſons too ſpare them (for according to *Reinkingk* every man is a Magiſtrate againſt them) 'tis an *Indicium* that they are but inconſiderable Extravagants in the World: and 'tis therefore I think pity that our Learned Country-man *Brown* in his *vulgar errors*, where he ſhews the error of their being thought to come from *Egypt*, doth yet repreſent them as *Spies employed by the Grand Seignior*.

I ſhall here obſerve to your Lordſhip one thing that occurred to me not without ſharp regret, and that is, that I read lately in the Works of *Crackanthorp*, one of the moſt learned men in *Oxford* in his time, and a moſt faithful Citer of Authors, the famous *Hoſius* of the Church of *Rome* cited for a more intolerable Blaſphemy againſt the holy *Jeſus*, then any I remember in the *Alcoran*.

Crackanthorp arming his *Logick* againſt the errors of Popery doth in his Chapter, *De loco arguendi ab authoritate*, ſay, that, *ipſi primarii ſacerdotes quos maximè ab errore immunes fecit Moſis Cathedra & promiſſio illa Dei* (Math. 26. 65.) *Ipſi indicabunt tibi judicii veritatem, illi inquam Chriſtum blaſphemaſſe, & reum mortis eſſe judicarunt. Pudeat vos* Hoſii *veſtri, cujus hæc ſunt verba* (Hoſ. lib. 2. Con. Brent. fol. 54.) *Veritas indicii hic judicata, vera ſententia hic pronuntiata fuit. Quænam illa? Reus eſt mortis. Hanc ſententiam à ſpiritu ſancto profectam eſſe non eſt dubium. O hominem ſacrilegum & blaſphemum! Ille ne Reus mortis, qui innocens & innoxius vitam dedit?*

But as inhumane as any Principles of *Papiſts* or *Mahumetans*, or any *Enthuſiaſts*, or as deſperate as the very *Jeſuites* beforementioned ones are ſuppoſeable to be, and as much as any of Mankind can ſtrive to delude others by Implicit Faith, yet as it is in no mans power preſently to believe what even his own, and much leſs what his Guides appetite would have him, notwithſtanding any Eccleſiaſtical Aſſociation he may have profeſſedly linked his Faith in; ſo no man can enſure the continuance of his Belief, or its holding for a Moment: and therefore the more abſurd and inhumane

mane any mens *Tenets* are, I ſhall expect them to be the leſs believed, and for the leſs time, and it is more then Holy Church can know that any one at all believes as it believes, how great ſoever the number that pretends ſo to do, appears.

Of all Papiſts not profeſſing themſelves bound to withdraw their Allegiance from Heretical Princes, and even from ſuch as by a particular *Bull* were Excommunicated by the Pope, Hiſtory affords many Examples, and particularly of the many *Loyal* Papiſts, who when the inheritable Right of the Crown of *France* was devolved on the King of *Navarre*, a Proteſtant, and as ſuch Excommunicated, with their Lives and Fortunes aſſerted his Title to the Crown. Any of the Readers of *Thuanus* know that in *Book* 93 'tis related, how when many Papiſts would have debarred him from the *Succeſſion*, and that the minds of thoſe *qui in Caſtris erant*, were in that point variouſly affected, yet *Major & ſanior pars ſic exiſtimabat nullam publicæ ſalutis ſpem ſupereſſe, niſi ſervato legitimæ ſucceſſionis ordine*, and ſo were for *Harry* the 4*ths* Right therein, and whom they believed was late reconciled to the King his Predeceſſor for that he did *per eum res adminiſtrare* as the *Hiſtorian's* words are, i. e. *Harry* the 4*th* a Proteſtant *Succeſſor*, was *Primier Miniſtre* to *Harry* the 3*d* a Papiſt.

And not only the Major part and the ſober Party of the Popiſh Souldiery, (*i. e.* in *Thuanus* his words *ſanior pars*) was loyally addicted to the Right of the Proteſtant Succeſſor, but ſeveral of the Grandees of the Popiſh Clergy were ſo, and particularly the *Arch-Biſhop*, whoſe Speech for that purpoſe *Thuanus* Book 106. ſets down, wherein 'tis ſaid, *Neque verò aut Regis perſonam, aut ſubditorum robur debilitatemque hoic conſiderandum eſſe, quando Reges lege ad regnum vocantur. Neque exemplis doceri poſſe quicquid contrajactetur, in priſcâ lege populum Iſraeliticum ob Religionem regibus ſuis defeciſſe*, &c. *ſed totum id Deo dijudicandum reliquiſſe, in cujus manibus regum corda ſunt, quæ & ille pro arbitrio quo vult, inclinat. Quid in Chriſtianâ Eccleſiâ? Nonne Chriſtum generis humani redemptorem ejuſq; beatiſſimam matrem nomina ſua apud cenſum, Auguſto imperante, Gentilium ſacris addicto profeſſos eſſe? Nonne Cæſari ſuo & Petri nomine tributum pependiſſe? Quod verò de legibus civilibus & imperialibus conſtitut. affertur quibus Manichæi & Arriani à dignitatum, magiſtratuum ac publicorum munerum participatione excluduntur, id intelligi de magiſtratibus inferioribus, non de principalibus, qui niſi cum excidio populorum & Reip. everſione jure ſuo privari non poſſunt, de quibus decernere ad ſolius Dei Omnipotentis Juriſdictionem pertinet.* The whole *Speech* is argumentative to that purpoſe out of the old and new Teſtament and Fathers, &c. and that Noble Loyalty of thoſe Papiſts to a Proteſtant Succeſſor met with a requital as to their Religion, and thereby I may ſay in the *Scripture* expreſſion that they did at once *heap* both a Crown and *Coals of Fire upon his head.*

Any one may be rather apt to think me leſs ſanguine (as I may ſay) in my belief of *Shame's* operating more and more among both Lay and Clerical *Roman* Catholicks, and even among our Jeſuited Proteſtants (I mean many of our Non-Conformiſts that have had ſanguinary and diſloyal Principles transfuſed into them by Jeſuites,) to the making them out of love with ſuch Principles, when he ſhall conſider how the ingenious *Maimbourg* doth in the 6*th Book* of his *Hiſtory* of *Calviniſme* reflect on the great *Calvin* for his opinion and practice relating to the puniſhment of Heretics with death, and inſtanceth in the Caſe of *Servetus* who was burn'd by the Magiſtrates of *Geneva* as an Heretick, on *Calvin's* inſtigating them ſo to deal with him, as *Maimbourg* tells us, and concludes his Hiſtorical Account of the *Pariſian Maſſacre*, with the mention of the ſaid opinion and practice

practice of *Calvin*, and doth with great Judgment and Candour thus observe, viz. *On á veu neanmoins de tout temps que le moyen le plus efficace quand l' hereſie eſt deja puiſſamment etablie, n' eſtoient point les ſupplices, beaucoup moins la violence & le trop de Rigueur. Bien loin que le maſſacre qu' on fit á Paris & entant d' autres villes ait aneanti, ou du moins affoibli le Calviniſme, qu' au Contraire il en devint plus enracinè, plus puiſſant & plus formidable, qu' auparavant. Les Huguenots ne voulurent plus ſe fier aux declarations que l' on fit pour les raſſeurer*, &c.

Alſted in his *Chronology* of *Hereſy* tells us that *Michael Servetus Hiſpanus docuit nullam eſſe in Deo realem generationem aut diſtinctionem :* and *Calvin* in his *Opuſcula* ſaith of *Servetus, vel ſola modeſtia potuiſſet vitam redimere :* but I believe the World will grow more modeſt then to burn men for immodeſty : and 'tis moſt certain that as the World grows the nearer to its Period and growing more and more populous, that populouſneſs will naturally tend to unite all Countries at home by preparing them to reſiſt Invaſion from abroad, and make the fantaſtical ſquandring away the Members of the Common-wealth more and more ridiculous and inſenſibly to grow out of faſhion.

Thus 'twas with the increaſe of the People among the Jews and Turks, that the *Sicacious* Zealots among the former, and *Dervices* among the latter did gradually decreaſe, and at laſt inſenſibly grew obſolete.

And thus of old did *Draco's* Laws evaporate, *Aulus Gellius* tells us in his *Noctes Atticæ*, that *Draco Athenienſis vir bonus multáque eſſe prudentia exiſtimatus eſt : juriſq; divini & humani peritus fuit. Is Draco leges quibus Athenienſes uterentur primus omnium tulit. In illis legibus furem cujuſcunque modi furti ſupplicio capitis puniendum eſſe, & alia pleraq; nimis ſevere cenſuit, ſanxitque. Ejus igitur leges quoniam videbantur impendio acerbiores, non decreto juſſoq; ſed tacito illeteratoq; Athenienſium conſenſu obliteratæ ſunt.* And this I believe would have been the fate of the ſicarious *Morality* of the Jeſuites although this preſent *Pope* had not expoſed their Principles as he has done, and their *Conſecraſtis manus Jehovæ* be abſolete, how much ſoever many of them think to out-brave the Popes Decree, who I wonder that they are not ſo hardy to write to the Pope to revoke it, in the comtemptuous Style of *Morbizan* the *Turk*, that when *Pius* the 2*d* publiſhed a *Bull* wherein he granted Indulgences to all them that would bear Arms againſt him, writ a Letter to his Holyneſs willing and requiring him to call in his *Epigramms* again, (as Dr. *Donne* relates it, citing the *Hiſtoriæ & alia impreſſa ante Alcoran.* f. 99.) and in the Style of *Caſaubon* calling *Paul* the 5*ths* Excommunication againſt the *Venetians, dirum carmen*, a cruel Lampoon.

Dr. *Peter du Moulin* in a Diſcourſe of his, printed in the *Year* 1675. ſaith, that *the Jeſuites were then* i. e. in the time of the late Uſurpation, *and are now the principal directors of the Conſciences of the* Engliſh *Papiſts.* And there was publiſhed in the *Year* 1662, a Pamphlet writ by a Perſon of no vulgar underſtanding, and who I ſuppoſe was a Papiſt, and the Title of it was *an expedient or a ſure and eaſie way of reducing all Diſſenters* &c. wherein the Author ſaith, *of the Papiſts* (meaning in *England* and *Wales*) *there are 7 Parts of* 10, *Gentlemen and People of great Quality* : and therefore ſince the Jeſuites have formerly made the *Pope* infallible in his judgment of matter of *Fact*, and that the Pope hath thus *de facto* thrown that *turpitude* of their Principles (that one may call *lutum ſanguine maceratum*) from his Court and even from that of the *Roman* Inquiſition, and the *Sordes* whereof Gentlemen could never receive into the Cabinets of their mind without fear and ſhame, they muſt now either be aſhamed of

their Jeſuitical Guides, or of their Pope, and the more ingenious and modeſt ſort of Jeſuites will by natural inſtinct be more and more aſhamed of ſuch Principles, and be ſometimes pale with fear, and ſometimes red with the Die of Bluſhes, as they obſerve the World picqued with their Diſhonour pronounce againſt them as the Pope their infallible *Cenſor* hath done, and the Jeſuites ſee that the Principles are too hot for them to touch where there is an Inquiſition and too foul where there is none.

According to that great Moral Obſervation of *Tertullian's*, *Omne malum aut timore aut pudore natura perfudit*, all the *fair-killing* Principles of the Jeſuites and particularly thoſe refer'd to in the 13*th*, 14*th*, 15*th*, 30*th*, 32*d* Tenets in the *Pope's Decree*, muſt really appear *foul*, and as too *foul* play to be uſed in our populous *Engliſh* World.

Time was in the old Monaſtic days when the Popiſh Clerical Actors were ſo numerous on the Stage of the World and ſo rich, and the Spectators ſo few and ſo poor, that it was dangerous for theſe to hiſs at them or not to applaud them, but 'tis now otherwiſe, and the Scene of Time is altered.

The Tables are turned ſince the Author of a Popiſh Book called, *The Right and Juriſdiction of the Prelate and the Prince*, imprinted with *licence of Superiors*, Anno Dom. 1617 was ſo hardy as in *Chap.* 15th, *p.* 269. having ſpoke of the Oath of Allegiance, to ſay, *The King after this Oath is no more ſecure than before, becauſe the Catholicks who take this Oath againſt their Conſcience, know that they are not bound to keep their Oath. Yea the Prince thereby bringeth himſelf into greater danger, for by ſo unwonted and odious an Oath ſo contrary to his Subjects Conſciences, he cannot but make himſelf odious*, and there having inſinuated the great *numbers* of the Papiſts, to apply then very gravely to his Prince that ſaying of *Cicero* in his *Offices*, *Multorum odiis nullæ opes, nullæ vires reſiſtere queunt:* and that *Author* further tells us out of *Tully*, *quem metuunt oderunt. Men hate whom they fear:* and then doth like a grave *Animal* thus proceed very honeſtly telling us, *And what ſecurity hath a Prince among them that hate him? when Subjects hate their Prince, they are diſcontented; when they are diſcontented they are deſperate; when they are deſperate, they care not for their own lives; when they care not for their own lives, let then the Prince fear his; for as* Seneca *ſaith*, Qui ſuam vitam contemnit, tuæ dominus erit. *He that contemneth his own life will be Maſter of thine. And from this Source proceeded the late Gun-powder Plot.*

But I believe not only *fear* but *ſhame* would divert Papiſts from writing at this rate at this time of day: and I look on it as either a *Sham* or infatuation in a Proteſtant writer, who in a *Pamphlet* whoſe haughty Title was *the Humble Remonſtrance and Petition of* Engliſh *Proteſtants againſt* Engliſh *and* Iriſh *Papiſts, to the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament*, and which was publiſhed not long after the diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, when in *p.* 2. the Author ſaith of the Papiſts and the Plot, *Nor will the more impudent of them deny the thing in general, but much the contrary inſulting to us with* Tertullian's *implevimus omnia againſt the old Pagans. We fill your Courts, your Armies, your Navies: it muſt take, you cannot avoid it, 'tis a juſt cauſe to extirpate Hereſy root and branch.*

I believe there were no Papiſts ſo void of ſhame and ſenſe as to ſpeak then what this Author mentions.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in his Letter to the *Dutcheſs*, *January* the 24*th*, 1670. and ſince printed, ſpeaking of thoſe, *who were averſe from Popery or afraid of it*, ſaith that, *their number did take in* 99 *parts of* 100 *in the whole Nation.* His *Lordſhip* was a very modeſt *Calculator* in making the number

ber of thoſe who then *de facto* feared Popery to be no larger: and conſequently according to the Rule of *quem metuunt oderunt*, referred to by the *Author* of *the Prelate and the Prince*, the great number of thoſe here who *hated* Popery was very viſible, and made the *implevimus omnia* to be a very empty and ridiculous ſuggeſtion. But were the number of Papiſts much greater then any timid Proteſtants ſeem to make it, the great real encreaſe of Mankind, and mens being thereby preſerved, muſt render the *turpitude* of the former Principles of Cruelty to be very ſhameful.

In the Style of the Heathen Morality 'twas uſual to call any thing *turpe* that was not *honeſtum*, or honourable, or contrary to the generous nature of man, and therefore to brand with the name of *turpitude* many *lawful* Actions, for *Non omne quod licet honeſtum:* and thus what is unworthy of a Man or a Chriſtian to do is often ſo called in the New Teſtament, and 'tis an error in any mens judgments or fancies to appropriate ſo much the meaning of that word to fleſhly Luſts. The Devil is called an *unclean Spirit* in the *New Teſtament* though not ſuppoſeable to uſe bodily Luſts or to confine his temptations to them. The *filthineſs of ſin* is mentioned by St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, and St. *James* 1. 21. commands *the laying aſide all* filthineſs, *&c.*

A Sentence obtain'd from a Judge that was given by Bribery is ſaid to be *lata per ſordes*, and for the *turpitude* of ſuch a judgment a Judge was long ſince brought to a ſhameful end in this Realm, and in his Enditement for Bribery 'twas ſaid that he did *violare ſacramentum Domini Regis*, and the reaſon thereof was, that the Oath of our Kings relating to the doing of Juſtice to their People, ſuch corrupt Judges did by their injuſtice do violence to that *Oath* of our Monarchs: and in like manner all Kings generally being by their Coronation Oaths bound to protect and defend their People, I ask what King on earth can do it, if either an outragious Pope or the General of the Jeſuites ſhall ſecretly cauſe men to be killed by their Emiſſaries, and what Subject can any were enjoy the benefit of the *Tacit* Paction between him and the Law to the effect of *fac hoc & vives*, if he muſt hold his life by the Tenure of a Jeſuites *Caprice?*

This *Orders* ſicarious Principles muſt therefore be naturally as fatal to it as thoſe of their *Calumny* beforementioned, and indeed this their affected Arbitrary Power over Hereticks lives is liable to the Battery of fear and ſhame from the other Papiſts; for if ſuch believing the Juſtice of the Pope's *Decree*, ſhall ſpeak ill of the *Jeſuites* Contumacy, and on that account render that Society diſobedient to Holy Church and ſcandalous to the ſame, will not *Tenet* the 30*th* condemned by the Pope, viz. *It is lawful for a Perſon of Honour to kill a man that intends to calumniate him if there is no other way to avoid that Reproach*, render the lives of ſuch Papiſts forfeitable to the Jeſuites Aſſaſſins: and again will it not render the Jeſuites lives forfeitable by their own Principles to ſuch Papiſts, and thus our Popiſh Layety and the *Jeſuites* be in a State of War, inſtead of ſuch Layety being amicable Diſciples and bountiful Patrons to them?

Neither the Law of God or the Land do truſt the puniſhment of Malefactors to private perſons: but as *Toloſanus de Repub.* tells us, l. 13. c. 132. *Proceſſum fuit judicialiter & ſententiâ excommunicationis contra vermes radices ſegetum edentes in dioceſi Curienſi & conſtantienſi*, (and he there ſets down ſuch a Sentence of Excommunication pronounced againſt thoſe *animalcula*) ſo much more ought ſuch *Locuſts* tho now as to the Pope *they have no King*, (I allude to *Solomon's* words, *The Locuſts have no Kings, yet go they forth in Bands*) and tho their Principles would eradicate the Lives of our Hereditary Kings and their Subjects to have the legal benefit of Judicial Proceedings;

but

but the turpitude of ſuch Principles and Practices as pollutes the Land with Blood, and may bring a Curſe upon it, is likely to bring them many an extrajudicial Curſe from the Popiſh and Proteſtant Populace; and if as *Tully* tells us in his *Offices*, that *there was a Law at* Athens, *that ordered publick Execrations againſt all that did, viam erranti non monſtrare*, ſuch Confeſſors as by inſinuations put people out of the right way by vile irreligionary caſuiſtical Principles ſo fatal to Souls and Bodies, muſt naturally be anathematized by them.

Thus likewiſe by *ſhame* and *fear* in our populous *Engliſh* World muſt all Bloody and Rebellious Principles own'd by any Perſons that aſſume the the name of Proteſtants be naturally hated: and if any are not aſhamed or afraid to give juſt occaſion of Jealouſie concerning ſuch Hoſtile Principles, being ſecretly harboured in their minds, others will be aſhamed and afraid to keep them Company, and as if there were ſome ſpeedy Judgment impending on thoſe who converſed with them, according to that Proverb of the Jews, *Migrandum eſt ex eo loco in quo Rex non timetur.*

The laſt prefatory *Paragraph* before the Biſhops *Survey* is, that *the Heads and Preackers of the ſeveral Factions are ſuch as had a great ſhare in the late Rebellion.*

Such men tho like the *Trumpeter* in *Alciat*, they made part of the fighters, and had been fairly dealt with by the *Amneſty* if they had not been permitted any more in their profeſſion to have *lifted up their voices like Trumpets* again, or truſted to make any harangues to the People in publick, yet at the time of that *Survey* were very few, and are now generally as ſilent in the Region of the Dead as *Meroz* was when they *curs'd* him; and themſelves are according to my Calculating Obſervation turn'd to Earth, whoſe Voices like Air in the wrong place made ſuch Earthquakes in Church and State: and both fear and ſhame might teach them how *in bello non bis peccare*, if their being *Experts* of the inconveniences of War had not naturally excited in many an averſion to it; but with the ſurviving Experts there doth undoubtedly a *reminiſcentia* (which Mr. *Hobbs* calls a *re-conning*) ſurvive, how that the long Parliament had not formerly more fears and jealouſies of Popery then of Presbytery, and of ſome of the *Divines* of that perſwaſion deſigning to trouble every Pariſh with a New *Court-Chriſtian*, after the tremendous example in *Hiſtory* of the *Inquiſition for Heretical Pravity* being firſt committed to the Orders of the *Dominican* and *Franciſcan* Fryars, and without any *Tribunal*, and which by their zeal in preaching they afterward obtain'd with a vengeance, and to the Scandal of Humane Nature; and how that that Parliament as *Fuller* obſerves in his *Church-Hiſtory, would not truſt the Presbyters to carry the Keys of Excommunication at their Girdle, ſo that the Power thereof was not intruſted to them, but ultimately reſolved into a Committee of eminent Perſons of Parliament, in which* Thomas *Earl of* Arundel *was firſt named*; and moreover how that *England* was then turned into ſuch a common ſhore of Heretical Opinions that one of the moſt Learned of the Presbyterian *Divines*, Mr. *James Cranford* in a *Sermon* of his called *Hæreſeo-machria* preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at S. *Pauls* on *February* the *1ſt*, 1645. and printed in the following Year, ſaith there in *p.* 47. *In eighty years there did not ariſe among us ſo many horrid opinions and blaſphemous Hereſies under Epiſcopacy (a Government decryed as Antichriſtian) as have riſen in theſe few years ſince we have been without a Government.*

He had before in *p.* 5. ſaid, *It is lamentable what ſucceſs errors have had among our ſelves in theſe laſt* 3 *or* 4 *years of Eccleſiaſtical Anarchy and Confuſion, whether we reſpect the numbers of Errors o· of the erroneous.* Amſterdam, Poland,

Poland, Tranſylvania, *Places moſt infamous for Hereſies, are now righteous if compared with* England, London, *which in ſo ſhort a ſpace have broach'd or entertain'd above* 160 *Errors, many of them damnable.*

And therefore I do not wonder that in a Pamphlet called, *The exact Collection of the Debates in the Houſe of Commons* in the laſt Parliament, one Member is there brought in, obſerving in his Speech concerning the *Diſſenters*, that *'tis not probable that ever they will have a King of their opinion, nor yet a Parliament by the beſt diſcoveries they had made of their ſtrength at the laſt Election. For according to the beſt Calculations that I can make, they could not bring in above* 1. *in* 20.

The preſent *Gentlemanly* Temper appearing in the People of *England*, as to the not having Averſion or Reſentments of Anger againſt any Mens perſons or their Converſe by reaſon of their aſſerting controvertible points that are capable of the name of Religion, muſt naturally make any aſhamed to vex their patience and diſturb their ſecurity by aſſerting Principles that really are *Irreligion.*

If any one did rake in the duſt of Libraries for Names of abſolete *Hereſies* to render the Papiſts or any elſe the fouler thereby, he would in effect but needleſsly foul his own fingers; as for example, if any one ſhould ſay the Papiſts have borrowed their Practice of extreme Unction from the *Valentinians* and *Heracleonites*, their Notion of the Orders and Quires of Angels from the *Archonticks*, the uſe and worſhipping of Images from the *Carpocratians*, the praying to the *Virgin-Mary* from the *Collyridians*, the Veneration of the Croſs from the *Armenians*, the Baptiſm by Women from *Marcion*, the Baptizing in an unknown Tongue from the *Marcoſians*, and the voluntary Poverty and ſingle Life of Prieſts from the *Apoſtolici*, the uſing of ſmall Bells in Celebrating the Myſteries of Religion from the *Meletians.* Nor would any be much concern'd whether any old or new unheard of Hereticks communicated the Diſeaſe of theſe Notions to the weak minds of the erring, ſince it doth not infect Humane Society.

And there are ſeveral Traditions mentioned in ſome of the Ancient *Fathers* as Apoſtolical, which tho the Papiſts do not obſerve, yet the World would not make any angry Exclamations againſt them if it heard they did, as namely, the mixture of Milk and Honey given to them that are newly Baptized, the abſtaining from waſhing a whole Week after, Oblations for the Birth-day yearly, not to faſt or kneel in Prayer or worſhipping of God on the the Lords Day, nor between *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide*, all which are mentioned in *Tertullian.* Nor would any be now angry with another that held either part of the Queſtion, *viz.* If the *Hallelujah* may be ſung in *Lent?*

The great Controverſy about *Eaſter* that heretofore put all the World in a *Rattle*, and almoſt ſhook it to pieces, what a Toy is it ſelf now reputed, inſomuch that our lateſt Aſcertainers here of the time of its Celebration ſeemed not to think it *tanti* to be awake when they were about it; and tho our lately having in our Almanacks two *Eaſters* in one year eaſily awakened the Non-Conformiſts, to take notice of it and to ſay, that therefore they could not give their unfeigned aſſent and conſent to all and every thing contained and preſcribed in and by the Book intituled the Book of Common Prayer, &c. And tho thereupon a perſon of the *Royal Society* very profoundly knowing in all the Mathematical Sciences, and likewiſe in the knowledge of Theology and of the Canon Law, and the Eccleſiaſtical Law of *England*, hath publiſhed an infallible way of fixing *Eaſter* for ever (and that it may be no longer a Fugitive from the Rule of its Practice as it

often is at preſent (nor dance away from it ſelf, as I may ſay, in alluſion to the vulgar error of the Suns *dancing* on *Eaſter day*) and fixing it ſo as perhaps none elſe could have done, nor poſſibly himſelf any other way; yet hath this great right done to that great day been by the generality of people, not ſo much regarded as would *an Advice to a Painter*, or ſuch like Compoſure have been.

Any one that would deſign to make another fermentation in the World by the terms of *Homo-ouſios* and *Homoi-ouſios* would no more effect it, than by the Criticks Controverſy in *Boccaline*, whether *Conſumptum ſhould be ſpelled with a* p *or no*: to which purpoſe I heard one cite it out of *Luther*, that he ſaid *anima mea odit terminum iſtum Homo-ouſion*, tho yet he knew *Homo-ouſios* was the right opinion and *Homoi-ouſios* the wrong.

And that one word *Hereſy* that hath produced ſuch furious Tempeſts in the World that have torn up States and Kingdoms by the Roots, how is it now generally among men of ingenuity and wit here reduced to its quiet and primitive ſignification, *viz.* the taking of an opinion, or a private opinion without reference to truth or falſhood, and to import nothing more of affront then when uſed by *Tully*, as *Non ſum in eadem tecum hæreſi*; *I am not of your opinion:* and the common Vogue of *Heretics* amounts to *opiniátre*, and *Hereſy* to *opiniátrete:* and as a Whirl-wind may be ſuppoſed to have blown ſome one thing into its place, as each other thing out of it, ſo have the Whirl-winds *Hereſy* hath diſturbed the World by, happened at laſt to blow its ſignification into its right and original State.

Our Courts Chriſtian which in order to the *Salus animæ* might ſtill proſecute Men for *Hereſy*, as well as *Uſury*, have given no *Heretics* or *Uſurers*, any Cauſe of Complaint for moleſtation; tho yet in the Articles of *Viſitation* this is one, *is there any perſon a known or reputed Heretick or Schiſmatick*. But as in the Dioceſes in the Country and even in the Cities there, the Church-wardens having not troubled themſelves to know what *Animal* a *Heretick* is, ſo neither is our Layety in our Metropolis in the humour to mind the *Genus* and *Differentia* in the definition of a *Heretick*. Nor will they be ever likely to make any ſuch Preſentment as Mr. *Nath. Bacon* ſaid in one of his printed *Diſcourſes*, he hath ſeen, made formerly by ſome of St. *Mary Overies*, *Item we ſaine that* John Stephens *is a man we cannot well tell what to make of him, and that he hath Books we know not what they are.*

Our *Engliſh Genius* is ſo improved by the excellent temper and diſcourſes of that *breed* of rational *Divines* our Church of *England* hath been bleſt with ſince the King's Reſtoration, that it generally abhors the thoughts of puniſhing a *Heretick* as ſuch with death, as a ſeverity that hath in it the turpitude of injuſtice and cruelty. And ſince the very Fathers and Schoolmen could never agree about the point who are formally *Hereticks* and that the acuteſt among them make the formality of *Hereſy* to conſiſt in Pertinacy or Contumacy, which are inward Acts of the Mind and which none but the *Scrutator renum* can know, it may well ſeem ſhameful for any to agree in puniſhing it with death.

What a ſhameful narrowneſs of mind was there in the *Divines* that governed our Church in the times of the late *Uſurpation*, when thoſe *Triers of Miniſters* would allow none to have a Living or Cure of Souls that aſſerted the Tenets of *Arminius* in Religion, which yet carry a face of ſo much probability to be maintained, that a man who having uſed his utmoſt care in the inveſtigation of truth therein aſſerts them, may claim it as his due by the purchace of Chriſts Blood, that when he is required to deliver his opinion about the ſame, his aſſerting it that way ſhould not expoſe

poſe him to puniſhment. And there is no Controverted Religionary Speculative Point of that Nature wherein there is among Learned Men *probabilis cauſa litigandi* (and in ſome Caſes too where it may touch too cloſe upon our *Articles* and *Homilies*) in which liberty of differing in Judgment is here either prejudicial to their Intereſt or common Eſteem. Thus tho all the *Reformed* Churches make the Pope to be *Antichriſt*, and particularly our Church of *England* in its *Homilies* hath done ſo, our Famous Dr. *Hammond* adventured as he thought himſelf obliged in Conſcience to publiſh it, that *Simon Magus* was the man.

The moſt judicious Comparers of times are ſenſible that there is now a more valuable *libera theologia* in *England* then was during the Uſurpation. How glad would many of the Independent, and Presbyterian Divines then have been of the liberty to have taught their Flocks the Notions they then thought of importance as to the Divine Decrees, tho they had been allowed to have ſo done only in *Surplices*, or in Veſts of *Indian* feathers, or any habits imaginable? The old way of arguing about ſpeculative points in Religion with paſſion and loudneſs and being tedious therein, is grown out of uſe, and a Gentlemanly Candour in diſcourſe of the ſame with that moderate temper that men uſe in debating natural Experiments has ſucceeded in its room, and 'tis accounted *Pedantry* for any one in good Company to paſs for a *Victor* in Notions by having the laſt word, and ſeeming a *Baffler* in diſpute. And the truth is, our *Divines* and the Lay *Literati* having ſince the King's Reſtoration been more addicted to the Study of real Learning then formerly, which requires quiet of thought in its purſuit, hath brought noiſe out of Requeſt.

I need not again mention the Obligation our Land hath received from the *Royal* Society, in making ſo great a Plantation of real knowledge in it. 'Twas high time at laſt when the Kingdom was ſettled on its proper *Baſis* to improve it with ſuch ſtrong and nervous knowledge, that would be like the *ſtrong man* keeping *Poſſeſſion* in mens underſtandings, during which either Poperies or Presbyteries *Kingdom* of *Darkneſs* cannot overthrow our *Quiet*.

There were in the Year 1599. reckoned in *Chriſtendom* 2,25044 *Monaſteries*, and from whence all the great Revenue there beſtowed on men to *think*, ſent not perhaps one Notion of real Learning into the World. But their profeſſed buſineſs was to extinguiſh the light of Knowledge, and not to increaſe it, and that which they made their real Study was to find out Artifices to make Mankind ſit ſtill and quiet in the dark, and to invent torments and puniſhments for thoſe that would not do ſo: and to *ridicule* thoſe who pryed into nature and but looked toward Arithmetick and Geometry, by the Name of *Students* of the *black Art* and *Conjurers*, a humour that was not quite exterminated hence from the time of Fryer *Bacon* to my Lord *Bacon*: for our pious *Martyrologer* mentioning occaſionaly Dr. *Dee* the Mathematician, called him Dr. *Dee* the Conjurer.

Thus Almighty God tho the firſt thing he made for the World in general was external light, yet one of the laſt things he hath made or ſo much bleſſed the World with, is real Learnings intellectual Light, and even that whereby we ſo knowingly converſe with his works of Nature: and ſo careleſs was Mankind in conſidering the frame of their own bodies, that Dr. *Henſhaw* a late Ornament of the *Royal* Society hath truely obſerved it in his Book of *Fermentation*, *That within the Compaſs of this laſt Century the knowledge of Anatomy hath been enriched by a full third part at leaſt.* Mankind was ſo buſie in murthering one anothers bodies of old under the Notion of *Chriſtians*, and afterward as *Hereticks*, that it had no leiſure to diſſect

them,

them, and was wholly taken up by ſtudying experiments of Cruelty equal to the making of live Anatomies of each other. And tho the Holy *Jeſus* came into the World *not to deſtroy mens lives but to ſave them*, and for that purpoſe tho the Divine *Philanthropy* choſe that time for his coming into the World when the ἀνθρωποθυσία was arrived at a greater heighth then ever before, yet by the depraved nature of man perverting and corrupting the uſe of Religion, the fantaſtick vile ſacrificing of men hath ſince encreaſed.

In the *Infanticidium* of *Herod*'s that was preſently after the Birth of the *Holy Child Jeſus*, *Samuel Siderocrates* ſaith, that there were ſlain of Infants of 2 years old and under that Age, 444000: and *Paulus Volzius* makes them to be a *Million* and 44 *Thouſand*.

And afterward among the Heathens, he was accounted the *Magnus Apollo*, not who could find ways of ſaving, but deſtroying Chriſtian men. No fewer than ſeven Books were writ by *Ulpian* to ſhew the ſeveral puniſhments that ought to be inflicted on Chriſtians. And tho *Livy* ſaith of the *Romans*, *in hoc gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuiſſe pœnas*, yet *Tacitus* tells us of the Chriſtians in the 15*th* Book of his *Annals*, *Primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti ſunt. Ea pereuntibus addita ludibria, aut ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi aut flammandi, aut ubi defeciſſet dies in uſum nocturni luminis urerentur.*

Several Authors relate it as a Decree of *Nero*'s, *Quiſquis Chriſtianum ſe eſſe confitetur, is tanquam generis humani convictus hoſtis, ſine ulteriori ſui defenſione, capite plectitor.*

Enough hath been already ſaid to parallel the Cruelty of new *Rome*, with that of old toward the Heterodox: and how ingenious the *Virtuoſi* of the *Inquiſition* have been in finding out ſuch torments for Heretics, as can multiply one death into a thouſand, I with horrour think of. How profound a ſubmiſſion and deference to the unaccountable Will of Heaven doth this Conſideration require, namely, that Chriſts *little Flock* even in the *Ark* of his Church, is not only endangered by a deluge from without, but by one within, and that of its own blood, and that the Sheep of Chriſt appear to a common eye to be (as it were) made on purpoſe to feed the *grievous Wolves that are entred in among them*, and as it may be ſuppoſed that thouſands of harmleſs Sheep were in the Ark of *Noah* employed to feed, perhaps about 20 *pair* of the hurtful Carnivorous Beaſts: nay which is more, that Heaven ſhould permit ſuch great ſlaughters of its *little Flock* to feed the very vitiated fancies of the worſt of men, as was before inſinuated!

But who can without ſhame for depraved Mankind, and a heart inwardly bleeding, think of the reſult of the Popes Giſt of *America* to the *King* of *Spain*, where ſo many Millions of the poor Natives having had no promulgation of the Law of Chriſtianity, and were accountable to God only for the violation of the Law of Nature, were ſo unnaturally murthered by the *Spaniards*, that it would ſeem incredible that God *having made of one blood all Nations* (as 'tis ſaid in the *Scripture*) and there being *a natural Cognation between all Humane kind* as the expreſſion is in the *Digeſts*, they ſhould depopulate that part of the World of a greater number of Souls than is now living in the flouriſhing Kingdom of *France*, if that Famous *Spaniſh* Biſhop *Bartholomæus de las Caſas* hath made a true Eſtimate of the *Spaniſh* Cruelty in the *Weſt-Indies*, namely, that in about 45 years the *Spaniards* by ſeveral monſtrous Cruelties put to death 20 *Millions* of *Indians*.

At

At this rate of murderous Mankinds thus outraging one another, the World would ſeem to be likely to end before it was (as I may ſay) to purpoſe begun, I mean the purpoſe of God Almighty.

But the thought of the ſhame of being outwitted by our Neighbour Nations, and the fear of being outdone by them in ſtrength, populouſneſs and riches, and our certain knowledge, (as was partly before hinted) that toward the latter end of the World by the growing populouſneſs of Mankind, we muſt naturally and without any eye on prediction in Scripture more and more *hear of Wars and rumours of Wars*, and the ſhame of our encouraging a few Traders in *Contraband* Religions to hope they can ever deſtroy the Peace and Trade of the Kingdom again, muſt (ſuppoſing Heretics to be men) naturally make the former *Mode* of killing them appear not more barbarous then ridiculous.

Sir *W. P.* having in his excellent *Manuſcript*, called *Verbum ſapienti* made excellent Computations of the *wealth of the Kingdom*, and of the *value of the People*, and of *the ſeveral expences of the Kingdom and of its Revenues*, and in his laſt *Chapter* there conſidered *how to employ the People and with what great induſtry*, doth like a Noble *Philoſopher* conclude it with theſe two Queries and their Anſwers, viz. *But when ſhould we reſt from this great induſtry? I anſwer when we have certainly more Money than any of our Neighbour States, (tho never ſo little) both in Arithmetical and Geometrical Proportion* (i. e. *when we have more years Proviſion aforehand, and more preſent Effects.*) *What then ſhould we buſie our ſelves about? I anſwer in ratiocinations upon the Works and Will of God, to be ſupported not only by the indolency, but alſo by the pleaſure of the body, and not only by the tranquility but ſerenity of the mind, and this exerciſe is the natural end of man in this World, and that which beſt diſpoſeth him for his Spiritual Happineſs in that other which is to come. The motions of the mind being the quickeſt of all others afford moſt variety wherein is the very form and being of pleaſure, and by how much the more we have of this pleaſure, by ſo much the more we are capable of it*, ad infinitum.

And thanks be to Heaven we have no *Iſthmus* in Nature to dig through, which yet by our many hands might be done. 'Tis but the removal of the *broken Fence and bowing Wall* of a Religion-Trade, which we can well look over and eaſily ſee through as now broken and bowing, and which is the more loath'd for having ſo long and ſo much debarred us from real Trade and real Knowledge, and too from real Religion, and this flowry Coaſt will be as free to the feet of us *Northern* Heretics ſo called, as 'tis now to our Eyes, and we through the effects of our populouſneſs, and being neceſſitated to induſtry, be ſecured from any fear of ſharing in a *Prophetick* Calculation that might be called, *The Burthen of the North*, made by a late Author of a *Diſcourſe* of Trade, *That the* French *without the uſe of their Iron, will command all the Silver of the* North *and ſweep it away thence by the over-balance of Trade.* But after all the *Souths* raillery on the *North*, they will find that the *Northern* half of the World hath more Earth, more Men, more Ships and Sea-men, more Stars, more day, and more light of the Goſpel, and I may add, more good nature and frankneſs, more bodily ſtrength and fewer Plagues, and Earth-quakes then the *Southern*. And where moſt people are 'tis no *Hereſy* nor Enthuſiaſtic *Prophecy*, to ſay that there will in time be moſt Trade: which appeared by *England*'s not being afraid to throw the Die of War againſt both *France* and *Spain*, in the beginning of the Reign of the Royal Martyr.

As the over-balance of Trade is inſenſibly loſt in any Country, it is likewiſe ſo regained, and in time will appear regain'd, and like health in the body of a man of ſtrong Vitals after his being ſeized by and recovered from a *Chronical* Diſeaſe, and of the time of the beginning and ending of which by unforeſeen Accidents, no ſhadow of a Dial or ſound of a Clock could give the indication.

I ſhall aſſign an inſtance of this in our own Kingdom. The *Author* of *Britannia languens* calculates 2,50000 l. *per Annum* to have been formerly at a *Medium* for 76 years brought into *England* by the balance of its whole Trade in the World.

Committees of Parliament have worthily laboured in ſeveral *Seſſions* to model and draw *Bills* for the making us wear our own Woollen Manufactures, and many who have writ *Books* and *Propoſals* about *Trade*, have very honeſtly endeavoured to perſwade us ſo to do. But as the ſaying is, *accidit in punctο*, &c. an *Accident* too low for our States-mens conſideration, hath for ſeveral years cauſed *England* to gain more then it did by the aforeſaid *Balance* of Trade, *viz.* the ſaid 2,50000 *l.* at a *Medium* for 76 years; and this *Accident* is the general faſhion of Womens wearing Crape. And becauſe I have converſed with none who has obſerved the effect of this Accident, and which tho ſeeming ſmall, is very momentous, and appears (as many things in Trade do) like great Weights hanging ſometimes on ſmall Wires, I ſhall divert your Lordſhip by Calculating *en paſſant* what *England* gains thereby, in ſuch a way as the Nature of the thing will bear, and may paſſably ſerve to have it done in.

A pound of Wooll makes 15 yards of Crape. Each Female one with another may be ſuppoſed to wear about 10 yards of Crape in her Apparel. There are in *London* probably about 100,000 Females that wear Crape. It may be ſuppoſed that in all *England* and *Wales* there being ten times as many Females as in *London*, that one half of this proportion of the *London* Crape-wearers may wear Crape in the Country, *viz.* half a *Million* in all. It may be ſuppoſed therefore that the Crape-wearers one with another wearing ten yards a piece, that five *Millions* of Yards of Crape may be yearly worn in *England* and *Wales*, and that one pound of Wooll making fifteen yards of Crape will occaſion the Conſumption of a third part of a Million of Pounds weight of Wooll *per Annum*, *viz.* 333000 and 333 pounds weight of Wooll which (accounting fine Wooll ſuch as makes Crape to be worth one Shilling *per* Pound) amounts to 16000 *l. Sterling*. The labour of the People in Manufacturing the ſame, amounts to about thirty times as much as the Wooll, *viz.* half a *Million* of Pounds *Sterling*: and this yearly gain *England* cannot miſs of while the Women of the Court continue the faſhion of wearing Crape, whom the Women of the City and Country will imitate in their garb.

If any ſhall think that the allowance of 10 yards to be yearly worn by each Female Crape-wearer may ſeem too much, he may conſider that ſome Crape uſed by men about their Apparel, and the great quantity thereof employed in ſhrouding the Dead, purſuant to the late *Act* (and which but for the invention and uſe of the Manufacture of Crape, perhaps would not have been effectually put in Execution) may probably incline him to be of an opinion that *England* gains more vaſtly by this new Manufacture of Crape, then I have ſuppoſed.

The *ridiculing* humour of ſo many in the Age, may perhaps move them to think obſervations of this kind to be unimportant. But if any ſhall take a Proſpect of the ſubſtantial and great wiſdom of our Anceſtors in our *Statute-Book*, he may find there 11 *Acts* of Parliament about *Thrums* and

Yarn,

Yarn, and many about *Fuſtians*, and 26 about *Worſted*, and *Worſted Weavers*, and another Statute of *Pouledavis*: but there is that of moment in my Account relating to *England*'s Gain from Crape, that after 145 Statutes made to advance our Wooll and Drapery and Dyers and our Woollen Manufactures, ſo much decayed in ſpight of them all, this ſeeming poor little thing hath without any *Act* of *Parliament* enriched us.

And many are the Foundations of Manufactures laid in our Country Cities, and daily growing ſince the time that Dr. *Williams* Arch-Biſhop of *York* in his Speech in the Parliament of 1640. in defence of the Biſhops Votes obſerved, that *Tapſters, Brewers, Inn-keepers, Taylors and Shoo-makers do integrate and make up the body of our Country Cities and Incorporations.*

And tho the *Northern* Heretics are *craſſo ſub aere nati*, yet have they (as was ſaid) compenſative Advantages from nature, and as if nature meant them more then others for Lords of the Sea and Navigation, the Pole of the *Magnet* which ſeateth it ſelf *North*, hath been obſerved to be always the moſt vigorous and ſtrong Pole to all intents and purpoſes, and the *Magnetical* Virtue impreſſed on the Earth is there more ſtrong likewiſe, I mean on the Church Land ſeized on from the Papal Idlers and Burthens of that Earth to ſupport the neceſſary defence of the State, and therefore will neceſſarily attract mens Iron and their underſtandings with Juſtice to keep it. Dr. *Heylin* in his *Geography* in *Folio* tells us, that *'tis not ſo much the Authority of* Calvin, *or the Malignant Zeal of* Beza, *or the impetuous Clamors of their Diſciples which made the Epiſcopal Order to grow out of Credit, as the Avarice of ſome great Perſons in Court and State, who greedily gaped after the poor Remnant of their Poſſeſſions.*

But tho nothing like an over-Balance of the Clergy in the wealth of the Kingdom ought to have ſunk that Order and its Revenue in *England*, (where perhaps ten times as much is ſpent either on the *Law* or on *Phyſick* as is on the Clergy) it need not be wondered at, that in thoſe Countries of the *North* where they are continually ſtanding to their Arms at leaſt of defence, and Calculating their Proviſion for War, that the *Lutheran* Princes (as *Heylin* ſaith) have divided the Epiſcopal Function from its Revenue aſſuming to themſelves much of the latter, and ſometime giving part thereof to their Nobility, with the Title of Adminiſtrators of ſuch a Biſhoprick, and of ſuper-intendent to thoſe who have there the Paſtoral Solicitude, and with ſome proportion of the Revenue for their maintenance not much exceeding what is uſually received by *Calviniſt* Miniſters.

And if my Lord Primate *Bramhal* may paſs for a good Caſuiſtical Judge of the Law of God, who in *p.* 39. of his *juſt Vindication of the Church of* England, ſpeaking of an exceſſive Revenue of the Clergy and their over-balancing the Layety, ſaith, *And if the exceſs be ſo exorbitant that it is abſolutely and evidently deſtructive to the Conſtitution of the Common-wealth (it is lawful upon ſome Conditions and Cautions not neceſſary to be here inſerted) to prune the ſuperfluous Branches, and to reduce them to a right temper and* æquilibrium *for the preſervation and well being of the whole Body Politick*, and if any Credit ought to be given to the Account of Cardinal *Pool* ſhewed to me within theſe few hours, relating to the over-Balance of the old Eccleſiaſtick Revenue here, after he had uſed all his own diligence and that of others to prepare a Calculation of the ſame for the *Pope*, and had ſent 3 *Reams* of Paper of this to the *Pope* that are now in his *Archives*, and had acquainted the Pope therein, *That it was viſible that had not the Church here fallen into the Shipwrack of its Revenues, the Eccleſiaſticks had here in a ſhort time inſenſibly rendred themſelves Lords of the*

the whole Kingdom, and that there were more Colleges and Hoſpitals in England *than in* France, *which exceeds* England *by two thirds both in Lands and Numbers of People*, we may very well conclude that had any accidental force in Queen *Mary*'s time renverſed the alienation of the Church Lands, that force would not have long continued, and ſhould any as wild Imaginers may ſuppoſe, happen for the future here, or perhaps in other Kingdoms of the *North*, thoſe Lands would ſoon appear to all to have ſuch a *Magnetical* Vertue as is in the *Globe* of the Earth, whereby as to its natural points it diſpoſeth it ſelf to the *Poles*, being ſo framed and ordered to thoſe points that thoſe parts which are now at the *Poles* would not naturally abide under the *Æquator*, nor *Green-land* remain in the place of *Magellanica*; and thus it may be ſaid that if the whole Earth were violently removed, it would not forſake its Primitive Points nor pitch in the *Eaſt* or *Weſt*, but very ſoon return to its *Polary* poſition again, and reſemblingly in any new forced over-balance of thoſe Church Lands, the very dull Earth's *Animus revertendi*, to the juſt libration of States and Kingdoms would ſoon be apparent; and neither the *Popes* moving the Earth, or even *Archimedes* his doing it would have been of any importance: and the Papal Pride elevating him to ſay with *Lucifer ſedebo in monte teſtamenti in lateribus Aquilonis*, *I will ſit in the ſides of the North* would ſoon be attended with the Exclamation of *How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, Son of the Morning*, &c. and, *Is this the man that made the Earth to tremble?* *France* that I believe exceeded *England* by two thirds in the number of People in Queen *Mary*'s time when Cardinal *Pool* made his Eſtimate thereof, did ſecurely heretofore ſuffer great numbers of its People to be unemployed in it, as namely, the Beggars and others of the lower ranks, and through want of opportune means of ſubſiſting at home to ſeek their Fortunes abroad, and that not as 'tis in the Caſe of ſo many *Scots* yearly leaving their Country, (the which perhaps is not able well to nouriſh more Inhabitants than it hath) but through the abovementioned want of encouragement to continue in that opulent and fertile Kingdom, a Kingdom that *Grotius* doth but right to, when in the Dedicatory Epiſtle of his *De jure belli & pacis* to *Lewis* the juſt, having mentioned the *Kingdom* of *Heaven*, he ſaith, *which Kingdom only is better then yours.*

And 'tis no wonder if the *Miniſters* and Counſellors of State there did not concern themſelves to make rational Eſtimates of the growing Populouſneſs of the *Northern* Countries, and particularly of *England*, when nothing of that kind was perhaps ſo much as attempted here before the probable inferences of the Obſervator on the *Bills* of *Mortality* made about the ſame.

As to the former unconcernedneſs of *France* in preſerving or encreaſing the numbers of its People, there is an obſervation of Sir *Thomas Culpeper* Knight, in his *Diſcourſe* about *Uſury* where he ſaith, France *tho ſo good a ſoyle lies half of it waſte, the Natives even loathing their own Country, and burdening all the habitable World with their beggarly Colonies, one third of the Lacqueys and Valets in* Europe *being* French *Men.* Witneſs *Dr.* Heylin who tells us, that *once at* Madrid *they baniſhed them all as dangerous for their numbers, finding the* French *Servants in that Town alone to exceed Thirty Thouſand, ſo juſt and natural is it for oppreſſion to diſarm it ſelf.*

But I have already mentioned it that the preſent Great *French* Monarch, not more renowned for his *Arma foris* then his *Conſilium domi*, and his able Counſellors there, doth by Accurate Meaſures ſtudy the encreaſe of his People, and 'tis very remarkable that in the *Code Loüys* which he publiſhed in *April*, 1667. he made ſome *Ordinances* with great care for the *Regiſtring*

giſtring the *Chriſtenings* and *Marriages* and *Burials* in each *Pariſh* in his *Realm*, as appears by *Title* 20. *Article* 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. there from *p.* 107, to 112. and with much more exactneſs then the Bills of Mortality in our *Metropolis* are ordered, and the which that Great Prince thought worthy to be enjoyned in his *Code* of *Laws*, having perhaps been informed by his Miniſters that many Political Inferences as to the knowing the numbers of People and their encreaſe in any State are to be made from the Bills of Mortality, on the occaſion of ſome ſuch publiſhed about 3 years before by the Obſervator on the Bills of Mortality in *England*, and where tho many are apt to think that the *Regiſtring* of the *Births* of People was firſt uſed and invented by *Cromwel*, in *Harry* the 8*ths* time; yet is the thing as old as the ancient times of the *Romans*, and among them introduced by *Servius Tullius*, who to aſcertain the number of Births and Burials, ordered that when a Child was born, the Kindred of the Child ſhould bring a piece of Money into the *Ærarium* of *Juno Lucina*, and ſo likewiſe in the Exchequer of *Venus libitina* when any died or came to Age. And this Cuſtom being quite aboliſhed, was revived by *Auguſtus Cæſar* at the Birth of Children as *Lipſ.* on *Tacit.* obſerves.

But what was worthy of the *French* King's providing for the ſtability of his Throne, he further ordered an exact *Regiſtry* to be took of the numbers of his half Subjects, I mean the *Regulars* and *Seculars* by the following *Articles* there, namely, the 15*th*, 16*th*, 17*th*, in that Title.

Mr. *Samuel Pepys* that Great Treaſurer of Naval and Maritime Knowledge, and of that great Variety of the Learning which we call *recondita eruditio*, having Communicated to me the ſight of a Paper mentioning that in the whole Number of Men in the Realm of *Spain*, long ſince when by ſecret Survey, there were returned a 11 *Hundred* and 25 *Thouſand* and 3 *Hundred* and 90 Men, (and which ſecret *Survey* I ſuppoſe was made ſome time before the Year 1588.) I obſerved that the number of the Regular and Secular Clergy was not included in that Survey.

But I think the numbring of the many Regulars there who (no doubt) ſo often ſay in their hearts, *Nos numerus ſumus*, &c. had been of as much importance to the Government, as the numbering of the Lay-men, and for the number of which the *Code Loüis* hath as aforeſaid ſo carefully provided, and thereby made the prudence of this *French* Kings *Code* outweigh *Juſtinian's*, and hath diſcovered to the World the acuteneſs of his underſtanding, to be not inferior to that of his Sword. And the Expences of the Crown being under the Government of this Monarch ſo very much greater than in his Fathers time, have neceſſarily occaſioned ſuch an exact knowledge of the Numbers and Wealth of his Realm, as hath provided him his ſtrong Sinews for War.

Thuanus on the *Year* 1615. tells us how that *Lewis* the 13th, *Having appointed ſome Perſons to compute his Expences and Receipts for the Year* 1614. *That one and twenty Millions and fifty thouſand Livres.* i. e. (at 20*d.* a Livre) *one Million*, 7 *Hundred*, 54 *Thouſand*, 66 *Pounds* Sterling, *were iſſued out of the Exchequer*, and that 17 *Millions* and 8 *Hundred Thouſand Livres*, i. e. 1 *Million*, 4 *Hundred*, 83 *Thouſand*, 3 *Hundred* 30 *Pounds* Sterling *were brought into it, and ſo his Expences then exceeded his Receipts three Millions ſeven Hundred Thouſand Livres:* i. e. 2 *Hundred* 70 *Thouſand* 8 *Hundred* 33 l. Sterling: and beſide thoſe *Receipts* and *Expences* the *Hiſtorian* ſaith, that *there were eighteen Millions of Livres Collected out of the Provinces* i. e. 1 *Million* 5 *Hundred* 8 *Thouſand* 3 *Hundred Thirty Three Pounds* Sterling, *and which were diſtributed in them for the Pay of the Officers there employed for other Expences there.* So that the Expences and Receipts of that Crown

ſince the Year 1614. were more then quadrupled in the Year 1673, of the which I mentioned the Total before and abſtracted the ſame from a Paper that ſome Merchants gave in to the Loyal long Parliament, wherein the particular Sums accruing from the reſpective *Generalities* in *France* are ſet down, as likewiſe others are in *Klockius de ærario* for another Year.

We have already found that it is not ſo many of our Peoples taking the name of this great and wiſe Monarch in vain, that will do our Buſineſs, or their wiſhing the Ocean of the Wealth of that Kingdom exhauſted that will do it; and 'tis now viſible to all that nothing can prevent its encreaſe but the ſtopping up the Rivers of Money that run into that Sea, from our Countries and others for the Commodities and Manufactures of that Kingdom, that can only produce that effect, and which not ſo much our hatred of *France*, as love of our ſelves will neceſſitate us to produce, and which therefore muſt ſtop up the Rivers of Contributions, that from deluded or Enthuſiaſtic People formerly ran into the Religion-Trade, and then the great Cry of *Templum Domini* get as little Wooll from the Kingdom as it hath brought to it, and the zeal of the very *Vox populi* drive ſuch *Buyers and Sellers and Money changers* out of it that formerly made it *a Den of Thieves:* and indeed if it ſhould be ſuppoſed that the Balance of ſolid Trade ſhould continue for the future to be againſt us, to the proportion it has been eſtimated of late years, neither *Papiſts* nor *Presbyterians* would be able to maintain a double Clergy as now they do, I mean their own, and that by Law eſtabliſhed.

'Tis freſh in Memory that the Houſe of *Commons*, in the Kings long Parliament, ordered the *Commiſſioners* of the *Cuſtoms* to compute for them what Goods went hence to *France* in a year, and their value, and what in that time came from thence hither and their value, and that they computed that the value of thoſe exported hence into *France* was about 1 *hundred* and 70 *thouſand* Pounds, and the value of thoſe imported here from *France* was about 1 *Million* and a half, beſide 6 or 7 *hundred thouſand Pounds* worth of Goods, they ſuppoſed were brought in by ſtealth as Silks, Embroyderies, &c. at which rate 'tis poſſible we may have about a 3*d* part of the Current Money of *England* yearly carried into it: and indeed all our grave Laws againſt ſending Money *in Specie* out of the Country when the Balance of Trade is againſt us, are but *hedging in the Cuckow:* and ſo we have by neceſſity of Nature the Proſpect of a buſie World before us, that we may recover that *Balance* on our ſide. And during that Conjuncture of *Buſineſs* all the Nerves of our Minds muſt be extended to prevent our doom, from that forementioned Sentence of late ſo much in *vogue*, and which I have heard ſome men living falſly vouch'd for the Authors of, *viz. Res nolunt malè adminiſtrari*; for it is in *Tully*, who I ſuppoſe had it from *Ariſtotle*, to whom *Venerable Bede* who died 949 years ago, refers in his *Axiomata Philoſophica* printed at *London* in 12°, as the Author of it in the Margint of that *Axiome*, *entia nolunt malè diſponi*, quoting *Ariſtotles Metaphyſicks.* Among *Bedes* works 2d *Tome p.* 151. the *Axiome* is thus worded, *Nolunt entia malè gubernari.* Men may ill Adminiſter their underſtandings, as by Credulity, Supineneſs and the like, and they may think by the Artifice of Laws to pinion the wings of our riches from flying away, and as abſurdly as *Sylla* would by an *Edict* be judged fair: but things meant by the word *entia* or *beings* will not be ill adminiſtred: and 'tis eaſier to fix Quick-ſilver then the *being* of our Silver here, if our importations preponderate. The gravity of our Laws can no more make it ſtay ſtill here than the *Vox populi*, and the Almanacks can make a real *Solſtice*, or the Sun at the time of the year they call the *Solſtice* not to move forward in the *Zodiack*, as much as at any other times.

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The *Being* of Money in a populous Country that hath no competent Mines in it, depends on the *Being* of Trade, and the *Being* of the ſo many Millions of Mouths in our Realm, will neceſſitate the Millions of hands to work, and the growing dearneſs of Proviſions, and cheapneſs of Wages will enforce men to work harder, and the *res parta labore* will not be ill adminiſtred, nor ſacrificed to Idlers, nor falſe Gods as formerly find true Perfumes here, nor Metaphyſical *Entities* or Notions rob men of uſeful Chymical *Eſſences*, or rob Kingdoms of their being defended, and enriched, by deſtroying the *Beings* or Lives of ſo many Men as Hereticks, and *Beings* that the Papacy endeavouring to adminiſter ill, and by its enſlaving men making *Perſonas res*, cauſed ſo many defections from it; nor that precious thing called time ſuffer it ſelf to be ill adminiſtred by Presbyterians erecting ten thouſand new *Tribunals*, or (as one may call them) Eccleſiaſtical Courts of *Pye-powder*, that is one in each of our Pariſhes, when as thoſe men have been heard to complain of the Grievances Trade hath found from one Court-Chriſtian in a Dioceſs: and the ſame neceſſity which did make our Manufacturing Peoples Appetite for their Daily Bread to be the *ingenii largitor*, or whet their Wits for the invention of Crape, may in all probability produce Manufactures of Hemp and Flax as conſiderable as that of Wooll hath been and is, which I think muſt naturally happen from the many *French* Proteſtants and others here lately planted, and a more important Linen Manufacture be here by them introduced, then was the woollen one ſet up by the *Dutch* Proteſtants, whom the *Duke* of *Alva*'s Perſecution brought hither: and which no *Act* of Parliament here or Projects of Work-houſes would probably have effected, or neceſſity elſe have brought in among us in ſome Ages. And hence will a great improvement of our Land and Employment of our People probably happen by the ſowing of Hemp and Flax, for which ſo much Money goes out yearly hence *in ſpecie*, and the deſign of ſowing which hath hitherto proved Abortive in ſeveral Parliaments, and particularly in one of the laſt Parliaments of Queen *Elizabeth*, and likewiſe in the King's long Parliament. Conſidering how eaſie it will be for thoſe of the *French* Nation who are here, and who were uſed to make Canvas and Sail-cloth for our Naval uſes, (and for which *France* hath long had ſo much Money from us) to make it here and by the Bait of the Gain thereby accruing, to engage ſeveral of our Poor to work in that Manufacture, our Nation is not likely to be long without it here advanced, and many of our People therein buſied: and 'twill eaſily appear neceſſary to all to promote the making the ſame here, who ſhall recollect that the *French* King in that laſt War with him did forbid the importing it hither. And that coarſer Manufacture once introduced will naturally make way for the Manufacture of fine Linen, and thoſe Manufactures found generally gainful will naturally employ the Proprietors of Land in ſowing great part of the ſame with Hemp and Flax, and our good Land hereby retriving its former value of years purchace, be no longer ill adminiſtred.

I believe therefore that if ſhortly the *Curious* abroad ſhall ſend to their knowing *Correſpondents* here for a Political *Map*, or *Scheme* of our Affairs, and ask what is become of the fantaſtick *Utopias*, *Oceanas*, and new *Atlantis's* that our late *Viſionaries* and idle *Santerers* to a pretended new *Jeruſalem* troubled *England* with, and ſhall further ſend hither to their friends that old Queſtion, *Quid rerum nunc geritur in Anglia*, The *Return* they will receive from *England* will be to the following effect, *viz. That People in that Noble and very Populous Country do there mind things, that the Trade* of words is ſpoiled, *that the buſineſs of ſowing Tares is over, and that*

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he will be the inimicus homo *to himself who doth it; that the ſowing the Wind of Errors in the Church, and the reaping the Whirl-wind of Confuſion in the State is grown hateful: that they have done weaving of* jus Divinum, *and dying of Religion with falſe Colours, and preparing Nets and Snares of death for one another:* and that the moſt ungovernable *Animals troubling others with Projects of Government of the Church is out of faſhion; that they have done there with Science falſly ſo called, and* quæ non habet amicum niſi ignorantem, *and with Trade falſly ſo called, the falſe Religion-one that hath no friend but the knave; that their eyes are there opened and they ſee, that* res accendunt lumina rebus, *and their hands are at work in Trade and Lucre without turpitude; that they can no more be brought* like St. *Francis* his Novice to ſet Plants with the head downward, *nor at the inſtigation of factious Heads of Religionary Parties, to do with their Notions as* Fryar *John* at his *Abbots* Command, did with a *dry withered ſtick which he planted, and twice a day for a whole year fetched water two Miles off to water it,* and omitting it no Feſtival day; *that they ſpeak more of* Chriſt and talk leſs of Anti-Chriſt, *and do promote Chriſtianity by ſolid Induſtry and Charity; and the living there are Aparrel'd with their own Linen as the Dead are with their own Wooll, and are grown ſo dexterous in the Linen Trade that it may be ſaid of them what* Klockius *doth of the* Dutch, *'tis to be doubted,* pluſne in lanificio an vero in linificio illi præſtent; *and thus by means* of a true and undefiled and laborious Religion *there,* Antichriſtus lino periit, *as I may ſay with Alluſion to a forementioned Phrophecy. The Genius and Intereſt that* England *hath in ſeveral Conjunctures been intent on devouring the Religion-Trade (and which ſtill hath ſlip'd from its ſeiſure) hath now at laſt effectually ſwallowed it up: and juſt as a Cormorant ſwallowing an Eel, and the Eel ſlipping out through its Body, is ſoon by that potent Creature again ſwallowed, and again ſlipping through its Body, is at laſt certainly macerated and diſſolv'd in its Stomach, and ſtill the Cormorant hath weakened the Eel in its paſſage through it, thus hath it in* England *fared with the* Religion-Trade: *that as* Luther *ſaid of one great point in Religion, it was* doctrina ſtantis & cadentis Eccleſiæ, *the Notion of the not getting or loſing by Religion there, is accounted the* Doctrina ſtantis & cadentis Reipublicæ. *That time hath laid ſo cloſe and long a Siege to the Popiſh and Presbyterian Religion-Trade, that as it was in the Siege of* Oſtend, *there is no more Earth left it to defend. That as Phyſicians obſerve of* ſuperfetation *in Women, if it be made with conſiderable intermiſſion, the latter moſt commonly proves Abortive, for that the firſt being confirmed engroſſeth the Aliment from the other, it hath happened ſo in* England *to the ſuperfetation of Reformation. That the Trade of Reformation unduely proſecuted by Art, hath been diverted by the Reformation of Trade reſulting from Nature, and the over ſpreading the Land with ſuch a great and uſeful* Linen-Trade *and Materials for the ſame, as hath in a manner exterminated Poverty from the ſame.*

And while now *Nature* ſeems to Court our Expectation with the probability of this new *Scheme* of Trade, and Manufacture, (and which perhaps will ſtay with us till the *Scheme or faſhion of this World ſhall finally paſs away*) I ſhall take occaſion to diſcharge my ſelf of a promiſe I long ago made to your Lordſhip, when you were Treaſurer of the Navy, which was to ſend you an account of the rough Hemp and Flax, and Sail-Cloth, and of all the other Manufactures of Hemp and Flax, imported into *England* yearly: and now that it may appear what quantities of *Hemp* and *Flax*, and the *Manufactures* thereof have been here imported, and from what Countries, and that thereby we may uſefully take our meaſures about the proportion, to which this new Trade and improvement of

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our Land ſhould at leaſt be advanced, and becauſe likewiſe the former meaſures of computing what *Sail-Cloth* and *fine* Linen have been here imported, were taken generally from blundering Eſtimates and random Calculations, and that we may ſee it poſſible, tho *France* hath got the ſtart of us in the Linen Manufacture, that we may yet overtake it in the Race, for that 'tis apparent tho much Sail-Cloth, yet little or no fine Linen hath thence come to us, I ſhall here entertain your Lordſhip with an *Account* of the *Linen-Cloth*, *Canvas*, *Linen Yarn*, *Hemp*, *Flax* and *Cordage* imported into the *Port* of *Landon*, from *Michaelmas* 1668. to *Michaelmas* 1669. which was drawn up for me by the favour of one of the late Farmers of the Cuſtoms. I happened to make choice of that year for the quantity of thoſe importations, as being a year of Peace, but was ſince told by the Merchants that that year being the ſecond after the Fire of *London*, there was then imported into *London* about a 3*d* part leſs of thoſe Commodities than was in common years; the which happened becauſe the year before being the next after the Fire, an extraordinary glut of thoſe Goods was then brought in.

Your Lordſhip thereby ſeeing what then came into the Port of *London*, will in effect ſee what came into the whole Kingdom, the *Out-Ports* bearing a proportion of a 3*d* to that of *London*: and by finding that we have ſo much Hemp from the *Eaſt Countries* now we are put to it to go to Market there with ready Money inſtead of our woollen Manufactures as formerly, (as we likewiſe do for our *Pitch* and *Tar*, and *Maſts*) find that we are more cloſely concerned in point of intereſt, to have our *Hemp* provided at home.

And it will appear high time for us to begin ſomewhat like a Linen Manufacture, when a running view of this Account preſents us with ſo great a quantity of old Sheets imported from *Holland* and *France* (tho perhaps deſigned by us for our *Plantations*) and of *Linen Yarn* and ſome *Linen* from *Scotland*: and ſince in that year by an Abſtract of the exportations of *Ireland* I have ſeen, that Country ſo long unſettled, had yet ſo much *Linnen Yarn* and *Linen Cloth* for its own uſe, that 522 pieces of *Linen Cloth* of 40 Ells in a Piece, and 4 *Thouſand* 6 *Hundred*, and 25 *Hundred* weight of Linen Yarn then were thence exported.

The *Account* I mentioned is as followeth, *viz.*

An Account of Linnen-Cloth, Canvas, Linnen-Yarn, Hemp, Flax, *and* Cordage, *Imported into the Port of* London *from* Michaelmas 1668, *to* Michaelmas 1669. *viz.*

Holland	Linnen Ells 764465.	Cambricks ps 7614.	Canv. with thred ps 1856.	Ditto with Silk ps 866.	*Holland* Duck C Ells 1047.	Packing Canvas C Ells 329.	Old Sheets pr 42890.	Linnen Yarn l 6880.	Steel Hemp C wt 1211.	Rough Hemp C wt 1325.	Rough Flax C wt 2731.	Cordage C wt 601.
Flanders	Linnen Ells 598349.	Cambricks ps 3601.	Damask tabling yds 1093.	Damask Napkin yds 2440.	Diaper tabling yds 4387.	Diaper Napkin yds 19974.	Linnen Yarn l. 5600.	Rough Hemp. C wt 1266.				
Germany	Broad *Germany* C Ells 11783.	Narrow *Germ.* C Ells 21172.	Packing Canvas C Ells 407.	Barras C Ells 3066.	Hinderlands C Ells 1910.	Sletia Diap. tabl. yds 16089.	Sletia Diap. napk. yds 76198.	Damask table yds 3148.	Damask Napkins yds 11437.	Sletia Lawnes ps 5505.	Linnen Yarn l. 353690.	Rough Hemp C wt 302.
France	Lockrams ps 23581.	Vitry Canvas C Ells 6265.	*Normandy* Canvas C Ells 3128.	Quintons ps 1433.	Died Linnen ps 557.	Diaper tabling yds 7604.	Diaper Napkins yds 33896.	Old Sheets pr 2810.	Poul Davies Bolts 50.	Cordage l 15.		
Eastland	Hinderlands C Ells 146.	Packing Canvas C Ells 2491.	*Polonia* Linnen C Ells 271.	*Quinsbr.* Canvas Bolts 1899.	Poul Davies Bolts 90.	Linnen Yarn l 9700.	Rough Hemp. C wt 27251.	Rough Flax C wt 5720.				
Russia	*Muscovia* Linnen C Ells 256.	Linnen Yarn l 3600.	Rough Hemp C wt 237.	Cordage C wt 30.								
Scotland	Linnen C Ells 1420.	Linnen Yarn l 23680.										
East-Indies	Callicoes ps 251986.											

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That little ſowing of Hemp and Flax here that hath been, hath already met with as much encouragement as this comes to, namely, that 'tis all bought up by the years end: and in our way to the Manufactures of Hemp, the above Account doth ſo far encourage us as to let us ſee that almoſt all our Cordage is made in *England*; and ſince by ſome Accounts I have ſeen of the Importations in *Amſterdam*, almoſt as much Hemp and Flax is there brought in yearly as into the whole Kingdom of *England*, the neceſſity that will be driving us on to the Linen Manufacture, will be accompanied with this comfortable Conſideration, that as 'tis poſſible for us to overtake *France* therein, ſo we may *Holland* (at leaſt in the making of Sail-Cloth) in regard we may if we will have as much Hemp and Flax growing in our own Soil as they ſend for to *Riga* and elſewhere abroad.

The *French* Proteſtants at *Ipſwich* have lately made finer Linen than ever was made in *England*, namely, of 15*s*. the *Ell*: and for which tho they had their Linen Yarn from *France*, yet afterward they ſowed Flax near *Ipſwich* whereof to make Yarn, and it was obſerved to grow ſo high, that the People reſorted from all parts adjacent of the Country to ſee it, they having never ſeen any ſo high before.

A Judgment ſo penetrating as your Lordſhips will eaſily find how the ſaid *Account* may be many ways uſeful to the publick in point of Trade, as for example, the Conſideration is obvious that thoſe Countries we receive no Hemp or Flax or their Manufactures from, we may profitably in the way of Traffick hereafter carry them to, and by that means know our proper Markets, as particularly *Spain*, *Italy*, *Portugal*, &c.

That great *Bankrupſy* in *London* that hath thence like a Plague infected ſo many of our Country Traders, and laid there too ſo much Land in ſome ſort deſolate, will by natural neceſſity oblige them to countenance this improvement of the Realm by new Commodities and Manufactures: and that which hath in many of our poor *Idlers*, Created ſuch an Averſion from the ſowing of *Hemp* and *Flax*, namely, the toyle of beating the ſame, will ſoon ceaſe by the acquainting them with the Invention of a *Mill* near a Rivolet by which as much Hemp may be beaten in a day as can be by two hundred men: and they who have been inceſſant in complaining of others being *French* Penſioners, and thought themſelves ſlighted becauſe they were not ſo, ſhall by the Proteſtants of that Nation thus leading us by the hand to a rich Manufacture, find *France* to have thus ſent Donatives to our whole Land. And from the example of their innate Loyalty to their Hereditary Monarch, and thankfulneſs to ours for their protection, I doubt not but many of our Male-contents will imbibe principles of obedience to Government and a ſenſe of their ſafety under that *Aſylum*: and ſuch perſons whatever their pretenſions are, will deſerve ill of the Kingdom and its Trade and Manufacture, who by their exceſſive Complaints of the danger of Popery and of the *Fantome* of that pretended Religion frighting us out of our Laws, ſhall really deter more ſuch Proteſtant Strangers from planting among us. But as men may be ſaid to be deterred by ſhame from fearing any thing in throngs, and where they are ſecure from robbery, and can ſuffer only by *petty Larceny*, ſo I believe will this populous State of our Country inſenſibly wear off the exceſs of our fears; and do expect ſuch a future State in *England* as will make men aſhamed of their paſt fears, and their former deference to ill boding *Prophets*.

Gaſſendus in his *Works* tells us, that *all the Aſtrologers of* France *concluded, that by reaſon of the great Conjunction of watry ſigns in* Piſcis *and* Aquarius

in the Year 1524, *that there ſhould then be another deluge in that Realm, and in* Germany, *in the Month of* February, *a rainy Month, and that many of the People thereupon went with their Goods and Cattel from the Low Lands to the hilly Country, and yet that Month proved the dri-ſt Month that ever was known:* and thus do I expect that many of our Melancholy Prophets in *England* will be *toto cælo*, miſtaken in their auguries. And if natural Conſiderations did not induce me thus to foretel good to my Country, another Conſideration might tempt me to predict ill, namely, the warding off all the riſque of a falſe Prophet: for among the *Jews* if a man propheſied of future ill to a Perſon or State, and it came not to paſs, he was not therefore pronounced a falſe Prophet, by reaſon of the infinite goodneſs often inclining the Divine Nature to avert its threatned Anger; but if he Propheſied of good Succeſs, and it happened not, he was then reputed a falſe Prophet, for that (*they ſaid*) Heaven never cancelled a Decree of Mercy.

Conſidering how often things at random predicted have come to paſs, and tho like Seeds careleſsly thrown into the Field of Time have yet grown up, and how many even of the higher *Claſs* of underſtandings, have been tempted to believe the predictions of the illiterate, and that ſuch could read the Book of Fate who yet could read no other (as appeared by Sir *Thomas Moore* and Biſhop *Fiſher* being tainted with ſome belief of the *holy Maid* of *Kent*'s Sayings, or at leaſt ſeeming ſo to be) and that the prediction of things as I partly before hinted may help as a Natural Cauſe to give them Birth, I wiſhing ſo well to my Country and its Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed, have however adventured from Natural Cauſes to give my judgment for the future State thereof as I have done, not deſpairing of its influences on ſome preſent Deſpairers.

And moreover the *Claſs* of *Magna nomina*, who have faulter'd in their meaſures of *Prophecy*, is ſo great that an obſcure miſtaken perſon may well hope to hide himſelf among them.

Father *Parſons* alias *Doleman*, in his *Book* of the *Succeſſion*, doth *p.* 258. give his final Conjecture of the great future Event of the Succeſſion after the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, ſaying, *My opinion is that this Affair cannot poſſibly be ended by any poſſibility moral without ſome War at leaſtwiſe for ſometime at the beginning*, and gives his reaſons for that his opinion. And how all our hot Apocalyptick Men and *Teazers* of *Anti-Chriſt* have erred in the times of the great Changes they have predicted in the World, is obvious: and therefore the moſt ſagacious of that ſort of *Expoſitors*, have made the things they have foretold to be far diſtant in time, and before which they knew they ſhould long be in the number of *Non entes doctores*, as one calls the *Schoolmen*: and thus likewiſe the ingenious *Author* of the *Treatiſe of Taxes and Contributions*, printed in *London* 1667, doth *p.* 23. ſay, that *Before five hundred years we may be all tranſplanted from hence into* America, *theſe Countries being over-run with Turks and made waſt as the Seats of the famous Eaſtern Empires at this day.*

Mr. *Herbert*, our pious *Vates*, made Religion ſtanding a *tiptoe* to take its flight thither many years ago. And the ingenious *Author* of the *Zelanders Choice* hath therein told us that the *French* would never part with *Utrecht*, and that our King's *Declaration* of *Indulgence* would never be recalled; but the contrary happened in both Caſes, and the *Vote* of the *Houſe of Commons* in order to his Majeſties recalling the latter, was carried by the Party there favouring the Nonconformiſts, and could not have been without them, which that Author did not foreſee, and that thoſe Nonconformiſts would be well neither full nor faſting, and therefore their reflections on the King's

Miniſters

Miniſters for denying Indu'gence to them ſince, ought to be very gentle.

Mr. *Fox* in his *Martyrology* in one *Volume* p. 694. gives us this conjectural prediction that the Turk will ſeize *Rome*, and founds one of his reaſons for it on the 18 *Ch.* of the *Rev.* and that he ſhall conſume it with fire, and *Ribera* the *Jeſuite* in *Chap.* 14th of the *Rev.* ſaith, *Romam igitur non tantum propter priora peccata conflagratarum eſſe magno incendio, ſed etiam propter illa quæ extremis illis temporibus commiſſura eſt ex hujus Apocalypſis verbis adeo perſpicue cognoſcimus, ut ne ſtultiſſimus quidem negare poſſit.* Neither Mr. *Fox* nor the *Jeſuite* name any particular time when *Rome* ſhall be conſumed with Fire: but many whoſe Enthuſiaſtic fancies have played with the fire of *Rome*, adventured to lay the Scene of its ruine in the *Year* 1666: and to aſſert this, a Latin *Book* was profeſſedly writ and called, *Romæ ruina finalis Anno Dom.* 1666. and printed in *London* in the *Year* 1663. in the Title whereof 'tis ſaid, that *Rome* ſhall be *incendio delenda*, in the *Year* 1666.

And no doubt our many Prophetic Writers that read that Sentence as from Gods Tribunal, that *Rome* ſhall be deſtroyed that year, angered the *Conclave* there; and they might well think that to ſuch hot heads there belonged incendiary hands; and accordingly as it was before cited out of the Pamphlet called, *The Arts and pernicious deſigns of* Rome, *wherein is ſhewn what are the Aims of the Jeſuites*, &c. the Author makes *the Conflagration of* London *(in caſe it were a practice of Humane Contrivance) to have been cauſed by* Rome *and the Conſiſtory there, and the Jeſuites as being willing to ſignalize that year of* 666, *with ſome remarkable miſchief done to Proteſtants in check to the fancies of ſome that predicted* Romes *utter deſtruction then*, 'tis poſſible that they might grant againſt our City the *repriſal* of performances for our Prophecies againſt theirs: which if they did was a Revenge very diſproportionate; for according to that rule of the *Phariſees revenge*, namely, an *Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth*, they ſhould only have equipped Airy Prophecies againſt us, and not Fire-ſhips, and by a little obvious Art have hounded the *number of the Beaſt* 666 upon us. And though I am ſufficiently convinced by the Quotations out of the *Canon* Law, and the *Canoniſts* referred to in *Gundiſſalvus* that the *Tenet* of *burning whole Cities if the Majority thereof are Hereticks, is chargeable* on the Church of *Rome* as *approved* by it, and tho the Lord *Chancellor* and two Houſes of *Commons*, and the Magiſtrates of *London* have given their judgment of the Cauſers of that Fire as aforeſaid, and tho one of our great *Divines* and whoſe *Name* all Proteſtants in our Land muſt mention with great honour, Dr. *William Lloyd* Dean of *Bangir*, hath in his *Funeral Sermon* of Sir *Edmund Godfrey* p. 38. ſpeaking of the *incredible patience found in the Citizens of* London *at the time of its Conflagration, as an effect of the Proteſtant Religion*, further ſaid, *Tho ſo many believed and very few much doubted whence it came, that it was from the ſame hands which we juſtly ſuſpect for this wickedneſs* (meaning the Murder of Sir *Edmund Godfrey*) *yet was there no Tumult roſe upon it, no violence done that extended to the life of any Perſon*, yet ſhall I never without the knowledge of convincing proofs of ſuch a Fact projected, or modelled by ſome in Authority in the Church of *Rome*, and the Spiritual Guides of our Lay-Papiſts, charge the *Odium* of the Fact on more of them than make the leaſt of numbers, nor yet the allowance of this *Tenet* on the generality of Papiſts here at home, or abroad in the World, and would ſay that as *infallible* as the *Pope* was, *he knew not what ſpirit he was of*, when he thus in his Law called for *fire* on Heretical *Cities*; I allude to our *Saviour's* words to the Diſciples that importun'd

importun'd him to call for Fire from Heaven to burn the *Samaritans*.

I know the *Roman* Catholick Author of the forementioned Pamphlet, called the *Arts of Rome*, &c. in the *Epiſtle* of it, ſaith of the Jeſuites and Fryars, that *what they hold lawful to be done, they may be juſtly preſumed to do whenſoever opportunity ſerves, and that they ſee it conducible to their Intereſt to do it.* Thus likewiſe *Judges* of Eccleſiaſtical *Courts* when the conſideration of the Nullity of a Marriage by reaſon of *fear* reſulting from *threatnings* is before them, do carefully regard this point concerning the *Menacer*, *an ſolitus eſt minas exequi*, a thing the *Jeſuites* have not been wanting to do, when Power and Opportunity have not been wanting: and there is no doubt but the *Jeſuites* by reaſon of their 4th *Vow* to the Pope, over and above the Implicit Obedience they have ſworn to their Superiors, are to execute whatever he ſhall command: nor is it doubtable but that when it is ſaid by the *Canoniſts* that the Pope hath power to burn Heretical Cities, he will reduce that Power into Act when he ſees convenient; and as Dr. *Donne* in his *Pſeudo Martyr* well notes, *the Lawyers teach us that the word* poteſt *doth often ſignifie* actum: for which he quotes *Bartolus* on the *Digeſts*.

I believe the truth of his *Computation* where he ſaith in *p.* 228 of that *Book*, *That the Jeſuites are in poſſeſſion of moſt of the Papiſts hearts in* England, but I likewiſe believe his other *Computation* in that *Book*, where in *p.* 127. he ſaith, quoting *Rebadenira*, *that in the Year* 1608. *the whole number of the Society of the Jeſuites were* 10581. and that tho their number is much encreaſed ſince, there are not ſo many in *England* as were when the Book was printed, *viz. Anno* 1610. and the *Dr.* whoſe *Style* was as the *Oxford Antiquities* ſay of Mr. *Foxes*, *in Romanenſes ſatis acerbus*, (tho I think neither of their Styles was ſo a jot too much) doth in *Chap.* 10th of that *Book*, very learnedly and largely ſhew that many Eminent and Popiſh Writers have bitterly inveighed againſt *Gratian* the *Compiler* of the *Decretum* of the *Canon Law*.

No doubt that Law was never *in groſs* received in *England*, in the times of our Popiſh Anceſtors, and ſo neither did nor doth bind *Engliſh* Papiſts in the Court of Conſcience, more than the Council of *Trent* doth in ſome Popiſh Countries where it never was received: and I find *Bellarmine* cited by the *Dr.* for ſaying, that *there are many things in the Decretal Epiſtles which do not make a matter to be* de fide, *but only do declare what the opinions of the Popes were in ſuch caſes*.

I believe that no *un-jeſuited* Papiſt (nor perhaps ſome ſober Party in that Order) will think the worſe of me for calling the *Decretum* of the Popes Canon Law, by reaſon of its empowering him thus to burn Cities, *horrendum Decretum*: and it may perhaps appear ridiculous as well as horrid in the Pope in that Law, to rake in the Aſhes of ſweet St. *Cyprian* for fire to burn Heretical Towns, and to make him, who was in a manner Excommunicated by the Pope for rebaptizing ſuch as were baptized by Hereticks, to be the Founder of that wild *Tenet* of converting guiltleſs Lime, and Brick and Timber to rubbiſh, becauſe they had afforded dwelling places to People, that differed in judgment from *Rome*: and to make him, who in the *Year* 258. was a Martyr for not being an *Idolater*, to be the Author of burning Cities, that would not adore the Hoſt.

But moreover it may be ſaid that in the *Decrets* made by the *Pope* to *Ape* the *Pandects*, and to conſiſt chiefly of *Canons* of *Councils*, ſayings of *Fathers*, and *Conſtitutions* of *Popes* as the *Pandects* do of the *reſponſa prudentum*, &c. *Gratian*'s founding a Tenet on *Cyprian*, or any places out of other

Authors,

Authors, giveth it only the weight that *Cyprian* and they had in their proper works: and the Stream of Authority from their Writings in *Gratian* is not to be ſuppoſed able to riſe higher than the Spring: and thus the *Canoniſts* agree on this as a Rule, that the things quoted in *Gratian*, *Vim legis habent quatenus reperiuntur illic unde depromptæ ſunt*: and they tell us, that if any things that are ſaid to be *impia, hiulca, barbara, ſine ratione, falſa fideique Hiſtoricæ adverſa*, are found there, they are to be paſſed by as *Gratian Dreams*, *ut nec confirmatio Pontificum generalis ad ea ſeſe extendere poſſit*. And on this Account his *Gloſſographer Andreas*, himſelf doth often turn his *gloſs* into an Animadverſion on his *Maſter* (for that name he beſtows on *Gratian*) and ſaith ſometimes, *Magiſter hic non tenetur* (meaning *Obſervatur*) and ſometimes *Superficialis eſt magiſtri argumentatio*, and elſewhere with a ſtrain of *Ruffianiſm*, *fateor te plane mentitum Gratiane*.

And if any one will read *Pere Veron's* Book of *the Rule of Catholick Faith*, Dedicated to the *Lords of the Aſſembly general of the Clergy ſitting at* Paris *in the Year* 1645. he will find, he ſaith, *as for* Gratian's *Decrees, and the Gloſs, they can claim nothing of Faith, the Author being a particular Doctor and Subject to many miſtakes even in the Citation of Authors, nor doth he pretend to any ſuch thing: much leſs weight hath the Gloſs than the Decrees, where many ſilly and ridiculous paſſages are diſcovered. As for the Papal Decrees contained in the body of the Canon Law, or publiſhed ſince, none of them do conſtitute an Article of Faith*, &c. Bellarmine *makes no difficulty to acknowledge Errors in ſeveral of them: as for example, where the* Canon *out of* Gratian *is objected*, quod propoſuiſti, *extracted out of* Gregory *the* 3d, *where 'tis ſaid, that if a Woman ſhould be ſick and by that means unable to render her duty to her Husband, the Husband if he have not the gift of continency may take another Wife: he replys thus, that the Pope failed through ignorance, which we do not deny may happen to Popes, when they do not properly define but only declare their opinions, as* Gregory *ſeems here to have done*.

And no doubt but every *Papiſt* laughs at the *definition* of a *Whore* in the *Decrets*, i.e. *Quæ multorum libidini patet*, and at the *gloſs* there making by *multorum* to be meant 23000.

My Lord, I diſcourſed frankly of all theſe laſt mentioned matters to my *Roman* Catholick Friend, who (I ſaid) would joyn Iſſue in the Plea about Religion, if the Pope's Power of firing Heretical Cities, were a Tenet chargeable on the Church of *Rome*, and have perhaps ſaid as much to throw off the Obligation on any *Papiſts* to obey the Pope or his *Canon* Law, in the infliction of ſuch dire Vengeance on whole Cities, as they would wiſh ſaid, and do think my ſelf indiſpenſably obliged when I diſcourſe with any of Mankind about any *Quæſitum* relating to natural truth, and much more to Theological, with all poſſible candour to ſay what the matter will fairly bear on both ſides, as accounting any mans Judgment given *ex parte* to be of little or no value, and eſteeming him a *falſarius*, who conceals any thing of truth.

But this Gentleman being a cloſe purſuer of truth told me, he knew well enough that the *Canon* Law did not as ſuch bind all Papiſts *in foro conſcientiæ*, but he would ſtay in no Church that he ſhould find to be built in any *Akeldama*, or Field of Blood, that is, a Church that approved of *Tenets* deſtructive of Civil Societies, or condemned not *Tenets* that where any other Religion than the Popes was, would Condemn men like *Nebuchadnezor* to graſing and to ſolitude, or if they would live in Towns or Cities, make them live there in Houſes under Ground, as Dr. *Browne* in his *Travels* ſaith, *He ſaw ſome Towns in the* Turkiſh *Dominions where Chriſtians ſo lived*

like the Troglodytes, *and ſubterraneous Nations about* Egypt, and which might be occaſioned by many Armies marching that way and burning of Towns *en paſſant*; and that till the Pope diſclaimed this power, and damned ſuch *Tenet* in his *Canon* Law, that hung up there a Light conſpicuous to the World, for the lawful kindling of the Torches that ſhould ſet fire to Heretical Cities, ſuch Cities as he called Heretical would be in fear of their being *incendio delendæ*; and that in the mean time the *Jeſuites*, who aſſert the plenitude of his power, would implicitly obey his Commands, and their Emiſſaries execute theirs, without conſidering whether *Gratian* as a Fool, or a Knave miſapplied *Cyprian*: and he granted that if, as an Univerſal *Cenſor morum*, the Pope did Command the *Jeſuites* or others to inflict ſpiritual Cenſures in Caſes of Sin, or Non-belief of any Religionary Notion, and thoſe Cenſures were not to operate beyond the Soul, that Civil Societies might yet be maintained; but to give the Pope power to iſſue out Orders to burn the Cities and Towns, where the *Roman* Catholick Religion is not profeſſed, is (ſaid he,) to give him Arbitrary Power over a great part of the World, and to leave it to his Arbitrage, whether there ſhall be any Political Government and Commerce in the States and Kingdoms of Hereticks, and the World might ſuffer Confuſion by the Papacy's having this power *de facto*, as much as if it had it *de jure*, and that ſeveral places have been burned as Heretical, and when certainly they had a *right* not to be ſo ſerved, and particularly the Heretical *Villages* at the *Maſſacre* of *Merindol*, of which Dr. *Heylin* in his *Geography* in *Folio*, makes mention, ſaying, that in the Year 1560. *there were above* 1250 *Churches of the Hugonots in* France, *which cannot in ſuch a long time but be wonderfully augmented, tho ſcarce any of them have ſcaped ſome Maſſacre or other. Of theſe Maſſacres two are moſt memorable*, viz. *that of* Merindol *and* Chabiers, *as being the firſt, and that of* Paris *as being the greateſt. That of* Merindol *happened in the Year* 1545. *the inſtrument of it being* Minier, *the Preſident of the Council of* Aix: *for having Condemned thoſe poor people of* Hereſy, *he muſtered a ſmall Army and ſet fire on the Villages.* He directed me further for the proof of that Fact to *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, *Book* 2*d*, where he mentions the *Decree* of the Parliament of *Aix* to which *Heylin* refers, and ſaith *Maimbourg* of it, *Par le quel il Condamn' par Contumace dix neuf de Ces Heretiques à eſtre braſlez*, &c. *ordonne que toutes les Maiſons de* Merindol *qui ſont toutes remplies de Ces Heretiques ſoient entierement démolies, & renverſes de fond en comble*, &c.

He further ſaid, that there was another gueſs Fire projected by the Jeſuites, as was before mentioned out of *Thuanus*, and which was abetted by the Pope, which ſhewed there was another Pope beſide *Eugenius*, that thought the burning of Heretical Cities lawful and meritorious: and he referred it to the Conſideration of the Criticks in *Gun-powder*, how far ſo great a quantity of it lodged in a ſtrait Vault, might have tended to the demoliſhing of the Heretical Cities of *Weſtminſter* and even of *London*, if the experiment of the Gun-powder Treaſon had took effect, for ſaid he, the utmoſt power of Gun-powder was never yet tryed. He told me that *Osborn* in his King *James*, having ſpoke of the *Gun-powder Treaſon* ſaith, *I never met two of the like conceit concerning any effect or extent, this Powder might have reached had it not failed of ſucceſs: ſome men confining it to the Circle it lay in and no farther: whereas the judgment of others no leſs experienced, delivered at leaſt the whole Iſle to the fury of it:* and then he quotes it as the more probable Conjecture, then *that it could not but work dire effects on the City it ſelf.*

He

He further diſcourſed that in this Caſe, of ſecuring Proteſtant Cities from Fire at the Popes pleaſure, *Pere Veron's* artifice in making the Church of *Rome*, chargeable with nothing to be believed but *what is propoſed by the Catholick Church in her general Councils, or by her Univerſal Practice to be believed, as an Article or Doctrine of Catholick Faith*, or any Papiſts in this Caſe joyning with Proteſtants to decry the Canon Law, is but trifling away time, as to any giving light to our underſtandings or keeping Fire from our Cities: for if each Pope *believes* he hath this power, and the Jeſuites too *believe* it, the *Notion* of a things not being *de fide*, will not be ſufficient to ſave our Cities, when the Incendiaries even by the Doctrine of *probability* may ſave their Souls, and when they ſhall have ſuch Doctors as the Pope and *Gratian* and (as they may think) *Cyprian* for the opinion of burning the Neſts of Heretical Hornets.

He moreover mentioned how *Bellarmine as to the Tenet of all Chriſtian Monarchies owing ſubjection to the* Pope, *ſaid, the contrary to it is Heretical*, tho he well knew that no *definition* of the Church ever made it *Hereſy*, and might as well have called the denial of this Incendiary Power of the Pope againſt Heretical Cities, to be Hereſy.

Moreover he told me he had read *Bellarmine* cited in that *Book* of *Donne* p. 277. for writing againſt a *Doctor*, who had defended the *Venetian* Cauſe againſt the Popes Cenſures, and reprimanding that *Doctor* in theſe words, viz. *It is a grievous raſhneſs not to be left unpuniſhed, that he ſhould ſay the Canons as being but Humane Laws cannot have equal Authority with divine: for this is a Contempt of the Canons, as tho they were not made by the direction of the Holy Ghoſt:* and yet ſaith *Donne*, citing that *Doctor* that impugned the *Canons*, thoſe *Canons* that he referred to were but *two*, and cited but by *Gratian*. And that *Donne* further in that Page obſerved, that *when* Parſons *is to make his advantage of any Sentence in* Gratian, *he uſes to dignify it thus, that it is tranſlated by the* Popes *into the Corps of the Canon Law, and ſo not only allowed and admitted and approved but commended and commanded, canonized and determined for* Canonical *Law, and authorized and ſet forth for Sacred and Authentical by all* Popes *whatſoever*. Treat. *of* Mitag. ca. 7. R. 42.

That moreover tho we know that neither the *Decrets* nor *Decretals*, were ever *as ſuch* received as Law in *England*, yet the Pope and Jeſuites ſaying that they ought ſo to have been, and that they were and are obligatory upon us, it will follow that by reaſon of an unlucky Proverb of *Ben Syrah*, *Quantulus ignis quantam materiam accendit*, and which is uſed by the Apoſtle St. *James* ſaying, *Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth*, and for that there are ſome little People ready to apply that little fire, when the Pope or Jeſuites would have them, the *Majority* of the Papiſts here, being Jeſuited (as was obſerved) and that part of them not being of the *Gentry*, would not be byaſſed by generous education and temper againſt the Commands of the mercenary Pope or Jeſuites, and for that even in the Jeſuited Gentry here, there were Bigots found to plot and to prepare to execute the *Gun-powder Treaſon*, it is apparent that the Pope may if he will be very troubleſome to our Cities with his Writ *de Civitate comburendâ*, and that he or the Jeſuites can command numbers of inſtruments to execute that his *Writ* (as I may call it) who will think that therein that they do as lawful an Act, as if the *four* firſt General *Councils* had expreſly warranted the ſame.

He ſaid that the Popes *Decrets* and *Decretals* are in ſeveral Popiſh Countries ſo much regarded, that to encourage men to ſtudy the ſame, *Academick* Degrees are conferred, namely, of *Doctores decretorum*, and *Doctores decretalium*.

tum. That in *France* where the *Canon Law* was never *in groſs* received; as *Minier* the *Preſident* of the *Council* of *Aix* did ſet fire on the Heretical Villages as ſuch, ſo he hath heard that *Boerius* an eminent Lawyer of *France*, and Preſident of a Parliament there, and who has publiſhed a Volume of *Deciſions*, hath in *Tractatu de ſeditioſis* aſſerted this *Tenet* of the Pope's power to burn Heretical Cities. That the Chriſtians of old when they groaned under the heavieſt weight of the Pagan Perſecution, abhorred this revenge againſt their idolatrous Enemies, as appeared by *Tertullian's Apology*, and their ſenſe of the eaſe with which this revenge might have been executed, *Quando vel una nox pauculis faculis largitatem ultionis poſſet operari, ſi malum malo diſpungi penes nos liceret, ſed abſit ut aut igni humano vindicetur Divina ſecta*, i. e. *One night with a few Fire-brands would yield us ſufficient Revenge, if it were lawful for us to diſcount evil with evil: but God forbid that the followers of the Divine Religion ſhould either revenge themſelves with Humane Fire*, &c. That the very *Heathens* of old accounted there was *turpitude* in promoting not only their own profit, but that of their Country, in firing the Fleet of proclaimed Enemies; as appeared in *Athens* when *Themiſtocles* by order from the *Senate*, had privately Communicated to *Ariſtides* how he could deſtroy the *Lacedemonians* by privately burning their Fleet, and *Ariſtides* had reported to the *Senate* that the project of *Themiſtocles* communicated to him was *profitable* for the State, but was not *honeſt*, they unanimouſly reſolved againſt hearing it (as *Tully* tells us in his *Offices*) and much leſs would they have *deliberated* of its *turpitude*. That the *Athenians* in the time of open War with King *Philip*, and when their Prieſts offering their moſt ſolemn religious Sacrifices to the Gods for the proſperity of their Country, did *Philippum liberos, terreſtres navaléſq; copias atq; omnem Macedoniam exitiali carmine & diris imprecationibus deteſtari*, yet intercepting ſome Letters writ by him, they returned them to him unopen'd.

That the Pope and his *Trent* Council having never diſown'd this power, nor branded this Canon, nor yet by any *index expurgatorius*, damned the Writings of *Gratian*, or *Gundiſſalvus* or the Famous *Canoniſts* by him cited for this opinion, it was plain that they might therefore be ſaid to approve of the ſame, that *Qui non prohibet cum poteſt jubet.*

That the *Trent* Council had gone far in the Confirmation of the Canon Law; and that the ſaying uſed by the Fathers in that *Council*, was here applicable, viz. *Omnia noſtra facimus, quibus authoritatem noſtram impertimur.*

In fine, he ſaying that every one ought to withdraw from a Church while it in effect approved Doctrines in the Faith erroneous, and in practice impious, and asking me if ſome of the Great Writers of the Church of *England*, as namely, Biſhop *Jewel*, Biſhop *Andrews*, Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, Biſhop *Sanderſon*, or any of them had induſtriouſly publiſhed it in Print, that we might lawfully employ Emiſſaries to burn *Rome*, or any City where all or the Majority were Papiſts, and that ſuch Writing of theirs was never cenſured by Authority, and impugned by any of our Divines, tho yet by occaſion thereof no Anti-Papiſts had ever been the Incendiaries of Popiſh Cities, I would not however withdraw from the Communion of the Church of *England*, till I ſaw ſuch *Tenet* of thoſe *Divines* publickly branded, and till ſuch Writing had received the uſage that the *Canon Law* had from *Luther*, when he caſt it into the Flames; I plainly told him that I would: and the like he ſaid he was inclined to as to Communion with the Church of *Rome*, if he found that the Fact of that fiery *Tenet* againſt Heretical Cities, was chargeable on the Pope in his

his Law and in the Writers thereupon as aforesaid. And as little Credit as I wish all *Mushroom* Prophets and Prophecies may find, I am of opinion, if ever any clear discovery should happen in time to be made of that Fires having proceeded from the Councils of great numbers of *Jesuites*, *Friars*, or other *Papists*, (a thing I never Expect) that Popery would thereby be loaded with such a lasting general *Odium* here and in Forraign Countries both Popish and Protestant, as it would hardly breath under the weight of, and the *Prophets* of the effects of the *Year* 1666, would cry that their *predictions* did hit right, and boldly say to us their upbraiders, that 66 in its effects is not yet past, just like the *Sooth-sayer* who being rallied by *Cæsar* going to the Senate-House, and saying, *the Ides of* March *were come*, replied to him, that *they were not passed.*

There is another happy effect, I expect from the grown and growing numbers of our populous Nation, and all mens errors, being necessarily the more visible to each other by their close Vicinage, namely, that men will be ashamed to aggravate the supposed Political Errors of the Ministers of our Princes as formerly, and much more not to take it patiently when their Princes pardon them.

How shameful a thing was it that the Kings *Pardon* was not allowed as good, by the *Lords and Commons* to Arch-Bishop *Laud*, when nothing but that could save them from the danger of the Laws, for taking away any mans life by Ordinance of Parliament.

But so sharp and perfect a hater is your *Lordship* of all Cruel and Arbitrary Practices, that I think I have heard you say, that you have often wondered why none ever moved in the House of Lords, that the Proceedings there against Arch-Bishop *Laud* might be took out of their *Journal*, as well as those against the Earl of *Strafford* were, which was to me an Indication that you would have consented to such a Motion.

Mr. *Fox* in his *Book* of *Martyrs* in one *Volume*, p. 1085. in *the Story of the life and death of the Lord* Cromwel (*who was Vice-Gerent to* Harry *the* 8th, *for Ecclesiastical Affairs*) brings many instances of the cruel injustice by Acts of *Attainder*, that many Great and Excellent Men suffered: and hath these words in the Margent, *Examples of men falsly Accused and Judged*, and saith in that p. *Not that I here speak or mean against the High Courts of Parliament of this our Realm*, &c. *to whom I always attribute their due Reverence and Authority: but as it happens sometimes in General Councils, which tho they be never so general, yet sometimes they may and do erre, so they that say Princes and Parliaments may be misinformed sometimes by some Sinister Heads in matters Civil and Politick, do not therein derogate or impair the High Estate of Parliaments, but rather give wholesome Admonitions to Princes and Parliament Men, to be more Circumspect and Vigilant what Council they shall admit, and what Witnesses they do Credit.*

This passage out of our pious *Martyrologer* makes me with a just Compassion to the Merits of several Illustrious Persons, to call to mind the severity of the *Votes* of a Loyal Parliament against them.

It was with great precaution and solemnity, that the *Athenian* Wisdom fastened the name of *Enemy* on any one; and of which the frequent imposition and on slight occasions, and on persons not known to have done any Act of *Hostility* to the Kingdom, would make the word lose the *Odium* of its signification, as many Words and Phrases have done, and to import no more stated hatred or enmity in any man to his Country, than do the expressions of Course put into *Writs* of *Prohibition*, or *Mandamuses*, to our *Bishops* and their *Officials*, viz. *Of intending our distherison, or machinating against our Crown and Dignity*; meant

any thing of Treaſon in them which yet the words ſo expreſly import.

Tully tells us in his *Offices*, that the Original uſe of the Word *Hoſtis*, for one who was *perduellis*, came from the lenity of the *Romans*: *hoſtis enim* (ſaith he) *apud majores noſtros is dicebatur quem nunc peregrinum dicimus*: and according to this acception of the Word *Enemy* for *Stranger*, I ſhall venture to ſay that I think they were *Strangers* to the *Earl* of *Halliſax*, and perſons misinform'd (as Mr. *Fox* his Expreſſion was) who in the late Loyal *Houſe of Commons* did think him to be *hoſtis patriæ*, and whom they who know him, do know likewiſe to bear no Enmity to any part of the Creation of God, and to be one that is ſo far from any inclination to injure his Country for his Prince, that either or his Prince or his Country he would not injure the moſt abject Member of Mankind.

How ſhamefully void of ſenſe have I obſerved ſome few querulous people here to be, who have profeſſed to doubt that a very honourable man hath of late remitted ſomewhat of his fervour, in the defence of our Religion and Laws, who hath ſo long on every occaſion in every place been ſuch an unwearied *Agoniſt* for both, and one who would not fear to be an *Athanaſius contra mundum*, whenever he ſhould in his Province be lawfully called to be its *Antagoniſt*; and that with contempt too even of the *Bribe* of Popularity: and of the continuance of whoſe confirm'd and obſtinate habit of an Heroical Love to his Country, they who have long known him have never doubted, but have agreed in this point of his perſeverance in what *Tully* calls the *pietas in patriam*, to pronounce as the warier *Arminians* do concerning *Grace*, viz. that there is a State of *Grace* attainable in this life, from which it is difficult if not impoſſible to fall away.

With as little Art and faint Colours as I have here drawn the Picture of this Great Man, any one will ſay it is very like the *Earl* of *Radnor*: and the truth is, conſidering that this ſame *pietas in patriam*, and the inflexible obſervation of Juſtice, have not been ſo much incarnate in the lives of later Chriſtians, as of ancient Heathens, nor perhaps ſo legible in their Writings, (and therefore as if that *Practice of Piety* had been too among *Pancirols Res deperditæ*, *Boccaline* held it a proper Advertiſement, *That all the Princes of the World ſhould beſeech* Apollo, *that he would inſert into their People the love of their Country*) when I would occaſionally in diſcourſe do Juſtice to this Great *Exemplar* of it, I endeavour to whet my imagination with thoughts out of the *Roman* Authors, and do think of *Contumacy* in *Vertue* (according to *Pliny*'s uſing that word in a good ſenſe) and of the *inexplebilis virtutis veræque laudis homo*, and of the foremention'd ſooner making *Crimen honeſtum*, *quam turpem Catonem*, and of the *multa & terribilia Piſo Contemſit*, *dum ſpecioſum mentis ſuæ flecti non vult rigorem*, and of what is in *Valerius Maximus* of *Scipio Africanus*, *quem Dii immortales naſci voluerunt ut eſſet in quo ſe virtus per omnes numeros hominibus efficaciter oſtenderet*, and of *Ciceros* accounting the *pietas in patriam* to be the *via ad Cælum*.

Some here who Correſpond with Sir *W. J.* asking me if I had not heard that you were prayed for at *Maſs* in *Ireland*, I told them I had, and that the *Earl* of *Eſſex* mentioned the ſame in the *Houſe of Lords*, and that your Lordſhip replied, that if any well meaning *Papiſts* in their *Maſs-houſe*, or *Jews* in their *Synagogue*, or *Mahumetans* in their *Moſc* unask'd and unſought to, pray'd for you, you would be glad to be the better by their Devotion, tho yet you believed that none of them did ever, yet ſupplicate Heaven in your behalf. I told my friends here that if that thing had been true (and tho on the account of what hath been beforementioned, I believed

it

it not to be ſo in the leaſt) yet they would ſoon ceaſe to infer thence that your Lordſhips love for the Proteſtant Religion was diminiſhed, if they would reflect on the Caſe of *Rawlins White* in the *Acts* and *Monuments*, where it appears that the Biſhop of *Landaff* in the *Year* 1555. juſt before he Condemned the ſaid *Rawlins* to the Fire as an *Heretick*, ordered a *Prieſt* to ſay a *Maſs* for him: and as that Biſhop in vain Courting him a little before, to abandon the Proteſtant Faith, and then asking him *how he did, and how he found himſelf inclined*, the poor Captive replied, Rawlins *you left me, and* Rawlins *you find me, and* Rawlins *I will continue*; that thus conſtant your Lordſhip will prove to your Religion and your ſelf, upon any thing that can happen; and that whoever ſhall write the Story of your Lordſhips life after you have finiſhed your Mortality, will have cauſe to ſay of you as Mr. *Fox* p 411. mentions, that one who writes of *Wicliff* recorded of him that he perſevered in his Religion, *ita ut cano placeret quod Juveni complacebat*, that the ſame thing pleaſed him in his old Age, which did in his youth.

Nor do I indeed doubt but that when your Lordſhip ſhall be upon your paſſage to the other World, you will take your long leave of your friends in the *Style* with which Dr. *Holland* the *Regius Profeſſor* of *Divinity* at *Oxford* was obſerved commonly to bid his friends *farewel*, viz. *Commendo vos amori Dei & odio Papatus*; and that your Lordſhip who hath been ſo ſucceſsful an *Agoniſt* againſt Popery, will ſhare in the Glories of that Promiſe from Heaven, *To him that overcomes will I give the Morning Star*: and that as the Morning Star is the ſame with the Evening one, and in the Morning is call'd *Phoſphorus*, and in the Evening *Heſperugo*, ſo the Proteſtant Religion will appear in the Evening of your Life, with the ſame brightneſs that it did in the Morning thereof, and ſo continue till you ſhall arrive at that Region, where *all the Morning Stars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for joy.*

How unreaſonably rigid are they who when the *Miniſters* of Princes are ſtudying and procuring the eaſe of Mankind, as your Lordſhip hath done, will in ſpight of fate diſquiet themſelves in rendring the lives of ſuch Miniſters uneaſie; a temper that I think ſhewed it ſelf over much in a late *Speech* in the *Houſe of Commons*, of Sir *W. J.* who, if my Information be true, did not reverently uſe the power of his Popularity, when with much Acrimony reflecting on ſome in the Kings *Council*, he was ſuppoſed to have aimed at your Lordſhip in words to this effect, *There is another in the Council a Noble Man too among the Kings Miniſters, and a Lawyer*, but if *we cannot reach him, do not impeach him*; intimating that he would have been glad of any being able with Articles and Proofs concludent, to have reached your *Lordſhip* in order to Impeachment.

There is another Honourable Perſon who is your Collegue in the King's *Council*, a Great Man and a *Lawyer* too, whom I was ſorry to find by the printed *Votes* of the *Houſe of Commons* that were ſent into the Country, ſo many perſons were endeavouring to reach with matter of Impeachment, I mean, my *Lord Chief Juſtice* North. It ſeem'd to me a thing worthy the name of *News*, that *the adviſing and aſſiſting in the drawing up and paſſing a Proclamation againſt Tumultuous Petitions*, ſhould be thought a ſufficient ground to proceed upon to an Impeachment againſt him for high Crimes and Miſdemeanors.

The ſecurity and quiet of Kings and their People are to be ſo tenderly regarded, that the drawing one Proclamation after another to prevent the *blowing or breathing in the Kings Face* (I allude to the words in one of the *Articles* againſt *Woolſy*) by Tumultuous Petitioners (a thing puniſhable

puniſhable at *Common-Law*, and likewiſe by the ſeverity of the *Council-Board*) ſeems ſtrangely imputed as a Crime to a Judge and Privy *Councellor*.

The People petitioning in Multitudes are ſo far from being like the *Horſe* not knowing his own ſtrength, that their coming in ſuch numbers ſhews they have *Calculated it*, and perhaps with more nicety than the Author of the Diſcourſe before the *Royal Society*, concerning the *uſe* of *Duplicate Proportion* had Calculated the ſtrength of *Animals*, the which ſtrength he ſaith, *is as the ſquare roots of their weights and ſubſtance, and if* 1728 *Mice were equiponderate to one Horſe, the ſaid Horſe is but* $\frac{1}{111}$ *part as ſtrong as all the ſaid Mice*; and ſo might eaſily ſtrip the Horſes Neck of the Thunder that God and Nature (according to *Jobs* expreſſion) have cloathed it with; and their petitioning in numbers being a real Proclamation of their power, it was the part of ſo good a *Councellor* of State, and *Mathematician* to adviſe his Prince and his Country not to be taken in a Trap by the Petitioning Mice: and it was worthy of ſo knowing a *Judge*, to forewarn them of being entrapped by the Law, and as the *Millenary* Petitioners were forewarn'd in King *James* his time.

What occaſioned the *Proclamation* referred to by the *Houſe of Commons*, I know not; but by what I have obſerved of his accurateneſs in the adminiſtration of Juſtice in his great *Sphere*, and of his Mathematical *Genius* even not receeding from it ſelf while on the Tribunal he in every Cauſe demonſtrates the rationality of the Laws of *England*, and makes Juſtice there in its Arithmetical and Geometrical proportion ſo viſible to all, and by what I have ſeen of the ſerenity of his temper in having had once or twice the honour of his Converſation, I believe that as a Privy Councellor he would too as much occaſionally aſſert any Legal Right the Subject hath to Petition his Prince, as he would the Right of the latter not to be illegally and with the apparent Menace of Members addreſt to, a way of Petitioning that hath ſo often and ſo lately been the Prologue to the enſuing Tragedy of War.

I was very much pleaſed to hear how this Learned *Judge*, being once moved to grand a *Prohibition* to the Court Chriſtian in a certain Cauſe, and that the Council fencing with Preſidents *pro* and *con* that came not home to the point, his Lordſhip declared in words to this purpoſe, that in any proceeding that was againſt Univerſal Reaſon he would grant the *Writ*; and I think it was as proper for him as a States-man to adviſe a *Prohibition* in the way of a *Proclamation* againſt *Tumultuous Petitions*, than which nothing can be more againſt *Univerſal Reaſon*. But if a perſon who is ſo great a Maſter of that Reaſon, and indeed of Univerſal Learning, and of that part of it that deſerves the name of *Real*, and whoſe ſingle Learning would ſerve to vindicate a whole profeſſion from *Eraſmus* his Aſperſion of *doctiſſimum genus indoctorum hominum*, and of knowing nothing of the Senſe and Reaſon of the World beyond *Dover*, and the brightneſs of whoſe parts hath given a Luſtre to the Science of the *Law*, and by whom if by any of this Age that may be thought poſſible to be done that our Great Lord *Bacon* adviſed King *James* to Crown his Reign with, namely, the bringing the Body of the *Common Law*, or our *jus non ſcriptum* into a *Digeſt*, I ſay if a perſon thus accompliſhed cannot have the skill to walk through the World free from Impeachment, it will be ſufficient to make all men of Illuſtrious Abilities and Godlike Inclinations to do good, retire from dangerous Mankind, and not adventure to Aid Princes who are Gods Vice-Roys in the Government of the World, and to be happy in themſelves without preſerving it, as the firſt being was before he made it.

What

What a *diminution* was it to the honour of the Age, that the Popularity of Sir *W. J.* a perſon who in the florid part of his youth, appeared but an *Entring Clerk*, or one who *entred* Judgments for Attorneys, and in the greateſt Figure he made in Parliament, or the Court acquired no fame by various Learning and Skill in the Politicks, or by having profoundly ſtudied the great Book of the World, ſhould yet as with the *Impetus* of an *Oracle* run down the great Characters of this *Lord*, and of your *Lordſhip* and the *Earl* of *Hallifax*, that are known to the World to be ſo great for Loyalty and Learning, and the Comprehenſive Knowledge of the preſent and paſt State of Chriſtendom: and that after that Loyal and Learned Perſon, and undefatigable aſſertor of our Laws and Religion, Sir *L. Jenkins* had with great Reaſon and Courage in a *Speech* in the *Houſe of Commons* againſt the *Excluſion Bill* affirmed, that the paſſing the ſame would be contrary to the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and Sir *W. J.* thereupon anſwering it with the *Non eſt hæres viventis*, he had ſomewhat like a general *humme* of Applauſe from the Houſe, and almoſt as if his had been the *voice of God and and not of Man?*

But on this occaſion I ſhould be unjuſt and too reſerved to your Lordſhip, if I ſhould not tell you that a *Gentleman* of good parts and a great Eſtate, a Member of that Parliament, acquainted me that he being then one of the great Admirers and Followers of Sir *W. J.* and frequently preſent with him in the moſt private *Cabals*, did obſerve him to be full of fears of the *Courts* being brought to favour the Excluſion-Bill, as ſuppoſing that the Parliament would be thereby engaged to part with great Sums of Money: and that he obſerved Sir *W. J.* and others of the *Cabal*, were at a ſtand in their Politicks as not knowing what ſteps to make next if that *Bill* had paſſed, and the Conſideration whereof (he told me) made him not deſirous to participate further in their Councils.

Thus juſt is it for Heaven ſometimes to blind and confound and abandon good men in their Councels, when they abandon plain Principles and Dictates of Reaſon, and when they will not do what they know, to ſuffer them not to know what they do, and particularly not to know while they were ſo buſily *founding Dominion or Empire* in *Grace*, that they were riding *Poſt* to *Rome* as faſt as ever that *Father* of the *Trent-Council* did, who was ſo often employed to the Holy See to bring thence the Holy Ghoſt in a Cloak-bag.

It is ſome Conſolation to your Lordſhip to have fellow ſufferers in the Obloquy caſt upon you, by the Tongue of a young Man, in a matter ſo remote from veriſimilitude, and not worth the twice naming, and whoſe Perſon I thought not worthy the naming once, however a Loyal Parliament thought his Accuſations worthy the Preſs: and in whoſe reproach that Honourable Perſon, and your Lordſhips old friend the Earl of *Peterborough* ſhared with you. But by what I have found to be the judged Character of that *Lord*, among the moſt Impartial Studiers of Men in the Age, I may juſtly ſay that the honour of the Age was a fellow ſufferer with you both, by the publick Countenancing of the dirt by ſo obſcure a hand thrown on a Perſon of ſo Noble Deſcent both from Father and Mother, and of ſo much Courage and Loyalty and Learning, and on whom his great knowledge of all Hiſtory Ancient and Modern, hath ſo much accompliſhed as a States-man, and one who in his Travels in the World abroad left there ſuch impreſſions of his real value on the moſt Critical Obſervers, that his Prince thought him to be the moſt proper Perſon to employ abroad as Ambaſſador, in negotiating the Marriage between his *Royal Highneſs* and the *Princeſs* of *Modena*, whereby we may yet hope for

an Heir Male to inherit the Crown of *England*; I never heard that any thing but *ſham* could repreſent this Lord otherwiſe than a true Son of the Church of *England*: and having once or twice ſeen him *en paſſant* at your Lordſhips Houſe, and obſerved the lineaments of Honeſty and Honour in his looks, do think that his very face may ſerve to confute thouſands of ſuch Tongues as that which aſperſed him. But both his Lordſhip and yours have likewiſe in that Perſons Accuſations, and in the greateſt Circumſtances of improbability, been fellow ſufferers with the greateſt Subject, and therefore need not be aſhamed of your fate, according to what the Famous *Hiſtorian* ſo well ſaid, *Poſt Carthaginem captam vinci neminem pudeat.*

Yet having ſaid all this, I ſhall ſay that perhaps had it been the fortune of that Loyal Parliament to have ſate longer, it might too have happened that none of your Lordſhips that I have named would at laſt have thought it *Parliamentum ſine miſericordia*, and that I believe you will not find any future one ſo, and that your Lordſhips who have ſo eminently ſupported the Northern *Hereſie* ſo called, will be like the North *Magnetick* and attract a general popular love, which after all its *variations* will return again to you.

But 'tis high time for me to take off my hand from this Map of the Future State of *England*, that as a *Predicter* rather than a *Prophet* I have here ſo particularly delineated, and as one who according to what is in St. *Mathew*, *When it is Evening, ſay it will be fair weather, for the Sky is red*, &c. and from Natural Cauſes have as well as I could, diſcern'd *the ſigns of the times*, and what it may be a ſhame for any one that is a piece of a Philoſopher to be wholly ignorant of, when the inſpired *Prophet* tells us, that *the* Stork *knoweth her appointed times, and the* Turtle *and the* Crane *and the* Swallow *obſerve the time of their coming*, and that 'tis obvious that the Beaſts of the Field as well as Birds of the Air foreſee unſeaſonable weather, from the diſpoſition of the Air.

Nor is it hard for any *Conſiderer* now in relation to ſome of the Popiſh and Proteſtant Recuſants to undertake what the *Magicians*, *Aſtrologers*, and *Chaldeans* durſt not to the King of *Babylon*, I mean to tell them what their *Dream* was: they *dreamt* to rule us ſtill by a *Nation within a Nation* as the *Mamalukes* did *Ægypt*, they *dreamt* of *Offices* and like idle *Millenaries* of *Lactantius* his golden Age, *when the Cliffs of the Mountains ſhall ſweat out Honey, and the Springs and Rivers ſhall flow with Milk and Wine*, and of a *pingue ſolum* that ſhall tire no Husbandmen, and of ſuch a Country as *Campania* the Garden of *Italy* that ſhall not be called *terra del lavoro*. But I do *predict* that the noiſe of the World, and their being neceſſarily diſturbed by the buſie in whoſe way they ſtand will awaken them, and that if they will have any food to raiſe the vapours, that will again feed ſleep in them, they muſt work for it, and that no Papiſts and Presbyterians will in their ſleep cry out of *Perſecution* as formerly, and that no Papiſt will hereafter applaud either the Juſtice or temper of Mr. *Coleman* in writing as aforeſaid to the *Inter-Nuncio*, of the Execution of the Penal Laws againſt the Papiſts, and ſaying, *Which are ſo inſupportalle that 'tis impoſſible any that is reach'd by them to have wherewithal to eat Bread, if they be executed according to the ſaid Proclamation.*

Nor I believe will ſuch Complaining be *heard in our Streets* from any of the Non-Conformiſt Divines, as I have read in Print from one Learned Divine of them, viz. *ſome of the ejected Miniſters* are ſo reduced and find ſo little ſuccour, that they *live upon brown Bread and Water, ſome have died through the effects of want, we will be thankful to be under no ſeverer uſage*

than

than Colliers and Barge-men, and Sea-men, than begging Rogues and Vagabonds have.

But as among the *Augurs* of old, the *Poultreys* not eating their Meat or Bread, ſerved as an indication that the *Roman* Army was not then to fight, ſo I hope that the ſame thing was meant by the *ſullenneſs* of Mr. *Colemans* Augury and the others Complaint, and that both Papiſts and Proteſtants will here eat the *Bread* of *Quietneſs* with *Thankſgiving*.

And conſidering the great number of *Attorneys* and *Sollicitors and Dealers towards the Law*, that hath long over-ſpread the Land, and planted in the ſame ſuch a general pronenes to litigation, and over-ran it ſo with Briars and Thorns of the Law that our Country is not more famous for our Wooll, than infamous for our ſo much fleecing one another, and conſidering how another thing hath occaſionally put ſo many men to be skilful Maſters of the *Science* of *Defence* with the Weapons of the Law, I mean the farming of ſo much of the publick Revenue, I may well *predict* that if ſuch a wild probability ſhould happen as any Princes hereafter endeavouring by any illegal Courſe to advance Popery, that tho good and loyal people would be *Lachrymiſts* to him, they would be ſoon apt to make all miniſterially concerned therein to be *Lachrymiſts* to them.

Altho *England* had a King, namely, *Harry* the *1ſt*, of whom 'tis recorded, that *reforming the old and untrue meaſures, he made a meaſure after the length of his Arm*, yet as we have one who hath graciouſly meaſured the Arm of his Power by the Laws, ſo I may ſafely adventure to foretel what his lawful Succeſſors will do; and it is to this purpoſe in ſome of the moſt ſubtle ſeditious *Pamphlets* notified in Print by the ill wiſhers to the next Heir to the Crown, *viz.* that they fear more miſchief from him as Chief Favourite and Miniſter to his Prince, than they would from him if ever he ſhould live to wear a Crown; for then (ſay they) we ſhall know how to be provided againſt him by the Courſe of the Law.

Nor is it to be doubted but that he who never was known to adviſe his Prince, to incommode any one contrary to the Law, will never employ his own power to the illegal detriment of any man. During this time that his Prince hath ſo juſtly placed ſo much of the Royal Favour on him, may he not as to his adminiſtration thereof ſay with the ſame Juſtice as the great Prophet, *Whoſe Ox or Aſs have I taken?* May it not be asked whom of the mad ſort of Cattle that with an infinity of Calumnies and Shams gored his reputation, or wild Aſſes that kick'd at the ſame, did he hurt with power or yet take the fair advantage of the Law againſt, till his many loyal friends who were ſecret true *Lachrymiſts*, for the publick falſe miſreports ſpread againſt him, did importune him ſo for the Kingdoms good to defend his honour, and that they might no more be puniſhed by ſeeing the limbs of his reputation lie torn and mangled in every Coffee-houſe, who had ſo often expoſed thoſe of his Body to Bullets and Chain-ſhot in Sea Fights, for the ſaving the life and honour of their Country?

Thoſe therefore that could in earneſt write to the effect abovemention'd in ſuch ſeditious Pamphlets, let them talk or look as gravely as they will, I ſhall yet think but in jeſt while at other times they are amuſing any with queſtions about their being *Lachrymiſts* under ſuch a Prince; and they put me in mind of a famous *Muſician* we had in the Court in King *James*'s time, Dr. *John Dowland*, who printed a Book of *Songs* and *Pavans* for the *Lute* with the Title of *Lachrymæ*, and Dedicated it to Queen *Anne*, and in the *Table* of the *Book*, ſeveral of them are thus remarked, *viz. Lachrymæ antiquæ, Lachrymæ gementes, Lachrymæ veræ*, and he obſerves there in the *Epiſtle* what is obvious enough that *Tears are not always ſhed*

in

in ſorrow, but ſometimes in joy and gladneſs. But there is another thing of more weight that occurs to my thoughts from the remembring that Mr. *Henry Peacham* in his *Book*, called the *Compleat Gentleman*, doth on the name of this Lutineſt *Johannes Dowlandus*, beſtow the *Anagram*, *annos ludendo hauſi*, and that is, that many in ſeveral Parliaments who thought they could do no right to Proteſtancy but by doing wrong to the next Heir, did too much and too long play with the *Royal* Offers, and when they might (if they pleaſed) have effected as quick a prevention of the growth of Popery under any *Roman* Catholiek Succeſſor, as was took care of in *Scotland*.

Yet however I have ſaid enough for my continuing to think that as in that Kingdom, there are are few or none that fear that the belief of Popery can ever there gain much ground, and ever be the Paramount Religion there, and who think not that the words of *ariſe* Peter *kill and eat*, will ſooner bring the *Scots* to eat Hogs Fleſh, and believe there is a *Divine Right* for their ſo doing (St. *Peters* Sheet from Heaven in the Viſion having had that *Animal* in it) than to ſwallow the belief of Popery, or of the *Jure-Divinity* of the Pope, ſo the fears of its growth in *England*, or of any occaſion for the Virtue of the *Lachrymæ antiquæ* of the Primitive Chriſtians will daily grow more and more moderate, and in time be extinguiſhed.

The late Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews* eſtimated the number of Papiſts and their Children in *Scotland*, to be but about a *thouſand*: but their number in the *States* of the *United Provinces* is vaſtly more, inſomuch that the ingenious Author of the *Policy of the Clergy of* France *to deſtroy the Proteſtants of that Kingdom*, mentions, that there are in *Holland*, *a Country of ſmall extent, ten times more Popiſh Eccleſiaſticks than there are Proteſtant Miniſters in all* France, *which is very large. There is a compleat Clergy and Hierarchy.* Amſterdam *and all the other great Cities have their Biſhops. Thoſe Biſhops have their Chapter and their Prieſts. There are even religious houſes. They are ſomewhat diſguiſed, but are as well known as the Eccleſiaſticks are in* France, *and are not in the leaſt aſſaulted*, &c. *There was one day in a Long-boat or Ship a Prieſt dreſſed in black Cloths who was not otherwiſe diſguiſed than that his Coat was ſhort, who ſaid his Breviary before a hundred perſons, with as much Liberty as he could have done in* France.

And yet perhaps the number of thoſe who in *Holland* fear them, or who pretend to fear them, is but the leaſt of numbers.

I think too in this ſharp ſighted age, where *Art* among the Inquiſitive follows *Nature* as carefully as *Equity* doth *Law*, one may ſafely *predict* that in the Dividend of our time little will come to the ſhare of *Metaphyſicks*, or the conſidering how *Metaphyſica agit de iis quæ ſunt ſupra naturam*, and that the World being infinitely buſie will not trouble it ſelf with *Arriagàs infinitum infinito infinitius*: and Chriſtendom's being univerſally employed in preparing its defence againſt War, and giving us time only for real Learning will divert us from either much oppoſing or defending the old point, whether *Univerſale* be *ens reale*, or whether *Univerſalia* are *res extra ſingularia*. If by *Metaphyſicks* we could find a real Anſwer to the Queſtion, *what is truth*, or what is time, of which it hath devoured ſo much, or learn how to meaſure it by knowing *what's a Clock*, we might go on with its *entitas*, which Mr. *Hobs* well engliſheth, the *iſſeneſs* of a thing; but ſince it reſolves not what things are as aforeſaid, but as *Hudibraſs* ſaith, only *what is what*, I think as *Fileſac. de authorit. epiſc.* c. 1. mentions, that the *Council* in *France* forbad *Ariſtotle's Metaphyſicks*, *and*

puniſhed

puniſhed with Excommunication the exſcribing, reading or having that Book, our time will hold little Communion hereafter with *Second* Notions on thoſe who Trade in them, and that as it will ſeem very abſurd to ſacrifice much time to the enquiry if *Univerſale* is a real being, and whether *Univerſalia* are *res extra ſingularia*, and to ſacrifice men for believing the contrary, ſo it will likewiſe ſeem to enquire Whether there be one *Catholick*, or *Univerſal* Apoſtolick Church exiſtent apart from particular Churches, which ſenſe and reaſon tell us are and muſt be many, tho the Catholick Church be but one, and for the want of conſidering which ſo many People have been decoyed into the Church of *Rome*.

Many are the things that an ordinary Philoſopher may predict concerning *Rome*, and particularly varying from the Prophecy, that it was to be deſtroyed by Fire, may foretel *Romam fore luce delendam*, and as *Tully's* words are in his Book *de Naturâ Deorum*, *Opinionem Commenta delebit dies, veritatis judicia confirmabit*. And thus too it is eaſie to predict that the light of Reaſon and Experience will forever blot out here the Innovations that came from *Geneva* as well as thoſe from *Rome*. The Jewiſh *Rabbins* have from the words of the *Sol Juſtitiæ* ariſing with *healing in his wings*, introduced a *Proverb* of *The Sun ariſeth, the infirmity decreaſeth*, meaning thereby that the Diſeaſes that make Mortals groan and languiſh in the Night, are ſomewhat abated by the riſing Sun: and thus the State of our Nation will be attended with greater health on the decay of *Presbytery's* Kingdom of *Darkneſs*.

The *Walls* of its *Jericho* are fallen down flat with the *ſound* of the *Trumpets* of the *Diſſenters* own *Sayings*, ſo uſefully publiſhed.

Tho I have ſaid enough to ſpeak my opinion of all *Diſſenters* to the Diſcipline of our Church, not owning ſuch ſanguinary Principles as are chargeable on ſome *Papiſts*, yet the *Diſſenters Sayings* have proved enough what ſome of their Principles were. Nor can it be forgot that King *James* did very juſtly in the *Conference* at *Hampton Court*, accuſe the *Notes* in the *Geneva* Bible to be *Seditious and to ſavour of Traiterous Conceits*, and that he inſtanced there in the *Notes* on *Exodus* 1. 19. *Where they allow of diſobedience to Sovereign Kings and Princes.*

As abſurd as that *Tenet* beforementioned in the *Decrets*, and there founded on the 13th of *Deuteronomy* is, I would wiſh no *Presbyterian* to inſult over any *Papiſts* for it: for it is viſible in no meaner a *Book* than the *Aſſemblies Annotations* on *Zechary* 13. 3. where the Father and Mother of a falſe Prophet are commanded to ſay to him *thou ſhalt not live*, and 'tis ſaid, *his Father and Mother that begat him, ſhall thruſt him through when he Propheſieth*. The Comment on the words, *Thou ſhalt not live* affirms, that *the equity of the Law of* Deut. 13. 6. 9. *remains under the Goſpel: and with leſs danger is a Thief, an Adulterer, a Witch tolerated than ſuch an Heretick and Seducer. The preſent pleading for liberty of Conſcience in Preaching and Practice is a thing extremely ſhameful, dangerous and deſtructive*: and the Comment on the the words *His Father*, &c. is, *His Parents themſelves ſhall not ſpare him, preferring therein their Zeal and Piety towards God before the Affection and Love which naturally they bear toward their own Children.* See *Deut.* 13. 6. 9. *No leſs Zeal is required under the Goſpel than was under the Law.*

I pray God deliver all Mankind from the cruel rigour of the *Equity* (as thoſe *Divines* term it) of that *Judicial* Moſaic Law binding under the Goſpel: and from that kind of *Zeal* binding under the Goſpel that did under the Law, by virtue of the 6th and 9th *Verſes* of that *Chapter*, and from the 16th *V.* of which *Chapter* the Obligation for *firing* Heretical Cities was as well deduced by the *Pope*.

The Church of *England* illuminates us with better Doctrine, and our Reverend Biſhop *Sanderſon* tells us in his 4th Lecture *De obligatione conſcientiæ*, that *no Law given by* Moſes *doth directly and formally, and* per ſe *bind the Conſcience of a Chriſtian*, i. e. *as it was given by* Moſes, *for that every Moſaic Law as ſuch was poſitive, and did oblige thoſe only it was put upon*, i. e. *the Jews*, and ſhews that the Precepts of the *Decalogue* oblige, not becauſe *Moſes* commanded them, but becauſe of their being conſentaneous to nature, and confirmed by the Goſpel, and ſo doth manumit the Chriſtian World from the Yoke of the *Judicial* Law that was made only for the ſtiff necks of Jews. *Calvin* himſelf on that place of *Zachary* 13. 3. doth blunder as ſhamefully as did our *Aſſembly men*: for he there makes the Penal Jewiſh Laws to bind under the Goſpel. His words there are theſe, *Sequitur ergo non modo legem illam fuiſſe Judæis poſitam, quemadmodum nugantur fanatici homines, ſed extenditur etiam ad nos eadem lex*, and himſelf was in this point the *Fanatick*, and not the contrary opinors: and deniable it is not, that ſeveral of the *Calviniſtick* and *Lutheran Divines* beyond Sea did imbibe the error of *hereticidium* from the ſame miſtaken Principle of *Monk Gratians*, namely, that the Penal ſevere Jewiſh Laws were obligatory under the Goſpel: and tho no Presbyterians (that I know of) were here Arraigned for any deſign to fire our *Metropolis*, and ſome Fanatical *Fifth-Monarchy* men only were Arraigned, Convicted, and Executed for ſuch a deſign (and whoſe Names I think might on that account have been properly enough engraven on the City *Monument*) yet of the out-rage of our Presbyterians having actually fired the Church and State with an inteſtine War, the whole Kingdom is a *Monument*: and where now their Principles are ſo ſeen, and ſeen through, that I believe any other ſuch inhumane Eccleſiaſticks as many of our former Presbyterians were, will be aſhamed to appear among us. Their *Aſſembly* is adjourned to the Grave, and no *Divines* will (I believe) in any future Courſe of time find the People of *England* willing to have 4*s*. a day, the wages of each in the Parliaments *Synod*, allowed to them for endeavouring to bring our Conſciences under the *Moſaic* Pedagogy: and the noiſe of the World from *Hammers* of Hereticks either in any Presbyterian *Synod* in *England*, or in any new Popiſh General Council beyond Sea, will (I believe) be utterly over.

And tho perhaps the *Centum gravamina* did heretofore cauſe the laſt pretended General *Council* to be called, I mean the Famous *Tridentine* one, I may, looking on the Courſe of Nature, conclude, that there will never be any General Council more; and that not only for that the Pope hath been *hors de page*, ſince the breaking up that of *Trent*, but becauſe that having been *Revera* a Council of *Penſioners*, and having ſtood the Papacy for *Penſions* in 3000 *Crowns* a Month, (*i. e.* in 750 *l. Sterling*) and having put the Popes to that Charge during its ſitting for 18 years, as it is eaſie to *Calculate* how much in pounds *Sterling* that Council coſt the Popes in all, ſo it is as eaſie to foreſee that if the Pope ſhould have occaſion for the fellow to that Council, he would not have that quantity of Money to ſpare for the ſame.

There is another thing that I may from the Courſe of Nature fortel much quiet to my Prince, and happineſs to my Country by, and that is the extermination of all Mercenary Loyalty, and of an inglorious *Loyalty-Trade* as well as of a Religion-Trade, and mens not thinking they are to have *Offices* or *Donatives* for not being Villains, or that by Monopolizing to themſelves the name of the *Loyal*, they ſhould expect therefore a lucrative *Monopoly*, the which would ſtain their Loyalty indeed, and make it as null and void as any *Monopoly*: for the word

Loyal

Loyal being uſed for *Lawful*, he is not *homo legalis* in one ſenſe, who is bought to be juſt.

The apparent vaſt number of the Kings Subjects rendring them too many to hope all for *largeſſes*, and the too great probability of the Future State of *England* according to my Notion, requiring for the ſupport and defence of the Government, all that to be employed in order thereunto, what giving Parliaments can well give, will make People aſhamed to cling to the Royal-Oak like Ivy, and by preying on its vigour make it the leſs able to give ſhelter by its branches.

I was overjoyed with a piece of News a Gentleman ſent me, namely, that he diſcourſing once at dinner with the Lord *Hide*, the firſt *Commiſſioner* of the *Treaſury*, concerning the Inſolence of ſome mens expecting to be rewarded by the King, for not doing miſchief to his Government or Revenue, his *Lordſhip* occaſionally mentioned ſomewhat to this effect, *viz.* that the Trade of ſuch men was now broke: there will now be no more *taking off* of men as the word was: and if by his *Lordſhip's* Advice to his Great Maſter, the reſolving againſt *taking off* of men by Penſions and Rewards, was ſettled as a new Fundamental Rule in the *Engliſh* Politicks, as I am informed it was, I ſhall think his *Lordſhip* deſerves to find an everlaſting Triumph in the *Hiſtory* of the Age, and to be more honoured by *England* than if as Commander of an Army he had vanquiſhed very many Thouſands of its Enemies: for that the *taking off* of *Hydra's* Heads by Gifts (as was beforementioned) would be an endleſs work, and the ill effects thereof incluſive of ſo much Hoſtility to the publick, would be innumerable. But God be thanked the *King* by the Political Conduct of this his *Miniſter* is now made *Victorious over all thoſe Enemies*: and if I had heard that any near his Majeſty had moved for a *day* of *Thankſgiving* by reaſon hereof, I ſhould not have wondered at it; the thing being of ſo great importance to *England*. And no doubt but the ſhame of any mens diminiſhing the Royal Revenue by begging from the Crown will be the greater, when the neceſſary improvement of our Land by our numerous People ſhall have enriched as many as deſerve to be ſo, and when to all, who are induſtrious, there will every where be *multiplex præda in medio poſita*, and the effects of diligence fill all hands with profit, and eyes with pleaſure.

This is one kind of a *New Heaven* and a *New Earth*, that perhaps we may ſhortly ſee in old *England*, and when men ſhall by enquiries about Religion deſign only *lucriferous* experiments, and not *luciferous* as my Lord *Bacon's* Phraſe is; and men ſhall improve their fortunes by the improvement and culture of the Earth: and to this effect we find the *Prophecies* of Proſperity to the *Jews* in the old Teſtament expreſſed by *the Trees yielding their fruit, and the Earth their encreaſe, the Seed ſhall be proſperous, the Vine ſhall give her Fruit and the Ground ſhall give her encreaſe, the Earth ſhall hear the Corn and the Wine and the Oyl*, &c.

And they who are now by ſeducers that augment wild fears and jealouſies directed to look up for ſtrange Prodigies to the Sky, will need no Monitors to behold with joy the unuſual fruitfulneſs of the cultivated Earth: and therefore I think that one Philoſopher looking on the Future State of *England* may well ſay to another,

Aſpice venturo lætentur ut omnia ſæclo.

Then ſhall men on the account of Profit *turn their Swords to Ploughſhares*, and the Religon-Trading falſe Prophet baffled by fate, ſhall then ſay as 'tis in *Zachary*, *Non ſunt Propheta, agricola ſum.*

I

I do not wonder at ſome mens menacing our *Engliſh* World with ill news from Fate. It is no irrational thing to ſuppoſe that the falſe *Prophets* in all ages did often find it turn to their private account to foretel evil rather than good to Kingdoms; for that many might hope to mend their fortunes by the publick ruines, and would therefore be well pleaſed with the Predictors of ill to the publick, and would celebrate the Predicters; and therefore it was not without cunning contrived that the prolation of Events by the ancient Oracles, ſhould be in a double ſenſe ſometimes, becauſe it might then be a moot point whether the Party of thoſe that deſired the quiet or diſorder of great Bodies of People was moſt conſiderable.

The moſt ſagacious ſort of falſe Prophets whoſe chief buſineſs it was to be true to themſelves (as the falſeſt Dice of Gameſters are moſt true to the uſers) did often chooſe to alarm the People with diſaſtrous Events: and thus the *Witch* of *Endor* choſe to make the *Shamm-Samuel* entertain *Saul* with the prediction of his and his Sons death the next day. But 'tis time for us to follow that great admonition of *Beware of falſe Prophets*, when we hear ſo many foretelling us, as by inſpiration, of nothing but *lamentation and weeping and great mourning in* England, for the continuance of the decay of Trade, and unavoidable ruine of the Proteſtant Religion, and when many ſuch deluders and counterfeit *Lachrymiſts* cannot (I fancy) about our weeping on this account, take their meaſures together without ſmiling, according to that Say of *Tully*, *Poteſt augur augurem videre & non ridere?* It is a very great ſaying of *Tully*'s in his 2d *Book de Divinatione*, *Nam ut vere loquamur, ſuperſtitio fuſa per orbem oppreſſit omnium fere animos, atque hominum occupavit imbecillitatem.* And as wiſe as *Socrates* was, yet in *Xenophon* he diſputes that, ἡ Μαντικὴ, and *Oracles* were neceſſary to the preſervation of Common-wealths, and *Plutarch* doth alledge experience in Confirmation thereof; and the murmuring *Jews* thought themſelves ill uſed by Providence when the age wanted a Prophet among them, tho yet the Prophets were ſo frequent in denunciations of wo to them, and like Seamen they liked weather that was ſomewhat like a ſtorm, rather than to lie in the World becalm'd. 'Tis ſaid in *Pſalm* 74. *There is no more any Prophet, we ſee not our ſigns.*

And as much as *Superſtition* had in *Tully*'s words, daſterded almoſt all mens ſpirits, yet the Cheat of the *Augury* was ſo contrived and diverſified as ſometimes on occaſion to heighten and enlarge them, and in effect to enlarge the Empire it ſelf.

Auguſto augurio poſtquam inclyta condita Roma eſt.

But many of our *Augurs* endeavour only to enlarge our fears and jealouſies, and to intimidate our ſpirits and to render the *Genius* of the Nation leſs auguſt, and only to enlarge their own fortunes.

But the ill *ominous* Birds are flying away: and the many Loyal *Addreſſes* with which the Land re-echoes, and the avowed readineſs of ſo many good men to ſerve the beſt of Princes with their *Lives* as well as *Fortunes* upon occaſion, import the beſt of Auguries to *England*, and ſuch an one as *Homer* mentions,

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

i. e. *Unum augurium eſt præſtantiſſimum, pugnare pro patriâ:* and to which Verſe of *Homer*, *Tully* probably intended a reference when in his *de ſenectute* he ſaid, *Optimis auguriis ea geri, quæ pro Reip. ſalute gerentur.*

Your

Your Lordſhip hath formerly among the great tranſactions of your life ſhewn your ſelf a noble Adventurer, for the honour and danger that this kind of *Augury* can import, and particularly by your carrying at once your Law in your head, and your life in your hand in the ſight of a Party that had been ſo ſucceſsful with their Swords, and even to *wind-ward* of all others by inſpiration, and when the Conduct of your Politicks ſo highly advanced your Prince's Reſtoration, and ſo much helped to effect the quaſhing of all the furious *Prophecies* of *Monarchy ceaſing in* England.

Not without apologizing for my guilt of a ſoleciſm like his who diſcourſed of *War before Hanibal*, by my having ſo largely addreſſed my Sentiments of the Future State of *England* to ſuch an *Oracle* as your Lordſhip, I muſt at laſt ſay,

Non ego ſum Vates, ſed priſci conſcius ævi, &c.

and have only taken my meaſures from natural Cauſes, and judging of things to come by what have been, and by nature's moſt firm Conſtancy to it ſelf, and things not being ill adminiſtrable; and at this rate can further very ſafely predict that according to *Juvenal*,

Nunquam aliud natura, aliud ſapientia dicet.

And moreover I have in my predictions of the Future State of *England* interſperſed many Remarks that may be directive, and naturally tend to enrich the Land and advance its Trade and Induſtry; and thus I do account that our Writers of *Almanacks* do ſome way compenſate the loſs of Peoples time employed in regarding how they turn the hand of the Lottery of Fate round the World, and foretel various Revolutions and Events here at home and abroad, by their likewiſe telling them in what *Months* to ſet Quick-ſets and Fruit and Timber-Trees, dig Gardens, fell Timber, uncover the Roots of Trees, and to trim all ſorts of Fruit-trees from Moſs, Canker, and ſuperfluous Branches, when to tranſplant Trees and when to remove Grafts or young Trees, and when to ſow all manner of Garden Seeds and Herbs, when to ſow Wheat, and to ſow Hemp and Flax, and by raiſing in them rational expectations of the Future State of the Earth meliorated by its Culture.

My *Lord*, according to the common connexion of thoughts, it here comes in my way to think that it is uſual in the Scripture and in ſeveral Books, to expreſs the ſenſe of placing *Notions* and *Tenets* and *Doctrines* in the World, by the Terms of *Seeds* and *Plants*, and the ſpreading of the ſame by the growth encreaſe and *propagation* of *Plants*, and the ceaſing of them by the Terms of *decreaſe*, *withering* or *extirpation*. Our *Saviour's* Parables of the *Sower*, *and ſome Seeds falling by the way ſide and being devoured by the Fowls*, *and ſome falling upon ſtony places where they had not much Earth*, *and forthwith ſpringing up becauſe they had no deepneſs of Earth*, *and being ſcorched when the Sun was up*, *and becauſe they had not root withering away*, and his Indication of falſe *Prophets* by the ſimilitude of *Trees*, and *knowing them by their Fruit*, and his reference to falſe Doctrines, when he ſaith, *That every Plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted ſhall be rooted up*, and his expreſſion of falſe Religionary Notions by *Tares* in the *Parable*, are known to all converſant with their *Engliſh Bibles*, as is likewiſe his reſembling himſelf to the *Vine*, *and his Father to the Husbandman*, and his ſaying, that *every Branch in me that beareth not Fruit he taketh away*, and St. *Paul's* calling the Church *God's Husbandry*, and when he

he tells the *Corinthians* of his *Planting and* Apollos *his watering.*

And we have heard enough of a *Collegium de propagandâ fide*, among the *Romaniſts*, and their many laboured points *De extirpandis hæreticis*, and of the *Exterminium Hæreticorum*: and of their Arts to extirpate whatſoever Religionary Notions they are pleaſed to call Heretical, and of Nature in this Realm having extirpated thoſe Arts: and we know how naturally Proteſtancy did ſhoot up again in this our Soyle under Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, after its being cut down near the Ground in Queen *Mary*'s: *Quippe ſolo natura ſubeſt*: and accordingly *Job* regarding the Nature of the Soyle ſaith, *There is hope of a Tree if it be cut down that it will ſprout again, and that the tender Branch thereof will not ceaſe, tho the Root thereof wax old in the Earth, and the Stock thereof die in the Ground, yet through the Scent of Water it will bud and bring forth Boughs like a Plant*: and the hand of the God of Nature kept her hands from extirpating it: and the irrigation of Nature wrought more powerfully than her Fires, and the *Scent of Water* made Sagacious, Loyal Proteſtants with their *Lachrymæ veræ* and *lachrymæ antiquæ* preſage the *growth* of Proteſtancy: but as our Laws now are and likely forever to be, Proteſtants here may not only take their meaſures of the natural duration of their Religion, from the ſimilitude of the ſublime *Prophet*, viz. *as the days of a Tree are the days of my People*, but from the ſtability of the *Lex terræ* and the very Earth.

I have before ſpoke of the Papal Power ending in *England* under *Harry* the 8th, *per ſimplicem deſinentiam*, and by the power of Nature: and without the Midwifery of the trouble of his Conſcience, or any Artifice in troubling the *Divines* and *Academies* of Chriſtendom about his Marriage with his Brothers Relict, the birth of Fate would by neceſſity of Nature have (I think) happen'd as it did. Alas! His Marrying her, who had been his Brothers Wife, was only againſt the *Judicial* Law of the *Jews*, and I am ſure was not againſt the Law of Nature, as all granting the Law of Nature to be indiſpenſable, and the neceſſity of *Cain* and *Abel* Marrying their own Siſters, and Gods Commanding them to *increaſe and multiply*, and God's calling *Sara Abraham*'s Wife, who yet was his Siſter, (when as that Matrimonial Contract if it had been againſt Nature had been null) and granting likewiſe that God, who never commanded any thing againſt the Law of Nature, did yet in the *Levitical* Law Command a Brother to take his Brothers Wife to Marry her, and to *raiſe up Seed to his Brother*, muſt grant: I therefore concluded, that without *Harry* the 8ths either having any Conſcience or any Trouble in it, the weakeſt pretence in the ſtrong hand of Nature would have been an effectual Weapon, to have then beat down the Papal Power in *England*, It was *Nature* that did, as I may ſay, *raiſe up that ſtrong Seed* at that time both in *England* and *Germany* and elſewhere, that ended in the Divorce of *England*, and many Territories from the *Papal* Power.

And to reſume the Compariſon of the *Seed* of *Plants*, 'tis obvious to us to conſider that while our Ships Royal were formerly made of the *Oaks* in our *Foreſts* that were generally *ſelf-ſown*, that is, ſuch as ſprang from Acorns dropping from Trees, or that Birds in their flights let fall, it may be ſaid that thoſe materials for rearing the Walls of the Kingdom, were themſelves reared by the hand of Nature, and that thoſe Seeds falling in a Soyle proper for them, and by the Foreſt Laws guarded at firſt from the feet of Men or Beaſts, and by the Autumnal Rains naturally beaten into the Earth, and defended by the procerity of many other Trees from the injuries of the Wind and Sun, were by the *Husbandry* of the God of *Nature*

ture brought within the high *Style* of *Arbores Dei*, as the *Pſalmiſt's* expreſſion is. And moreover while it many times happens, that we ſee one Timber Tree grow out of the Body of another, and particularly an *Oak* out of a *Beech* (and which may be well ſuppoſed to have ſo happened from an *Acorn* dropt by a Bird into the hollow part of a decaying *Beech*) and there meeting with a reception from the putrid parts of the *Beech*, and the Rain there furthering its paſſage downward, and the Dews there watering it from Heaven, and the Beech fencing it conveniently from the Wind and Sun, the Stem of an Oak doth there naturally ſhoot up, and as naturally pierce its way for its ſtrong Branches through the ſides of the Beech, and work its Root into the ground through the Root of that Tree, and in time cauſeth it as certainly to be thruſt out of Nature as it could have been by any extirpation; and when a decaying Oak is thus powerfully vanquiſhed by the Seed of a leſs famous Tree, (as to this purpoſe we are told by Mr. *Evelyn* in his excellent Diſcourſe of *Foreſt Trees*, that *perſons of undoubted truth have aſſerted it, that they have ſeen a Tree cut in the middle whoſe heart was Aſh-wood and the exterior part Oak*) we may juſtly ſay that Nature did produce all theſe effects. And the *Energy* of nature thus caſually cauſing one Tree to penetrate through another into the Earth, and there without noiſe forever to diſplace it, is as perfectly applicable to Religionary *Tenets* and *Doctrines*: and thus (as I may with a running view obſerve) the Seed of the Chriſtian Religion, being (tho from ſome mean and obſcure hands) dropt on the decaying great Trees of *Judaiſm* and *Paganiſm*, preſently wrought it ſelf through their Bodies and Roots; and afterward the nobleneſs of the tempor of the Primitive Chriſtianity decaying in the World, that Religion, whoſe heart of Oak had laſted ſo long, and outbraved all the Storms of Perſecution, was yet pierced through by *Arrianiſm*: and *Arrius* perplexing the ſimplicity of the *Chriſtian* Religion with ſuch Intrigues of *vain Philoſophy*, that inſtead of converting mens hearts turned their brains, and even *Conſtantine's* own (as appeared by his baniſhing *Athanaſius*, and then recalling, and then baniſhing him again) and when the Chriſtian *Divines vexed every vein of his heart* more than they did *Julian's*, and very laudably in his Council of *Nice* preſented him with *Lampoons* one againſt another, and Chriſtianity ſo ſoon proving top heavy when 'twas made the State Religion of the World, and *Athanaſius* himſelf was at length the only *ſober Party*, and when the *Arrians* happened to be the firſt Chriſtians that perſecuted men for Religionary Tenets, (and as *Grotius* in his *De Jure belli*, *l.* 2. *c.* 20. tells us, *In Arrianam hæreſin acriter invehitur Athanaſius, quod prima in contradicentes uſa eſſet Judicum pot ſtate, & quos non potuit verbis inducere, eos vi, plagis, verberibuſq; ad ſe pertrahere anniteretur*, and did baſtinado People into *Converſion*) and when the Orthodox Chriſtians had groaned longer under the *Arrian* Perſecution, than they had done under the *Pagan*, and when the Chriſtian Religion whoſe Precepts do ſo nobly tranſcend the Morality of all others, did ſhortly after appear in the World with ſuch a Figure of a Dotard Tree as gave *Salvian* cauſe to exclaim, *Præter pauciſſimos quoſdam, qui mala fugiunt, quid eſt aliud omnis cœtus Chriſtianorum quam ſentina vitiorum*, it was but congruous to nature that thoſe rapacious Birds of prey the *Mahumetans*, dropping the Seed of their new invented Religion on the Chriſtian as decayed by *Arrianiſm*, that it ſhould ſo ſoon work it ſelf through all its parts and roots in *Aſia* and *Africk*, and that the *Creſcent* there ſhould ſo powerfully drive away the Croſs. And thus too, when *Italy* was over-run with the barbarous Nations partly of the *Pagan*, and partly of the *Arrian* Belief, Paganiſm and Arrianiſm being then Dotard

Trees

Trees in the World, the Seed of the Chriſtian Doctrine falling on them from the Pious and Learned hands of *Gregory* the *Great*, did eaſily work through them, and for the Converſion of them, and likewiſe of our *Engliſh* Nation, about the Year 600 from Heatheniſh Idolatry, the greateſt Celebrations are due to him: and no wonder if the Papacy then yielding ſo good Fruit, did then caſt ſo venerable a ſhade in the World. But that Tree afterward being obſerved to degenerate and decay, within Six Years (as the general Obſervation of our *Apocalyptick* Men is, (*Valeat quantum valere poſſit*) and who thus tells us of the *ætates Antichriſti*, viz. *Naſcentis in* Boniſacio *circa Ann.* 606; *Juveniliter exultantis in* 2. *Conſilio Nicæno, Anno*, 787. *Regnantis in* Hildebrando *& ſucceſſoribus poſt An.* 1075. *Triumphantis in* Leone *Decimo, Ann.* 1517. *Ultima ſeneſcentis eſt:* and ſay, that ſhortly after it began to be conſumptive,) and the decays of it being obvious to the view of the gazing World, and the Branches of the *Lutheran* and *Calviniſtick* Tenets appearing through its ſides, the quiet and gentle Order of *Capuchins* was invented for the praying for its growth and flouriſhing in the Year 1530. and ten years afterward the Active Fiery Order of the *Jeſuites* was invented to extirpate the Men that wiſhed ill to its growth, and after that the Fathers of the Oratory were ſet up to extoll and preach up the Tree, but Nature would not be extirpated: the Potent Seminal Virtue of the Rational Religion dropt on the Tree of the other, hath paſſed its roots through and through, and (as I may ſay) tranſubſtantiated it ſelf through them, and rooted it ſelf deep both into the intellectual World, and into States and Kingdoms and their Laws, and will in time probably leave not one *Fibre* or *Capillamentum* of the Roots of the Irreligionary part of the Tenets of Popery remaining in Nature: and ſhew the World that the *Schiſma Anglicanum* that *Sanders* and other Papiſts cry out of as ſo unnatural, was a mere natural *Sciſſure* or *Rupture* of the parts of the decaying *Tree* of the Church of *Rome*, that came to paſs from the Seed of the Proteſtant Religion being caſt thereon.

And ſuch a Natural *Sciſſure* hath the Religion of the *Church* of *England* made through the ſides and roots of Proteſtant Recuſancy: and the Seeds that by the hands of Non-conformiſts, probably guided by *Jeſuites*, have been laid on the Royal-Oak of the Church of *England*, which they vainly thought decay'd, were in effect thrown away: and as the old *Prophetic* Fiction repreſents it, that every great Tree included a certain *Tutelar Genius* and ſtill living with it, it may be ſaid that Nature it ſelf is the Tutelar Genius of that *Plant of Renown*, that (according to the Scripture expreſſion) we may call the Church of *England*, and will ever live with it.

The Numbers of our Non-conformiſts are daily decaying, and the names of their Tenets will probably be in a ſhort time forgotten.

We are told in *Townſend*'s Collections that Sir *Walter Raleigh* mention'd it in one of the Parliaments of Queen *Elizabeth*, viz. in *Anno* 1593. *That there were then near* 20000 *Browniſts in* England: a number ſomewhat near as great as that of the Papiſts to be eſtimated from the *Biſhops Survey*. The name of thoſe *Schiſmaticks* is evaporated, and their Tenets are not more known or enquired into by the *Populace*, then are the *Hereſies* of the *Bardeſaniſtæ*, the *Aquei*, the *Abelonitæ*, the *Meſſaliani*, and ſome others.

As was remarked concerning the late Non-Conforming *Divines* not having bred up their Sons to Non-Conformity; the ſame thing is much obſervable among the Lay-Diſſenters, and that their Children do not generally imbibe their Parents principle of Diſſenterſhip; but rather the contrary.

trary. The *Groſs* of their Numbers always conſiſting chiefly of *Artiſans* and Retail-Traders in Corporations, (where before the King's Reſtoration they were numerous) and naturally hating Popery and its Parade of Ceremonies, cannot but be ſenſible of the ſharp hatred againſt the ſame in the Profeſſors of the Religion of the Church of *England*, as by Law Eſtabliſhed; and how vaſtly ſuch Profeſſors do every where over-ſhoot the Diſſenters in numbers: and how the Seed of the Church of *England* hath as naturally and with as much eaſe pierced through the Body of theirs and diſſolved its Roots, as doth the Seed of an Oak often growing in the Body of a decayed Willow.

The times were known in the *Reigns* of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* the firſt, and likewiſe ſince, (till within theſe late years) that ſome *States-men* when their Court-Intereſt was decaying and in danger of *Extirpation*, could, by wheadling Diſſenters into a belief that they would plant their perſwaſion in the Church, plant themſelves the better in the State: but (*humanly ſpeaking*) ſuch Conjunctures of time will come here no more: and the ſeeming *Eradication* of ſuch a *Religion-Trade* in Church and State, is a ſtrong Indication, *That our Heavenly Father* or (as I may ſay) the God of *Nature never planted it.*

But if there were no Laws in being to *extirpate* any Diſſenters *Schiſm*, or ſeparation from our Church, or to Mulct or Excommunicate the obſtinate Separaters, or if any of thoſe Laws were never Executed (as through the vigilance of our Magiſtrates they have been) yet is there one apparent way whereby the Conformiſts to the Church of *England* could now as eaſily leſſen their numbers, and conſequently extirpate their Potency every where, as they can frame a thought or reſolution to do it, and by no other Engine than that with which our Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* batter the *Contumacy* of particular *Towns-men*, namely, not by *Excommunicating*, but by *diſcommuning* them, that is to ſay, by forbidding the *Scholars* to Trade with them.

Their own forbearance of buying from Conformiſts the Wares that thoſe of their own *Sect* do ſell, may reaſonably invite ſuch a retaliation. While heretofore they were ſo numerous in *England*, their Congregated Churches helped many of the mean Artiſts and poor Traders thereof, with the pretence of Liberty of Conſcience to force a Trade by Combination among themſelves: and their doing it then turn'd to ſome account; but would now be altogether inſignificant in this *wane* of their Numbers.

And thus without ſweat or blood, or one *Information* brought on Penal Statutes, or the leaſt occaſion or colour for their *Out-cry* of *Perſecution*, may the many *Millions* of Conformiſts here humble the Comparative *handful* of Popiſh and Proteſtant Recuſants both in Corporations, and out of them too when they pleaſe, and in effect reduce them to the Condition the many *Empericks* in our Land would be in, if they only ſold *Phyſick* to one another.

I affect not to be a *Propounder* of any new Law, or of the execution of any old that may give the leaſt Addition of trouble to any Member of the Realm, whoſe Principles and Practices are not juſtly ſuſpected to threaten the diſturbance of the whole: and my being informed by ſome of my Correſpondents, who are very impartial obſervers of things, that many of the *Diſſenters* of this Age have made the Preſs ſend forth ſeveral of the Antimonarchical Principles of the former, and as if they deſigned to revive its Rebellion, and that tho the ſame *Laws* that have ſecured our Religion, have likewiſe ſecured the Power of the *Militia* ſolely to the King, and Enacted,

that *it is not lawful on any pretence to take up Arms*, &c. yet that the Government is justly apprehensive of many *Dissenters* and their *Pastors*, owning the former Doctrine of *Resistance*, I could wish (as I did in behalf of the Papists) that they would themselves offer to his Majesty's Consideration such a way of a *Test* or Assurance of their being become *sound parts of the State*, and that they aim at no power of disturbing it; and as to his Royal Wisdom may appear substantial and satisfactory till they do so I wish that not only the Magistracy but all private loyal persons would have such a regardful eye on them as is had in Foreign parts on those that come for *Prattiques* from infected places, and bring no *Letters* of *Health*, and that they would have *Prattique* or Commerce with such of them: which would soon enforce them to *live by themselves*.

I have in this Discourse already acknowledged it to your *Lordships* just praise, that you *are not of too narrow a Spirit or Principles as to Protestant Dissenters*, as supposing that you had such *Sentiments* of the usage fit to be afforded to some of them, that our Learned *Bishop* of *Winchester* own'd in a *Letter* to your *Lordship*, which you once shewed me: and I was as ready to be their Excusator as any of the Church of *England* could be till I saw their ingratitude so instrumental in Cancelling the *Declaration of Indulgence*: and still out of a natural inclination do, as I said in the Case of the *Papists*, wish them all that share of the Royal Favour that would not undo themselves and others: and (as I said in the Case of the Papists) do suppose the continuance of the old Laws against *Protestant* Recusants necessary in this Conjuncture, that the King in whom the Executive Power of the Laws is lodged, may sharpen the edge against any one of the Party that should be an aggressor against the Peace of the Kingdom, and especially considering how often many of the *Puritans* have took the advantage of the publick pressures of the Crown in former Ages, and that while it was *in procinctu* to withstand a Foreign Invasion. My Lord Keeper *Puckering*'s Observation of their Temper expressed in his memorable Speech is known to all: and the present apprehensions in the Government of danger from Dissenters, have sufficiently evinced the Prudence of his Majesty's Measures in not repealing the Penal Clauses in our *Statutes* against Protestant *Recusants*. When they who were regarded as *weak Brethren*, do now *fortiter Calumniari* and *Libel* the Government, and call whom they will *Julian*, 'tis necessary that the Prince by having the power of the Penal Laws in his hand, should be able to discriminate those who have not yet discriminated themselves: and in the Case of Persons stupid and perverse, 'tis fitter *that Children should be Lachrymists than old men*.

When the *Divines* of the Church of *England* have of late from one end of the Land to the other alarmed the People with Exhortations against *Disloyalty*, as loud as those in a late Conjuncture against Popery, and the King's Ministers were informed of the *Altum silentium*, in the Conventicles as to any making the *English* Bibles there support the Rights of our *English* Kings, and that the *Julians* there were *Apostates* from the Principles of the Non-Conformists in King *James*'s time, and had forgot how *Reynolds*, *Whitaker*, *Cartwright*, *Dod*, *Traverse*, &c. had in their Writings disowned the assigning it as a Cause of the Primitive Obedience, *Quia deerant vire*, and that a new Sect of false *weak Brethren* had learned to urge the *deerant vires*, 'twas time for the King to keep the strength of the old Laws in his hands, and occasionally to arm them against the *petulant insolence* of any Seditious Protestant or Popish Recusants.

I have been far from recommending in this *Diſcourſe* the *Exterminium hæreticorum*, or *Extirpation* of any *Recuſants*; but have endeavoured with the ſedateneſs requiſite in a Philoſophical or Political Diſquiſition, to give my Judgment of the Natural Cauſes that induce me to expect the *Extermination* only of things, or Principles Relionary, and indeed to ſpeak more properly, of that *part* of Mens Principles only that is *irreligionary* and againſt Nature, and to expect ſuch parts being *luce delenda*.

I expect not that all the Debates of the *Religionary* part of *Presbytery* ſhould here among all men ceaſe, tho yet I have conjectured that they who ſhould write profeſſedly of that Subject here would want Readers, and as I believe too Diſcourſers of the *Latitudinarian Hypotheſis* would likewiſe: and do think that many little Religionary Speculative Notions about the meaning of ſome obſcure paſſages in *Scripture* may to ſome of our Diſſenters ſeem great, and employ their time in Debates, and as when the famous *Ainſworth* and *Broughton* heretofore had before their Congregations of Diſſenters who went hence to *Holland* many and fierce diſputes about the Controveſie, *whether* Aarons *ephod were blew or Sea-green*, a Controverſie that puzzled all the *Dyers* of *Amſterdam*, (as *Fuller* ſays of it in his *Church Hiſtory*) as well as it did our ſeparatiſts there, that took ſo much pains to be therein illuminated, and which I think the light of a Farthing Candle brought in any night among them, might have eaſily ſettled (or as I may ſay deleted) in regard that *blew* and *yellow* making a *green*, the *yellow* of the flame of the Candle would have made what appeared *blew* by day, to have ſeem'd *green* at night, and prevented their further *Anathematiſing* one another as Schiſmaticks about the ſame.

And as I beforementioned it out of a late *Book* of a *Divine* of the Church of *England*, that ſome of the *Religionary* parts of Popery he inſtanceth in, viz. *Invocation of Saints, Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, are and will be learnedly and voluminouſly defended to the Worlds end*, I believe the ſame may be ſo in Popiſh Countries abroad, and that the ſame will be believed by many Perſons here, tho yet the voluminous diſcuſſion of the ſame hath long been (and is like to be) out of faſhion here, and reflections on the ſame *en paſſant*, or only in ſhort *Treatiſes* may be thought by our *Divines* ſufficient to guide their *Auditors* from miſtakes therein, and effectually to confute: and I believe that our *Engliſh* Church will never be troubled with the *growth* of the *Doctrine* of *Tranſubſtantiation* under any Prince, we may have who ſhall believe it, nor of the *Doctrine* of *Conſubſtantiation* under any Prince of the *Lutheran* perſwaſion, nor of *Calvin's horrendum decretum* relating to *reprobation* (as 'tis call'd) under any Prince that may believe the *Doctrine* of *Calvin*, tho yet till the Peace of *Munſter* the timid People of the *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Religions hating one another more than they did Papiſts abroad in the World, were ſo much impoſed on by fears and jealouſies in Caſe a *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* Prince ſhould by the right of Lineal Deſcent come to rule them.

But the *Munſter Peace* has taught them better things: and ſhould I ever hear that any *Roman* Catholick Prince here did according to the power by Law repoſed in him, relax ſome of the Penalties of the Law in Caſe of Recuſancy, that as things now are, Recuſancy would not be thereby rendered conſiderably prolific with *Converts*.

Tho I have given my opinion as beforementioned concerning the Fact of the encreaſe of the number of the *Papiſts* in the Conjuncture of the *Declaration of Indulgence*, and do not think fit to alter it, yet I can tell your *Lordſhip* that a Perſon of great Sagacity who I believe conſidered the State of their Numbers here then very carefully, and entirely believe

what

what he publiſhed thereof in Print, I mean the Author of the *Catholick Apology* with a reply, &c. there ſaith, that *during the Year* 1672. (and which he calls *a year of Peace*) *there was not one Prieſt, one Maſs one Converſion more in* England, *than in the Year* 1663, 1666. *or any other time of troulle.*

I have in this Diſcourſe ſpoke of ſuch a *perfect hatred againſt Popery as may always conſiſt with a perfect love to Papiſts, and cinge not a hair of their heads more than a Lambent fire.* I have acknowledged *the great mortifications auſterities and zealous devotions, not only among many of the Religious Orders of the Church of* Rome, *but of the common People*, and have allowed a *ſober Party* to the *Jeſuites* themſelves, and have reaſon to believe that *Bellarmine* himſelf, that hammer of Heretical Princes, as his *Works* ſhew him, was yet of ſo ſoft and gentle a diſpoſition as would not permit him to hurt a Fly or tread on a Worm: and I have reflected on no other Principles of the *Jeſuites*, with any ſharpneſs than what the preſent Pope hath done, and which the *Court* of *Inquiſition* at *Rome* or elſewhere would have allowed me to do: and I have been as I ſtill am ſo free from any thing of rancour or acerbity in my Principles, relating to the uſage of the Papiſts that an *Engliſh* Prieſt of the Church of *Rome*, the Author of the remarkable Book beforementioned, called the *Advocate of Conſcience Liberty, or an Apology for toleration rightly ſtated*, publiſhed in the Year 1673. (and the moſt conſiderable Book that had for ſeveral years been writ in favour of the *Roman* Catholicks, and a Book our Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* refers to in a very excellent printed Sermon of his *p.* 43. and called, *The Reformation juſtified*, and Preached before the *Lord Mayor* of *London*) doth me the honour there to adopt as his own ſeveral Sayings of mine, he found in a printed Diſcourſe of mine that was diſſwaſive of the uſe of force in matters of Religion, and gave me occaſion when I read ſome paſſages in his 14th, 25th, 26th, 34th, 43d, 54th, 55th, 62d, 94th *Pages* there, to call to mind that I had read them elſewhere: and much good might any thing in my Writings do that Author, and he was as welcome to them as if they had been his own: and I am ſorry that his not citing an *Author* where he ſhould have done it, was accompanied with another misfortune of citing one where he ſhould not, I mean his in *p.* 225. citing of *D' Oſſat*. He might have cited another paſſage of mine againſt *Hereticide* as being impolitic if he had pleaſed to have took notice of it among its fellows, and where I obſerved, that *the putting of the* Roman *Catholick Prieſts here to death, did propagate their Religion: and that that Faith was given to the Aſſertors of* Popiſh *Opinions, becauſe they were dying, which they could not have drawn from me but by raiſing the dead.*

I ſtill own what in *p.* 93. he partly cites of mine as ſaid by another *Author, That if it be not lawful for every man to be guided by his private Judgment in things of Religion, 'twill be hardly poſſible to acquit our ſeparation from the* Romiſh *Church from the guilt of Schiſm*, &c. and if any Papiſt ſhall as to any *Tenet* that can properly come within the *denomination* of *Religion* tell me, that his private Judgment guides him to receive the guidance of the Church of *Rome*, and that therefore I a Proteſtant ought not to be inclined to bear hard upon him on the account of ſuch adheſion to his private Judgment, I ſhall own the *Argumentum ad hominem* ſo far as to tell him that I am not inclined *eo nomine* to be ſevere to him.

And now my *Lord*, becauſe it hath been ſo *cuſtomary* in the *Authors* of large *Diſcourſes* to beſtow on them a ſhort *REVIEW*, that it would appear ſullenneſs in me not to follow them, and becauſe it would be an irreverence to your great Judgment in me to preſent any thing for you to view

once

once, that I had not reſolv'd to view twice, I intend to improve ſome Intervals of leiſure hereafter in *reviewing* of this *Diſcourſe*, and ſhall explain ſome paſſages therein on occaſion and *add* others: and if I doubt of any thing particularly in the various matters of *Calculation* herein contained (and of many of which few or none perhaps have written) or ſhall alter my opinion therein, or in any thing elſe, I ſhall acquaint your *Lordſhip* why I do ſo; and do as much value my ſelf on my natural temper of acknowledging a quick and ready aſſent to any propoſition of Reaſon that convinceth my underſtanding (how contradictory ſoever the ſame may be to any former Notion of mine) as any man can value himſelf on his thinking he never erred, or on his Abilities either by Eloquence or Sophiſms to make others think ſo, and to make them erre with him: and do ſtill account this to be one of the beſt properties in the beſt *Ship*, namely, the ſooneſt to *feel* its *Rudder*: and do think, that as none but *Cowards* are *cruel*, ſo none but *Dunces* are *poſitive*.

My Lord, after the Efflux of the various Intervals in which this *Diſcourſe* was written, it having happened that the *Papiſts* are to the general ſatisfaction of impartial Judges of Men and Things, become as ſound a *part* of this Nation as they were and are of the *Dutch* States, (and as throughout this *Diſcourſe* I always ſuppoſed them capable of being) and that the *Body* of them is as *Loyal* as can be *wiſhed*, and likely forever ſo to continue, and that none but the *Factious* would have them now to groan under the Penal Laws as formerly, I will not deſpair of many of our *Diſſenters* improving hereafter in *Principles* of *Loyalty*, as likewiſe of *Conformity*, but hope they will *really* deſerve to be thought as *Loyal* as they were ſo *de facto*, by many greater Judges than my ſelf at the time of the beginning of this *Diſcourſe*, and when ſo many in our Loyal *Parliaments* were ſo extravagant in their Charity to *Diſſenters*, as to think that St. *Peters* Ship was the only *Fire-Ship*, and *Non-Conformity* a quiet trading *Merchant-man*, and being hared with *fears* and *jealouſies* of *Popery*, were ſo eager to have the very *Laws* againſt *Proteſtant* Recuſants Repealed.

But as I hinted the *diſtinguiſhing* between *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant* Mathematicks to be abſurd, and as a groſs Error about *Proportion* or *Numbers* would appear more ridiculous in *Archimedes* than in an ordinary *Mathematician*; ſo true *Proteſtants* Non-ſenſe or true *Proteſtants* Rebellion is to be no *favourable* Caſe: and the *Name* of *Proteſtants* muſt not more than that of the *Society* of *Jeſus* be allowed as a *Charm* to raiſe the *Devil* of *Rebellion*.

When *Luther* and thoſe who of old deſerved the Name of True *Proteſtants* abroad as great Co-workers with *Nature*, in introducing the *Reformation* of *Religion*, were almoſt deafen'd by their *Papal* Adverſaries Outcryes of the *tunica inconſutulis*, and when particularly as *Sleidan* tells us in his *Commentarys*, *Granvill* the *Emperors* Deputy in an *harangue* he made to the *Citizens* of *Wormes* did ſo paſſionately conjure them, *That they would not tear Chriſt's ſeamleſs Coat*, the Proteſtant *Populace* was ſo far from being *aw'd* out of their way by thoſe *words*, as that they gave their Adverſaries the *Name* of *Inconſutuliſtæ*, or *the ſeamleſs men*: and as little will any of our falſe and *jeſuited* Rebellious *Diſſenters* effect any thing but the *abuſe* of the *name* and *thing* of *Proteſtancy*, and the *ridiculing* themſelves by their uſurping on a *pretence* to be *TRUE PROTESTANTS*.

It comes here in my way to obſerve that ſome of our *Diſſenters* and other *Nominal* Proteſtants, who are ſo apt without ſenſe or reaſon to call others *Enemies to the King and Kingdom*, have really appeared *ſuch* to

both, by their having ſo much encreaſed *Diviſions* in our *State* as well as *Church*, and by their having been the *Aggreſſors* in the dividing the Populace here by ſpightful *calling* of *Names*, which yet I have not thought fit to mention in this *Diſcourſe*, and whereby the *Loyal* have been forced ſome way to *retaliate*, not only out of a generous ſcorn, but that they might ſpeak intelligibly: ſuch *Aggreſſors* have likewiſe notoriouſly contributed to the *Diviſions* in the Kingdom by their too much encouraging the *Plot-Witneſſes* (and particularly that *Recorded* Profligate who ſo deſperately perjured himſelf in the Caſe of your *Lordſhip*, and the Earl of *Peterborough* and a *High-born* Prince) and by extreme acerbity and rancour relating to the Perſons of *Papiſts*. But their moſt fatal injury to their Country hath been their weakning its *Reputation* (a thing which *Kingdoms* muſt neceſſarily ſubſiſt by, as well as *private* Perſons) through their ſtudied Artifice of making a Popiſh Plot to be thought ſo long lifed, and when *England*'s reputation for its *ſtrength*, or which is all one for its being *united* within it ſelf, was much more neceſſary for its well being, than in any *Conjuncture* of time that perhaps ever happen'd.

Conſidering therefore that the preſent *State* of *England* doth, and that the probable Future State of it will call ſo peremptorily on all his Majeſty's Subjects to preſerve their Country by the *Exterminium* of all *Diviſions*, as I think I have not brought any diſreputation to my own Judgment by adventuring to predict the neceſſary *growth* of *Loyalty* making all *England* to become in time one *Sober* Party; ſo I am ſure I have provided for the *Reputation* of my *Country* thereby as well as I could.

I am not ſo angry as to think that many of our Religionary *Recuſants* will either on the account of the Divine *Prayer* of the holy *Jeſus* for the *uniting* his Flock, or of any *Scripture-predictions* of the more *pacific* temper that Chriſtians ſhall at laſt be bleſt with, be thus inclined to endeavour to ſhew themſelves (as I may ſay) honeſt *Inconſutuliſts*, and to forbear *dividing* our Realm as formerly: but by their *Intereſt* ſo viſibly and palpably concerned in the ſtrengthening the Kingdom, I ſuppoſe neceſſity of *Nature* may be inſtrumental in the accompliſhment of ſuch Scripture-predictions: and juſt as the *Intereſt* and *Concern* of the *Souldiers* in the *Goſpel* who hoped to have Chriſt's *ſeamleſs* Coat come to their *ſhare*, inclined them not to *rend* it and to caſt *Lots* for the ſame, and whereby the *Scripture* was *fulfilled* as is ſaid in the *Goſpel*.

I have mentioned it out of the *Scripture* that the *Stork knoweth her appointed times, and the Crane and the Swallow obſerve the time of their coming*: and I may (thinking of a great Prince abroad) add, that the ſight of a *numberleſs* Flock of *Stares* making ſomewhat like a *Cloud* in the Air, and ſafely flying cloſe together, while there is a *Falcon* towering above them, will direct the *Populace* of ſeveral parts of *Chriſtendom* to Loyalty and to the natural *Garranty* of *Union* at home under their reſpective Governors, whereby they will be effectually preſerved.

As I have in this *Diſcourſe* entertained your *Lordſhip* with ſomewhat like a ſhort *Hiſtorical* Account of the accidental encreaſe and natural decreaſe of the Numbers of the *Papiſts* in ſeveral *Conjunctures* ſince the *Reformation*, ſo I ſhall in my intended *Review* with the like of thoſe of the *Non-Conformiſts*, and impartially take notice of the reſpective *Conjunctures* of their *petulant inſolence*: and whereby I ſhall ſhew to what ſtrange *Principles* of Out-raging our *Municipal* Laws they were gradually abandoned.

As a *Specimen* hereof I ſhall obſerve, That *Ames* a Learned *Diſſenter* of the former Age, in the *Preface* of his *Puritaniſmus Anglicanus*, printed in the *year* 1610, ſpeaking of the *ſufferings* of the *Clerical* Diſſenters, ſaith,

That

That the *Crime* they were adjudged guilty of in *England* was, *Quod obſtinaverunt ſeſe contra leges*: and then goeth on to ask, *Sed quæ tandem illæ quarum gratiâ & vi tot fideles & aliàs inculpati Miniſtri ſunt bonis omnibus ſedibuſq; pulſi (nam ex altari vivebant) dignitatibus & functionibus ſuis exuti, fædati etiam exiſtimatione? Sunt autem ne neſcias non fundamentales Regni leges, non vetera Majorum ſcita aut conſulta, quorum ſummam brevem in* Magnâ (*ut appellant*) Charta *conſcriptam habemus: hæc illi Religioſiſſime colunt: horum fidem implorant; ſed Canones neſcio qui in legum fraudem dolo malo confecti, à Parliamentario ſenatu damnati, vere ſontici, quos denique adverſus miniſtros inviti, & non ſine pudore & in alios culpæ trajectione, exercent Authores ipſi*, &c.

But we may with *horror* ask, *what kind* of *Laws* is it, that thoſe have *Outraged* ſince 41, and ſome of them ſince the *year* 60, and ſince a particular *Law* hath *declared* the *Militia* to be ſolely in the *King*?

I moſt humbly take my leave of your Lordſhip at preſent, and am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips moſt

Faithful Servant.

THE

To the Right Honorable
THE
LORD MARQUESSE
OF
HALIFAX.

MY LORD,

ACcording to the Common Civility of Ships paying a Salute to the Forts on the Coasts they come near, the Course of my handling the following Subject necessarily giving my Thoughts an approach to the Considering the great use that Providence not long ago made use of your Lordship's great Abilities as a Fortification for the Defence of the Hereditary Monarchy, I have held it here but common Justice to Congratulate to your Lordship your heroical Loyalty and great Success therein on one MEMORABLE Day.

It pleas'd God, in whose Book the Members of Mens Bodies, and Talents of their Minds are written, then to call forth your Head, and Heart, and Tongue, your flowing Elocution, your fixt Judgment, your great Presence of Mind and Thought, your comprehensive Knowledge of the past Publick Affairs at home and abroad, and even the generous ferment in your Blood, and to put them all to signal use in preserving the whole Body of the Kingdom.

Your Lordship's Goodness was herein the more God-like, for that as the great benign Father of the Creation was pleas'd with being a Benefactor to such whose Ingratitude he foreknew, and to some who would render him as negligent of the Concerns of his Creatures, and to others who would represent him as unjust in his Prescriptions, and cruel in his Designs, and taking pleasure

in the Deſtruction of Souls, ſo your Lordſhip was reſolv'd on your Beneficence to your Country in the black Conjuncture of our Fears and Jealouſies, and you were then Communicative of the brighteſt Beams and ſweeteſt Influences of your ſerene and great thoughts to it, when you knew that by ſome of the People for your ſo doing you would be maligned and miſ-repreſented as an hoſtis Patriæ.

I ſhall Preſume to give your Lordſhip no further trouble then by the ſyncere Profeſſion of my being

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Obedient

Servant,

P. P.

THE

THE OBLIGATION

Relating to the King's

Heirs and Succeſſors

In point of

Conſcience diſcuſs'd,

As reſulting from the OATHS of ALLEGIANCE and SUPREMACY; and the *Takers* of thoſe *Oaths* proved to be thereupon become bound to bear *Faith* and True *Allegiance* to thoſe HEIRS and SUCCESSORS in the *Due* and *Legal* Courſe of DESCENT.

I Shall without *Proem* or *Paſſions* here approach to the Great *Areopagus* of the *Court* of *Conſcience*, and having *ſtated* the *Queſtion* of *what Obligation* to the King's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, reſults from the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* in point of *Conſcience*, ſhall deliver my judgment of the ſame in ſome *Concluſions*, and anſwer *Objections* that may occur.

I ſhall here take Notice that the word *Obligation* from being Originally a *Band* or *Ty* of the *Law* for *Payment* of Debts, hath been ſince frequently applied to the diſcharge of *Moral* Offices. *Obligatio eſt juris vinculum quo neceſſitate reſtringimur alicujus ſolvendæ Rei. Inſtit. de Obligationibus.* And *purſuant* hereunto men may be properly ſaid to *pay* their *Allegiance* to Princes in diſcharge of their Natural *Obligations* and their *Oaths*.

But here I conſider not the extent of the *Obligation* of the *Natural* Allegiance that *Engliſh* Subjects *owe* their Monarchs, nor yet their Obligation to Allegiance from the *Divine* Law *poſitive*, nor from the *Lex terræ*; tho yet I account it very plain that we are on all thoſe accounts *bound* to *pay* them *Allegiance*: but do chooſe to confine my diſcuſſion of the *Obligation* to *Allegiance*, as reſulting from the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and as mentioned in our *Statutes* in relation to our King's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, and moſt *particularly* from that CLAUSE in the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, viz. *I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his*

Majeſty, *his* HEIRS *and* SUCCESSORS, *and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my power againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crown and Dignity*, &c. And THAT in the *Oath* of *Supremacy*, viz. *And do promiſe that from henceforth I ſhall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, and to my power ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preheminences and Authorities granted or belonging to the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors*, &c.

And I here enquire, how far the Obligation reſulting from thoſe Clauſes in thoſe Oaths, in Relation to ſuch *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, may be judged in point of Conſcience to extend?

As to the *Queſtion* thus *explained* and *ſtated* I ſhall lay down theſe following *Concluſions*;

Firſt, That thoſe Oaths (and indeed all others) do reſpect a Duty to be performed in the Future time; that is, at the leaſt *ſome* time tho perhaps a very *ſmall* one after the Obligation contracted, as is well open'd by *Sanderſon* in his firſt *Lecture* of the *Obligation* of *Oaths*, and where he ſhews that *this happens in every Oath aſſertory as well as promiſſory: for whoever ſweareth obligeth himſelf* ipſo facto *to manifeſt the truth in that which he is about to ſay, whether it be in a matter paſt or preſent by an Aſſertory; or in a Future matter by a* Promiſſory *Oath.*

Secondly, That by that part of an Oath *Promiſſory* contained in the forementioned *Clauſes* of the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, as likewiſe by all other Oaths *Promiſſory*, the Party ſwearing is bound to endeavour for the Future as much as in him lieth by his *Deeds* to fulfil what he hath ſworn in *words:* and this *Sanderſon* in his ſecond *Lecture* hath well aſſerted as to an *Oath* Promiſſory, viz. *That he who endeavours not to perform that which he hath promiſed is guilty of Perjury in the Court of Conſcience.*

'Tis plain that in an *Aſſertory* Oath, if I took the ſame with a well-compoſed mind, and have given my *Teſtimony* truely, I have *diſcharged* my Duty, and have my *Quietus* from my Conſcience for the ſame. But in an Oath *Promiſſory*, and particularly in the *Promiſſory* part of the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, I am not *diſcharged* by the ſincerity of my intention in my *promiſe*. I have engaged my ſelf to *Action*, and have lanched my ſelf into a Sea of Buſineſs from that time forward till the end of my life, and as there is occaſion and opportunity I am to DO what in thoſe *Clauſes* I have promiſed to the King and his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*. And thus the *Style* of DOING runs in *Numbers* 30. 2. *If a man ſwear an Oath to bind his Soul with a Bond, he ſhall* DO *according to all that procedeth out of his mouth.*

Thirdly, That thoſe *Oaths* and all others are to be taken in the *ſenſe* of the *Impoſer*. For the *Oath* being taken that the *Impoſer* may be aſſured that the *promiſe* of the Perſon ſwearing ſhall be effectually made good to him, there would be no aſſurance thereof in the leaſt, if the Oath were to be interpreted otherwiſe than in the Impoſers *ſenſe*: and under this *Concluſion* it may be properly added, *that* where that *ſenſe* is ſufficiently manifeſt in the *words*, it is exactly to be ſtood to, as *Sanderſon* hath well ſhewed in his ſecond *Lecture* of the aforeſaid *Subject*, and where having ſhewed how *we muſt take heed that we impoſe not on the Oath we have taken, or any part thereof other ſenſe than that which any other Pious and Prudent Man (and who being unconcerned in the Buſineſs is of a freer Judgment) may*

eaſily

eaſily gather out of the Words themſelves, he ſaith, That *we become without queſtion guilty of the heinous Crime of Perjury, if that milder interpretation which encouraged us unto the Oath chance to deceive us.* And in his 6th *Lecture* §. 7. he ſaith, *As it is one kind of Perjury to ſtrain the words during the Act of Swearing unto another Senſe than that wherein they are underſtood by the Auditors, ſo it is another kind of Perjury having ſworn honeſtly, not to proceed ſincerely, but to decline and elude the ſtrength of the Oath (tho the words be preſerved) with ſome new forged inventions, variouſly turning and dreſſing the words to cloak the guilt of their Conſciences as* Tacitus *ſaith of ſome:* and he concludes that *Section* by ſaying, That *where the words of an Oath are ſo clear in themſelves, that among honeſt men there can be no queſtion of their meaning, the Party ſwearing is obliged in that ſenſe which they apparently afford, and may not either in ſwearing or when he hath ſworn, ſtretch thoſe words upon the laſt of his Intereſt by any ſtudied interpretations.*

There appeared nothing more deteſtable to the Eye of the old *Civil* Law then *fraud* and *trick*, and particularly the deſtroying the true *Senſe* and meaning of a *Law* by a cavilling fraudulent *interpretation* that retains the words but confounds the ends for which the Law was made; and accordingly 'tis ſaid in the *Digeſts*, *In fraudem legis facit qui ſalvis verbis legis, ſententiam ejus circumvenit.*

But this in the Caſe of an *Oath* was more abominated, and accordingly *Cicero* tells us, that *Fraus adſtringit non diſſolvit perjurium.* And if the *Civil* Law was afterward ſo provident for the honour of Humane Nature as to determine in the Caſe of an *unask'd* free gift, that *Cum in arbitrio cujuſcunque ſit hoc facere quod inſtituit, oportet eum vel minime ad hoc proſilire, vel cum venire ad hoc properaverit, non quibuſdam excogitatis artibus ſuum propoſitum defraudare, tantamque indevotionem quibuſdam quaſi legitimis velamentis prolegere*, any one may judge how much it abhorred any thing of *fraud* in the evading of the *payment* of a due ſubjection to *Sovereign* Power acknowledged by what the thinking Heathens term'd *Sacramentum*, as if the moſt eminent, or only thing *emphatically* Sacred, and religiouſly to be obſerved.

I ſhould not ſince the Extermination of the *Jeſuites* Doctrine of *Equivocating* have thought it worth while ſo much to dilate on this plain *Concluſion*, before the *publiſhing* a *Pamphlet* in our *Metropolis* in the *Year* 1680, called *An Account of the New Sheriffs holding their Office, made publick upon reaſon of* CONSCIENCE, *reſpecting themſelves and others in regard to the Act for Corporations*, and in which ACT, tho the Lawgivers meaning of the *Oath* thereby impoſed is moſt apparently maniſeſt out of the Words, yet the *Author* of that *Caſuiſtical* Pamphlet makes it *lawful* to take the *Oath* and *ſubſcribe* the *Declaration*, and not in the *literal ſtrict Conſtruction*, but in an imaginary *ſenſe topp'd* upon the *Lawgivers*, and that nothing but a vitiated *fancy* or *injudicious* mind could imagine.

I was ſorry to hear that that *Pamphlet* was writ by a *Non-Conformiſt* Divine: and that in a *Conjuncture* when the Magiſtrates of that *City* were ſo hot againſt the *name* of *Popery*, any men ſhould be ſo zealous for the *Thing* called *Jeſuitiſm*, and that any men by attempting to rivet *Equivocation* into their *Model* of *Proteſtancy*, ſhould at once endeavour to rob us of the *Energy* of the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and of the *Teſt* it ſelf, and to make the *ſacredneſs* of all *Oaths* whatſoever to evaporate.

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Let any *ſober* Perſon of the *Diſſenters* Party but ſeriouſly read that *Pamphlet* ſo ſcandalous to *Proteſtancy*, and it cannot but give him the Alarm of *coming out from among them*, for that he muſt do that would *come out* even from the *Jeſuitick Equivocation*.

If there were not a *Church of* England-*Proteſtancy* in that Loyal *City*, I may without unjuſt reflection ſay it, that *Magiſtrates* who were Acceſſory to the erecting that *Paper-Monument* to *Equivocation*, and to the trying to help it to a *jus Divinum*, and to be a part of *pure Religion and undefiled*, could bring little honour to our *Metropolis* by calling it a PROTESTANT CITY on its *Monument* of Stone.

As we find in the Book of *Judges* that all that ſaw that inhumane Butchering and Quartering out into pieces of the *Levites* Wife by her own Husband, cried out and ſaid, *There was no ſuch thing done or ſeen ſince the time that the Children of* Iſrael *came up out of the Land of* Egypt *until that day*, I believe it may be affirmed that never in any PROTESTANT City in the World, ſince the time that it was free'd from the *Egyptian* Servitude of the *Papal* Impoſitions, was any ſuch barbarous butchering of the *Obligation* of an *Oath* by *Equivocation* in a printed *Caſe* ſent about the Kingdom by the pretended *Eſpouſers* of *Proteſtancy*, ever done or ſeen. And according to the ſaying, that *Niſi ſerpens ſerpentem comederit non fit draco*, it may be ſaid that the moſt ſuperlative and dreadful outraging of Oaths cannot be compaſſed but by the Conſciences of pretended Proteſtants digeſting the old Equivocation of the *Jeſuites*.

When I conſider this therefore that the *falſe Proteſtant* Diſcuſſer of that CASE of CONSCIENCE of the SHERIFFS, doth determine that, *by taking up Arms againſt the King* mentioned in the *Oath*, is to be meant againſt HIS RIGHTFUL GOVERNMENT, and *that the Oath muſt be taken in the* SENSE or MEANING *of the Major part of both Houſes that paſſed it*, and then makes their *meaning* ſo oppoſite to their *words*, and do recollect what is ſo clearly laid down in my Lord Chancellor *Hatton*'s Treatiſe *concerning Statutes, and the Expoſitions of Acts of Parliament*, viz. *That the Aſſembly of Parliament being ended*, functi ſunt officii *and that as to all of the lower Houſe who are by Election, their Authority is returned to the Electors ſo clearly that if they were altogether aſſembled again for interpretation by a voluntary Meeting*, eorum non eſſet interpretari, *and that then the interpretation of the Statutes falls into the hands of the* Sages *of the Law*, and when I conſider that great *Caution* of *Sanderſon* in his ſaid *Book*, that *where we depart from the words of an Oath to the intent, it muſt be well proved that there was ſuch a meaning*, I have a great Compaſſion for men that are *trick't* into *Perjury* by the artifice of any *Caſuiſts*: and as I have mentioned a *Crafty* Counſel *at Law* to be juſtly odious, and a *Crafty* Councellor of *State* to be more ſo, do account a *Crafty* Caſuiſt to be moſt abominable.

What effect that *Pamphlet* hath had in debauching the Conſciences of the *Non-Conformiſts* in thus diſtorting the natural ſenſe of that *Oath* by a *calumnious* and fraudulent interpretation, and whereby ſuch mens tenderneſs of Conſcience may have become Armour of Proof againſt all *Oaths*, I know not. The *Paper* mentions its being deſign'd for the *edifying* of others: and that word of *edifying* minds me of the ſaying of, *Qui judicat contra conſcientiam, ædificat ad gehennam*: and the which too is juſtly applicable to a Proteſtant *Caſuiſt* that giveth Judgment for equivocation. And it may with a pious horror be thought of, that if Chriſtianity and

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its Morals ſhould happen to be generally depraved by ſuch *Sophiſms* and *Chicanery* as that Pamphlet is ſtuffed with, there may be cauſe of fear that *the Son of Man* at his ſecond *coming* will not *find* ſo much as the old *bona fides* of the Heathens *on the Earth*.

That any *Non-Conformiſts* of the preſent Age may ſee how much the *Caſuiſtical* Theology of that *Pamphlet* hath degenerated from the *Rule* about the interpretation of *Oaths* that was in *vogue* among thoſe of the former, I ſhall refer them to the Learned *Caſuiſtical* works of *Ames* a Pious and Learned *Independent* Divine of that Age, printed at *Amſterdam* in the *Year* 1631, and where in his 4th *Book*, *Chap.* 22. *De Juramento*, he very learnedly inveighs againſt the uſe of *Equivocation* and *Mental* Reſervation in *Oaths*, and maketh it to be Equivocation, *Cùm verba ipſa quæ uſurpantur ſunt ambigui ſenſus, & illo ſenſu accipiuntur à jurante, quem audientes cupit celare ut alio ſenſu ab ipſis accipiantur*; and coming to determine that *Queſtion*, viz. *In what ſenſe ought the words of an Oath to be taken?* he anſwers, viz. *In that ſenſe that we judge they who hear us will conceive: that is, regularly in that ſenſe that the words have in the common uſe of men: becauſe the ſignification of words depends on mens uſe.* And he there afterward coming to this *Queſtion*, viz. *Are the Words of an Oath always to be taken ſtrictly as they ſound?* anſwers, *That an Oath, by reaſon of the danger of Perjury, is of* ſtrict right and interpretation, *ſo that it may not admit thoſe larger Explications which in other Facts and Sayings often take place.*

Fourthly, As a Humane Law forbidding a thing ſimply evil, or commanding a thing in its own nature good, doth induce a new Obligation in Conſcience, ſo doth the Addition of an Oath impoſed by the Law for the avoiding of that thing ſo ſimply evil, ſuper-induce a farther Obligation to avoid it: and therefore the Perſons who take the *Oath* of *Allegiance* invoking God as *Witneſs* and *Revenger* that they do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear according to theſe expreſs words by them ſpoken, and according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, *Without any Equivocation or mental Evaſion or ſecret Reſervation whatſoever, and heartily, willingly, and truely upon the* TRUE FAITH *of a* CHRISTIAN, are under a more eſpecial and particular Obligation to abhor all *ſubtle* and *cavilling* interpretations of the *ſenſe* of the ſaid *Oath*.

Fifthly, As the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the words in the *Clauſes* reſpecting the Future time of *bearing Faith and true Allegiance to his Majeſty*, &c. do lay an actual Promiſſory Obligation on the ſwearer to bear the ſame to him during his life, ſo *reddendo ſingula ſingulis*, they lay an actual Promiſſory Obligation on the ſwearer to bear the ſame to his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* afterward in the *Due* and *Legal* Courſe of Deſcent.

The *Promiſe* in the *Clauſe* of the *Oath* of *Supremacy* runneth thus, *viz.* and *DO Promiſe* that FROM HENCEFORTH I WILL *bear Faith*, &c. And words could not expreſs an actual Obligation incurr'd and to have ſome Operation in the next Moment of time, both in relation to his Majeſty and his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, more clearly than thoſe have expreſſed the ſame. And the *Promiſe* ſworn in the *Clauſe* of the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, viz. *I will bear Faith*, &c. doth likewiſe after the Oath ſworn immediately operate in its Obligation to the King and his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* in the next Interval of Time imaginable, however the word *henceforth* be not there uſed as in the former Oath: for the *Clauſe* of the *Oath*

of *Allegiance* binding me not only to preſerve the King, but the Hereditary Monarchy, I could not be effectually enough by the Oath obliged to the ſame without being obliged in the ſhorteſt time afterward, not only to forbear prejudicing any right that belongs to the King and his Heirs and Succeſſors, but to defend the ſame.

The pointing of men to an ordinary *Leaſe* where the *Leſſee* at the *perfecting* thereof enters into an *actual* Obligation both in *Law* and *Conſcience* to pay his Rent to the *Leſſor, his Heirs and Aſſigns*, that is, as it ſhall become due to each reſpectively, ſhews a preſent *actual* Obligation incurr'd of diſcharging any Future *Dues* ſucceſſively, and (as I ſaid) *reddendo ſingula ſingulis*, to be familiar enough to common thought and vulgar apprehenſions, and likewiſe the word *Heirs* to be ſo too.

The many who take the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* have ſpent enough time, and perhaps too much ventured eternity, in thinking of and providing for their *Heirs*; and who commonly as *landed* men know that by virtue of right either immediately or mediately derived from the Crown, they are only enabled to ſay, *They are ſeized of this or that Land in their* Demeſne *as of Fee*, and which is as much as to ſay, *It is their Demeſne or proper Land after a ſort, becauſe it is to them and their Heirs*, and that ſuch Fee doth *vi termini* imply *Fealty*, and *Fealty* ſworn: and the thought of which would on the turning of the Tables make them ſufficiently apprehenſive of their danger, if there could be any *ambiguity* in the word *Heir*, or the *Crown* granting Land *to them and their Heirs forever.*

I ſhall here take occaſion by the way to reflect on an Antimonarchical ſaying I met with printed, as ſpoke in *Parliament* by a great *Demagogue* ſome years ago, viz. *That the Cottager here holds his right by the ſame Tenure that the Crown holds its.* For it is falſe that our King or the Crown oweth *Fealty* to any *Superior*, but *God* only. The King's Throne is *the Throne of God*, and the *Style* of Crown'd Heads is *Dei gratiâ*, and *by him Kings Reign.*

But to proceed. If there could be *Ambiguity* in the word *Heirs*, the worth of our *Magna Charta* would ſoon be depretiated, and it would be but *Res unius ætatis*; and particularly where it ſaith, *Conceſſimus Deo & hac præſenti charta confirmavimus pro nobis & HÆREDIBUS noſtris in perpetuum, quod Eccleſia Anglicana libera ſit & habeat omnia jura ſua integra & libertates ſuas illæſas*, and whereby the *Britiſh* Churches are ſecured under a Prince of any Religion from *Foreign* Arbitrary impoſitions But indeed the Style current in *Magna Charta* is, that our *Kings* for *themſelves and their Heirs* forever, did grant the Cuſtoms and Liberties contained in that Charter to our *Anceſtors* and their *Heirs* for ever. Our Anceſtors had no occaſion to ſpend time in ſeeking *Knots* in a *Bull-ruſh* or hidden Senſe in the words HEIRS and the King's HEIRS, when ſo anciently as by the *Oath* of *Fealty* (which every Perſon above *fourteen* years old, and every *Tythingman* was obliged to take publickly at the *Court-Leet* within which he lived) they were ſworn to the *King* and his *HEIRS*: and that Oath was taken a freſh every year by all the Subjects under *Edward* the *Confeſſor* and *William* the *firſt*, and is thus ſet down by *Pryn* in his *Concordia Diſcors*, viz. *I A.B. do ſwear that FROM THIS DAY FORWARDS I will be Faithful and Loyal to our Lord the King AND HIS HEIRS*, &c.

The

The inſtances are innumerable of Allegiance anciently Sworn to our *Kings* and their *Heirs*; and this one for example occureth to me as Sworn in the time of *Edward* the 4*th*. viz. *Sovereign Lord, I* Henry Percy *become your Subject and Leige-man, and promit to God and you, that hereafter, I Faith and Troth ſhall bear to you as to my Sovereign, Leige-Lord, and to your Heirs, Kings of* England, *of Life and Limb, and of Earthly Worſhip, to Live and Die againſt all Earthly People, and to you, and to your Commandments, I ſhall be Obeyſant as God me help, and his Holy Evang'liſts.* 27. Oct. 9. Ed. 4. Clauſ. 9. Ed. 4. m. 13. in dorſo.

Mr. *Pryn* likewiſe in that *Book* of his beforemention'd ſaith, that there was an *ancient Oath of* Fealty and Allegiance, both by *the Subjects of* England, *and Kings, Biſhops, Nobles and Subjects of* Scotland, *made to the Kings of* England *and Their Heirs, as Supreme Lords of* Scotland, *in theſe words*, viz. *Ero fidelis & legalis, fidemque & legalitatem ſervabo* Henrico *Regi* Angliæ *& hæredibus ſuis, de vitâ & membris & terreno honore, contra omnes qui poſſunt vivere & mori: & nunquam pro aliquo portabo arma, nec ero in conſilio vel auxilio contra eum vel Hæredes ſuos*, &c. which Oath he ſaith, *William, King of* Scots, *and all his Nobles Swore to King* Henry *the ſecond, & hæredibus ſuis ſicut ligio Domino ſuo, and* John Balliol, John Comyn, *with all the Nobles of* Scotland, *to King* Edward *the firſt and his Heirs.*

He there likewiſe gives an account how the Nobles of *England* Swore *Fealty* to *Richard* King of *England*, and to his *Heirs againſt all men*, and how the Citizens of *London* Swore the like *Oath*; and, *That if King* Richard *ſhould die without Iſſue, they would receive Earl* John *his Brother for their King and Lord*, & juraverunt ei fidelitatem Contra omnes homines, ſalva fidelitate *Richardi* Regis fratris ſui, *as* Hoveden *relates.*

And he moreover cites the *Record* of the *Writ*, iſſued to all the *Sheriffs* of *England*, ſoon after the Birth of *Edward* the *1ſt. Son* and *Heir* to King *Henry* the 3*d. To Summon all Perſons above* 12 *years old to Swear* Fealty *to him, as Heir to the King, and to ſubmit themſelves faithfully to him, as their Liege Lord after his Death.* This form of the *Oath* in the *Writ* is there mention'd to that effect, *viz. Quod ipſi ſalvo homagio & fidelitate noſtrâ, quâ nobis tenentur, & cui in vitâ noſtrâ nullo modo renunciare volumus, fideles eritis* Edwardo *filio noſtro primogenito, ita quod ſi de nobis humanitus Contigerit, eidem tanquam Hæredi noſtro & domino ſuo ligio erunt fideliter intendentes & eum pro domino ſuo ligio habentes*: And he there ſhews how they were *Summon'd* and *Sworn* accordingly; and further how in the *Parliament* of *H.* 4. *The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons were Sworn to* bear Faith and true Allegiance *to the King, to the Prince and his Iſſue, and to every one of his Sons, ſeverally ſucceeding to the Crown of* England: And he there mentions more *Oaths* taken to our Kings and their *Heirs* of the like Nature.

The Conſideration hereof would make any one wonder at the Confidence of a late Learned *Lawyer*, and poſitive pretender to Omniſcience in our *Engliſh* Antiquities and *Records*, who in his Deteſtable *Book* called *The Rights of the Kingdom*, (and which contains a *farrago* of Impious Anti-monarchical *Principles*, and Printed in *London*, 1649. and there to the Scandal of the *Engliſh* and *Proteſtant* Name, lately Re-printed by ſome Factious *Anti-Papiſts*) hath averred, *That our Allegiance was of old tyed to the Kings Perſon, not unto his* Heirs, *and for the Kings* Heirs (ſaith he there) *I find them not in our Allegiance.* And he mentions the *Oaths* of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, as enjoyn'd in Queen *Elizabeth's* and

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King *James*'s time reſpectively, to be the firſt that were made, *to the Kings Perſon and his HEIRS and SUCCESSORS.*

But to return to the *Cauſe* in hand; 'Tis ſufficient for the *Obligation* I preſs, that HEIRS *and* SUCCESORS are ſo clearly expreſſed in the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy.*

And tho the *Statute* of 1°. *Elizabethæ*, in the *Clauſe* of the Annexing Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to the Crown, uſeth the *ſtyle* of *Your Highneſs, your Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings or Queens of this Realm ſhall have full Power*, &c. as the *Statute* of the Supremacy 26°. *Henry 8th.* runs in the *Style* of *our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of this Realm, ſhall be taken, accepted, and reputed, the only Supreme Head*, and tho the *Oath* in the 35*th. H.* the 8*th. Cap.* 1. that relates to *the bearing Faith, Truth, and true Allegiance to the Kings Majeſty, and to his Heirs and Succeſſors*, &c. be further thus expreſſed, *viz. And that I ſhall accept, repute, and take the Kings Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors* (*when they or any of them ſhall enjoy his place*) *to be the only Supreme Head*, &c. and tho' the old *Oath* of the *Mayor* of *London* and other Cities and Towns throughout *England*, and of *Bayliffs*, or other chief Officers, where there are no *Mayors*, runs in the *ſtyle* of Swearing, *That they ſhall well and Loyally Serve the King in the Office of Mayor, in the City of* L. *and the ſame City, ſhall keep ſurely and ſafely to the uſe of our Lord the King of* England, *and of his Heirs, Kings of* England, might give occaſion for that great, empty, and big-ſounding *Sophiſm* of Sir *W. J.* in his famous Speech, wherein he ſaid, *That we are Sworn to the King, his Heirs and Lawful Succeſſors, but not Obliged to any, during the Kings Life, but to himſelf; for it were Treaſon if it were otherwiſe*; yet let any Man lay his hand upon his Heart, and bend his Ear to the *ſtill* voice of his *Conſcience*, and will he not find that both thoſe *Clauſes* in the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, do neceſſarily imply the *bearing* ſuch *Faith* and *Allegiance*, firſt entirely to the King during his Life, and after his Demiſe, bearing the ſame to his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, when they ſhall become Kings or Queens of this Realm? and that thus, *Quod neceſſarò, ſubintelligitur, non deeſt*, and that the *Oath* of *Supremacy* begins with the *Declaring*, that the *Kings Highneſs* IS *the only Supreme Governor of this Realm*, &c. and that of *Allegiance*, with *declaring* in like manner, *that the King* IS *Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm*, and that the *bearing Faith and Allegiance* to the King, doth imply the *Jus in re*, as to our *Fealty* and *Allegiance* to the King, *Contra omnem hominem*, during the Kings Life; and doth at preſent imply (as I may) *jus ad rem*, to his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* after his Demiſe.

Undoubtedly it was not the deſign of the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, to oblige us to *impoſſible* things; for that no *Oath* can do. And under the notion of things *Impoſſible*, the Civil Law hath well ranged all *Actions which wound Piety Reputation and our Modeſty, and which are againſt good manners*, by that known place, *Quæ facta lædunt pietatem, exiſtimationem, verecundiam noſtram, & ut generaliter dixerim quæ contra bonos mores fiunt, nec facere nos poſſe Credendum eſt.* The *Canon* Law likewiſe hath well told us, that *juramentum contra bonos mores non eſt obligatorium.* And the Law of Nature and all Divine and Humane Laws have taught us, that nothing doth more wound Piety and Reputation, and Common Modeſty to the Heart, or is more againſt good Manners, than the outraging our *Oath* of *Obedience*, or *Allegiance* to our *Prince*; and it may well be Judged *impoſſible* for a Prince to require from his Subjects their

Swearing

Swearing to pay the entire *Allegiance* to another, at that time while it was due *only* to himself.

For as all *Oaths* are *ſtricti juris* in their Interpretation, ſo the word *Allegiance* or *Ligeance* doth *vi te mini* imply the ſtricteſt obligation to the Prince imaginable; and accordingly as the *expreſſion* of *alligare fidem juramento*, is found in *Seneca*. And this Obligation is partly of the nature of what the *Feudiſts* call *Homagium ligium*, diſtinguiſhing *homage* into *ligium* and *non ligium*, and making *ligium* to be that which is *done* to Soveraign Princes only, no *fidelity* to *any one elſe reſerved*: and only to be *fealty* Sworn *contra omnem hominem*, *nullo excepto*; whereupon their rule is, that none can be *homo ligius duorum*, i. e. *at the ſame time*.

And any one who ſhall caſt his Eye on our *Book* of the *Terms of the Law*, will there find the *homagium ligium* got in from among the old *Feudiſts*; and the Author making the Figure of *Homage* to be more Solemn than the *Oath* of *Fealty*, in which *Oath* the *Tenant* ſaith to his *Lord*, *I ſhall be to you Faithful and Loyal; and ſhall bear to you Faith for the Lands and Tenements which I claim to hold of you, and truly ſhall do you the Cuſtoms and Services that I ought to do you at the Terms Aſſigned: So help me God.* But in *Homage* there is *Kneeling* requi ed; and the *Tenant* ſaith on his *Knees*, *I become your Man from this day forward, of Life and Member, and of earthly honour, and to you ſhall be Faithful and Loyal, and ſhall bear to you Faith for the Lands that I claim to hold of you, ſaving the* Faith *that I owe to our Lord the King.*

Sir *Edward Cook* likewiſe entertains us with ſomewhat of the *Homagium ligium*, and he very well and uſefully in his *Calvins Caſe* explains the nature of the Subjects *ligeance* and makes it to be a *true and faithful Obedience* of the *Subject* due to his *Soveraign*; and there ſaith, *that Ligiance is expreſſed by ſeveral terms which are Synonimous in our Books*, and is ſometimes called *obedientia Regi*, and that *Ligiance* is ſometimes called *Faith*, *fides*, *ad fidem Regis*; and there mentioning the *Homage* out of *Litleton*, *Salve le foy quod Jeo doy a noſtre ſur le Roy*, quotes *Glanvil* l. 9. c. 1. for the *Salvo* required in *Homage*, viz. *Salvâ fide debitâ Domino Regi & Hæredibus ſuis.*

It may therefore be here ſaid, that our *Anceſtors* in the contexture of the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, intended no *Idle* words, but did with exact care weigh every expreſſion and word of them *in aurificis Staterâ*.

According to that *trite* wiſe *ſaying*, *hominum malitiis obviandum eſt*, they prepared to encounter with the Clamour of ſome *Romane Catholicks*, who might poſſibly think to run down the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, with the cry of *The New Oath*; and as they afterwards tryed to do, ſuitably to their *old term* of the *New Evangel*: And therefore when they framed the words in the *clauſe* of theſe *Oaths*, which runs much as I have ſhewn in the *old ſtile* of the former *Oaths* uſed long before the *Reformation*, they did *ſtare ſuper vias antiquas*, as I may ſay; and in theſe *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, the Kings *Heirs* do not come in without *deep* precaution, and not as Ceremonious attendants on the Kings Perſon (as I may ſay) but in order to the Support of the Hereditary Monarchy, and as I ſhall ſhew more by and by out of the words of the *Oaths*. The *Lawgivers* ventured no *danger* of *anſwering* at *the day of Judgement* for any *idle* words, and much leſs for *Captious* ones in the *Oaths*: And 'tis a *delirium* to think that they ſhould make it Treaſon in ſome Caſes, to refuſe one

of thoſe *Oaths*, and make it too Treaſon to practice it; and that the Oath of *Allegiance* obliging men to *endeavor to diſcloſe to his Majeſty, his* HEIRS and *SUCCESSORS, all TREASONS which they ſhall know or hear of, to be againſt him or* EITHER *of them*, the Obligation to the Kings *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, in the words immediately foregoing, could imply any thing of *Treaſon*.

We know that as to any thing written, *interpretatio facienda eſt ex totius Scripturæ Contextu*, and that *pro expreſſo id habetur quod Colligitur ex eo quod expreſſum eſt*; and that if any one ſhall deliberately mind the Contexture of thoſe *Oaths*, and what is therein ſo liquidly expreſſed and aſſerted, that thoſe Oaths which were intended as all others to *put an end to all Strife*, do make none between our *Kings*, their *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*.

But all men of ſenſe and thought cannot but grant, that in the *Clauſes* as relating to the Kings HEIRS and SUCCESSORS, we are to judge according to the *Rule* of Interpretation, *viz.* that *verba non debent eſſe otioſa, ſed ita intelligi debent ut aliquid operentur*, and that *verba cum effectu ſunt accipienda*: And as 'tis ſaid in the *Civil Law*, *Semper in ſtipulationibus & in cæteris contractibus, id ſequimur quod ACTUM eſt*; and as *actus* is there taken for a general word, *ſive re ſive verbis quid AGATUR*; here is an ACT of the Swearer, done in relation to ſuch HEIRS and SUCCESSORS: and he is *promittendi reus* in the *Civil* Law *Phraſe*, and as he is there called *Reus, qui debitor eſt, omninoque obligatus ex quavis Cauſa*, and as he who hath promiſed any thing is ſaid *Reus debendi*; and ſo *Reus conſtitutus dicitur qui ſe obligavit. ff. Quod met. Caus. l.* 14. §. *Labeo*.

But on the whole matter, our *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* contain in them nothing *impoſſible*, and nothing *ambiguous*, and do *ipſo facto* or in plain *Engliſh*, oblige us as ſoon as taken to be ready to pay our Allegiance to the *King*, and afterward to his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* as reſpectively due according to the Legal Courſe of Deſcent.

And if any one be frightned with Sir *W. I's. Day-Dream* of *Treaſon*, *viz.* in being immediately upon the taking of the *Oaths* under ſome Obligation to the Kings *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, let him repair to our *Statute-Book* and he will there find as good *Bail* provided for him in the *Caſe* as *Heaven* and *Earth* can give: for in the *Preamble* of an *Act* of *Parliament* the *King* and three *Eſtates* tell him of *the Duty that every true and well affected Subject, not only by BOND of Allegiance, but alſo by the COMMANDMENT of Almighty God, OUGHT to perform to his Majeſty, his* HEIRS *and* SUCCESSORS, 7*o Jac.* c. 6.

In fine, I ſhall hereupon *affirm*, that ſhould any *Engliſh* Subject, who hath taken theſe *Oaths* live to the age of *Neſtor*, and in the courſe of Nature, ſee ſeveral of our Kings *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, in the due and Legal courſe of Deſcent, Succeeding one another; and ſhould ſuch Subject be never call'd on to *reiterate* thoſe *Oaths* in the Reign of any of them, he would yet by theſe Oaths before once taken, continue obliged to bear *true Faith and Allegiance* to them all Succeſſively.

And thus in the firſt *fœderal Oath* we read of, the *Father of the faithful*, obliged himſelf *at once* in relation to *Abimelech and his SON*, and his SONS SON: and we know how afterward *God* was pleaſed to oblige himſelf at *once* to *Abraham* and his SEED; and how after that *God* was pleaſed to oblige himſelf by his *Oath* and *Covenant* made to *David* and

and his SEED, as to their *Succeſſion* in the *Royal* Throne of *Juda*: And 'twas to this the *words* in the *Pſalms*, ONCE *have I Sworn*, &c. refer.

And therefore this *Scriptural* Repreſentation of *God*, *after the manner of Men*, condeſcending in the Government of the world, to bind himſelf *ex gratiâ*, as aforeſaid, may well inculcate to us the reaſonableneſs of our becoming *ipſo facto* bound by our *Oaths* to pay the *debitum Juſtitiæ* to his *Vice-Roys* and their HEIRS and SUCCESSORS.

To proceed therefore, I ſhall lay down this as a *6th Concluſion*, and genuinely deducible from the former one, *viz.* That by Virtue of thoſe two *Clauſes*, the *takers* of thoſe *Oaths* do particularly *bind* themſelves not only againſt the Aiding and Aſſiſting or Abetting any *Rebellion* or any *Uſurpation* of the rights of his Majeſty's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* that can happen; but to the aiding and aſſiſting of the Crown, and preſerving its Inheritable Rights on all Emergent occaſions.

Sanderſon in his *4th Lecture* of the *Obligation* of *Oaths*, puts the *Caſe* concerning the Perſon to whom an Oath was made, *viz. Whether he who hath Sworn the performance of a thing to another, the Party to whom he Sware being deceaſed, be bound to make it good to the* Heirs *and* Succeſſors *of the ſaid Party?* And his words are: *I anſwer, ordinarily he is. It is certain that the Party Swearing is obliged if he expreſs'd that he would perform the Oath unto the Heirs of the other. It may alſo be taken for granted, that he is bound tho he expreſſed it not, if the Oath taken relates to* DIGNITY, *becauſe* DIGNITY *varies not with the change of Perſons. Whence if any Subject or Souldier Swear Fidelity to his King or General, the Oath is to be meant to be made unto them alſo who ſucceed to that Dignity.*

Yet *Ames* our Learned *Non-conformiſt* in his *Caſe* of *Conſcience*, *4th Book*, *Chapter* 22. viz. *De Juramento*: as to the *11th Queſtion*, and *about the Obligation of an Oath Ceaſing*, ſaith, *Quum aufertur ratio juramenti, juramentum ceſſat ratione Eventus: qui caſus eſt eorum, qui jurarunt ſe obedituros Domino, aut Principi alicui, qui poſtea ceſſat eſſe talis.*

But perhaps had the *Caſe* of ſo *ſtrict* an *Oath*, as that of *Allegiance* to our *Prince* and his HEIRS and SUCCESSORS layn before him, he would have writ otherwiſe of its *Obligation*. For as the Conſideration of the forementioned *Clauſes* in the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* did ſufficiently prevail with the Ejected and Perſecuted *Divines* of the Church of *England*, and moſt of its *Lay* Members, to avoid all ſinful Compliance with the late *Uſurpation* and *Uſurpers*; ſo it did likewiſe with many of the *Presbyterians* and others, to avoid the ſame, and particularly to refuſe the taking the ENGAGEMENT ſet up by the *Republicans*, and even to Publiſh in *Print* their holding themſelves obliged by *thoſe* Oaths ſo to do.

I ſhall *inſtance* in two that did ſo; Mr. *Pryn* in his *Book* before *cited* mentions thoſe OATHS as in *direct* words extending not only to the late *King*'s Perſon (mentioning *King Charles* the *1ſt*) but his HEIRS and SUCCESSORS, and *Inviolably binding the Swearers in perpetuity in point of* LAW *and* CONSCIENCE, *ſo long as there is any Heir of the Crown, and Royal Line in being; and that upon many Unanſwerable Scriptural Precedents and Legal Conſiderations*, &c.

He had before charged thoſe with apparent *Perjury*, who had *taken* thoſe *Oaths* to the *King* and *his* HEIRS, *and yet repute thoſe few Reliques of the old Parliament then ſitting* (*forcibly ſecluding the Lords and Majority*

rity of their Fellow Members) *to be a lawful Parliament, within the* Statute *of* 17. *Car. Cap.* 7. *or ſubmit to any Oaths, Taxes, or Edicts of theirs as Parliamentary or Legal.*

I refer the *Reader* to the *Book*, and which, becauſe ſomewhat *Scarce*, I think to have *reprinted.*

The other Perſon of the *Presbyterian* Communion I ſhall refer to for this, is the *Author* of a learned *Tract* in 4to *printed* in the *year* 1650 called, X *An* EXERCITATION *concerning* VSURP'D POWERS, wherein the *Author* very ſubſtantially proves that by virtue of the *Obligation* to the *King's* HEIRS and SUCCESSORS reſulting from the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, *it is not lawful to give up ones ſelf to the* ALLEGIANCE *of an* VSURP'D *Power:* and ſaith very well in *p.* 16. *If I ſhould do that, I ſhould yield aſſiſtance to the Uſurper in his wrong Doing and Uſurpation, and ſo become a partaker of his Sin. Obedience to one as the Supreme Magiſtrate is a Comprehenſive thing, and includes many duties toward him, as a Power,* viz. *of receiving Commiſſion from him for Offices, or Acts otherwiſe not competible to me: maintaining and defending him in his Power by Pay, Counſel, and Intelligence, Arms and Prayers: all which I am bound to yield the Uſurper to my power, if I reſign my Allegiance up to him: and how ſhall I do theſe things, and not.* 1. *Support and have Communion with him in his wickedneſs.* 2. *Combine againſt, betray and reſiſt the right of the injured, dethroned Magiſtrate.* 3. *And make my ſelf uncapable of Obedience or being a Subject to the lawful Power hereafter?*

The *Author* doth in *p.* 19 and many other places in this *Book*, aſſert the foremention'd *Clauſes* in the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* as binding *clearly, plainly,* and *in terminis* to an *Allegiance over-living his Majeſties Perſon and pitched upon his* HEIRS *and* SUCCESSORS, *ſo that the Swearer is not free from the Oaths at his Majeſties deceaſe,* &c. and *that thoſe Oaths intend by his Majeſty's* HEIRS *and* SUCCESSORS *the ſame Perſons joyning them together with the* Copulative (AND) *and not uſing the* Diſcretive (OR) *and the former* Oath *twice comprifing both in the following* Clauſes, *under the ſaid Term or Pronown* (viz. THEM, THEIRS) *ſo that according to theſe Oaths his* HEIRS *are of right his* SUCCESSORS, *and none can be* HIS SUCCESSOR, *but* HIS HEIR, *while he hath an* HEIR: *and that if any Conſpiracy or* ATTEMPT *be made to prevent his* HEIR *from being and continuing his* SUCCESSOR, *or to make any one* HIS SUCCESSOR *that is not* HIS HEIR (*if he hath one*) *the ſubject is ſworn by this Oath to continue his Allegiance to* HIS HEIR *as the right* SUCCESSOR, *and to* DEFEND HIM *in that* HIS *right to the uttermoſt: and that the Term* LAWFUL *annext to* SUCCESSORS *in the Oath of Supremacy, manifeſtly excludes all* CAVIL *of a diſtinction between* HEIRS *and* SUCCESSORS: *the word* LAWFUL *whether you interpret it of* LEGITIMATION *of* BIRTH, *or* PROXIMITY *of* SUCCESSION *in regard of* LINE *according to the Law of the Land entailing the Crown on his Majeſty's Iſſue, or rather both the latter including the former, reſtraining* SUCCESSORS *from meaning any other than* HIS HEIRS: *and that both theſe Oaths bind the Swearer to aſſiſt and defend to his uttermoſt Power againſt all Attempts the Courſe of* SUCCESSION *in the Race of his Majeſty, expreſſed by many Terms, to wit,* THEIR *Crown and Dignity, all Juriſdictions, Privileges,*

leges, Preheminences and Authorities granted to the King's Highneſs, HIS HEIRS and SUCCESSOR and united to the Imperial CROWN of this Realm. How then can he yield Obedience to them that are not HIS HEIRS, nor LAWFUL SUCCESSORS, &c. *how can he not oppoſe and withſtand them in the aſſiſtance and defence of the right of his Majeſty's HEIRS and LAWFUL SUCCESSORS?*

That judicious *Author* did like a ſubſtantial *Confeſſor* of the *Obligatorineſs* of thoſe *Oaths* relating to the King's HEIRS and SUCCESSORS during that *Uſurpation*, very ſatisfactorily ſhew, that the SAME Perſons were meant by *both*, and held himſelf obliged in Loyalty the rather ſo to do, becauſe in that *Conjuncture* the *plain* Sence of the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* were *uſurp'd* upon, and particularly by the *Book* called, THE LAWFULNESS OF OBEYING THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, then publiſhed; and the *Fallacies* in which he Learnedly Confuted, and ſhewed how ridiculouſly that *Book* outraged the ſenſe of the Law-givers in thoſe *Oaths*, whoſe *end* was to ſupport the *Crown* in a juſt *Lineal* Succeſſion, and could therefore intend by *Succeſſors*, only ſuch as were *de jure* ſo: and that therefore that *Book's* taking *Succeſſors* for ſuch who were ſo *de facto* (tho very *unjuſtly*) was; 1. *Inconſiſtent with the nature of an Oath, which muſt be taken in Righteouſneſs.* Jer. 4. 2. *That is to oblige only to that which is juſt.* 2. *With the word* HEIRS, *which being placed firſt in the Oath muſt firſt be ſerved.* 3. *With the Oath of Supremacy which binds us to the lawful Succeſſor.* 4. *With the Law of the Land which appointeth Succeſſion to the Heir.* 5. *With a poſſibility of keeping the Oath: for if* Heirs *and* Succeſſors *mean divers Perſons, how can the Oath of Allegiance* and defence of the Regal Dignity be obſerved?

Thus it ſeems as the *Fantome* of *hæres viventis* hath frighted many out of their Natural Senſes, and the Natural *ſenſe* of their *Oaths* in the preſent *Conjuncture*, the word SUCCESSORS did formerly: and when they who interpreted it of *actual* Succeeders (as ſaith my *Author*) that it might favour the USURPERS, *forgot what was the Object of that Succeſſion*, viz. a CROWN and *Regal Dignity, wherein by virtue of that Oath thoſe* Succeſſors *are to be defended, whereas thoſe or the* Republicans *for whom the Book pleads, have not only put by the rightful Succeſſor, but aboliſhed the* CROWN *and Regal Dignity it ſelf.*

May this inſtance of Heavens *uncrowning* the underſtandings of thoſe *Republicans* of common reaſon and ſenſe (and when in the Courſe of their *injudicious* minds they were abandoned to the moſt deſpicable ſort of Counterfeit *Witt* called *Quibbling*, and to the vileſt ſort of *Quibbling* and *double entendre* of *words*, I mean in that which concerns the tremendous Obligation of an *Oath*, after they had *Dethroned* their *Prince*, and excluded his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*) ſerve in all Future times as a *Monument* of the *Divine* Dereliction, and of Heavens *ſcattering the Proud* in their *reaſons* and *imaginations of their hearts*, and rendring them unfortunate beyond the fate of the common *ſaying* of *Eventus ſtultorum magiſter*, I mean by condemning them to a *ſtated infatuation*: and let none hereafter value any *Uſurpation* on the Credit of the *laſt*, as Mr. *Jenkins* in his famous *Petition* to the *Uſurpers* did, and ſet *Gods* Seal to it on the account of the *Event*, when the *Event* was what I have now mentioned.

Any one who will caſt an Eye on the *Title de verborum ſignificatione* in the *Civil* Law, will there find the word *Heir* to be neceſſarily made Compre-

henſive of SUCCESSORS, viz. *Hæredis ſignificatione omnes ſignificari* SUCCESSORES *credendum eſt, etſi verbis non ſint expreſſi*; and *Succeſſion* is under that *Title* of the *Law* made a part of the *definition* of *inheritance*, viz. *Nihil eſt aliud hæreditas quam ſucceſſio in univerſum jus quod defunctus habuit.*

And the *identity* of the *thing* in the *words* of *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* doth *quadrare* with that ſaying ſo frequent among the Civil Law Writers that *Plura quando copulantur ad unum effectum, loco unius habentur*, and with another that the word & ſometimes *ſtat declarative inter duo idem importantia.*

I ſhould account it ſomewhat like *Pedantry* to cite any *Latine* Authors about *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* ſignifying as here in our *Caſe* the ſame thing, but that other Seditious *Books* beſide that impugned by the *Exercitation*, have endeavoured to ſow *Contention* between the words *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, tho with as little ſenſe as was in Sir *W. J*'s fancy of *Treaſon*, whereby he would have ſet the *Aſſertory* and the *Promiſſory* Clauſes in the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* at *variance*, nay the *Promiſſory* Clauſe at *variance* with it ſelf.

There was a Book writ by a late *Lawyer* called, *Hiſtorical Diſcourſes of the Uniformity of the Government of* England, firſt printed in the *Year* 1647, and reprinted by ſome Factious *Anti-Papiſts* ſince the *Epoche* of our *Fears* and *Jealouſies* of *Popery*, and with that *former* year in the *Title* (which was an ill *ominous* ſign of the fatal time ſuch Perſons would have driven us back upon if they could) where in *p.* 279 of the 2d *part* ill reflections are made on the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, which Oaths (ſaith the Author) *do make much Parly concerning Inheritance and Heirs: but that they do not hold forth any ſuch Obligation to Heirs otherwiſe than as ſuppoſing them to be Succeſſors, and in that Relation only.* His deſign is too plainly expreſs'd, *viz.* to ſtrike at the Rights of our Hereditary Monarchy, and to invite Parliaments to interlope in controuling the *Succeſſion* of the *Crown*: and he ſaith, That *the Doctrine he there inſinuates doth not go down well with thoſe that do pretend to Prerogative, aided by the* Act *of* Recognition *made to King* James, *and the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance*: and I ſhall ſay that I hope it never will: and 'tis pity but a *Book* that in ſo many places of it impeacheth the old known *Rights* of the *Crown*, ſhould in this *Conjuncture* of *Loyalty* find ſome Perſon at leiſure *ex profeſſo* to make *Animadverſions* on it, and the rather for that the *Author* doth in the *Vehicle* of ſomewhat like *Witt* (and his affectation of which is by People of *middling* Capacities, who generally make the greater part of Mankind, judged to be *Witt*) diſpenſe his Poyſons.

Yet as to the ſignification of HEIRS and SUCCESSORS, he had before in his *firſt part* ſaved any one the labour of ſhewing their *Identity*: for there in *p.* 109 and in his *Chapter* of *the Laws of Property of Lands and Goods under the* Saxons, he quoted *Tacitus* about ſome of the Cuſtoms of the *Germans* which he judged remain'd here with them, and which ſhewed that HEIRS and SUCCESSORS paſſed then as current *Coyn* for the *ſame* thing, according to the words of *Tacitus*, *HÆREDES & SUCCESSORES cuique liberi & nullum eſt teſtamentum*, and thus Engliſhed by that Author, viz. *the HEIRS and SUCCESSORS to every one are his Children, and there is no Teſtamentary Power to DISHERIT or ALTER the COURSE of DESCENT which by CUSTOM or Law is ſetled.*

And

And as was ſhewed, the *Term* of *LAWFUL* annexed to SUCCESSORS, hath nailed the Canon of that Sophiſm, and expoſed the *ridiculouſneſs* of any *Cavilling* or *Calumnious* Interpretation about *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*: tho yet without the interpoſal of the word *LAWFUL*, the plain ſenſe of the words Heirs and Succeſſors in the *Oaths* would clearly enough have obliged us to the *ſame* Perſons. We ſay, that *id poſſumus quod jure poſſumus*, and none are to be conſtrued *Heirs* or *Succeſſors*, but ſuch who are ſo in the Eye of the *Law*, and with reference to *Proximity* of Blood, *i. e.* they who are meant for ſuch by the Law in the Due Courſe of their Deſcent.

But I hope that *England*'s happy Future *State* will ſo far influence *Loyalty*, as to incline all Conſcientious *Proteſtants* to leave of all ſenſeleſs *Cavilling* about the ſenſe of the plain words in thoſe *Oaths*, and to agree to employ their moſt ſerious and conſtant thoughts about the extent of the Moral Offices that relate to their *bearing True Faith and Allegiance to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors*, and other very *important* matters in the *Promiſſory* Clauſes moſt clearly expreſſed in order to the diſcharge of their *Allegiance*, and the duties of *Loyalty*, viz. *DEFENDING him and them to the uttermoſt of our Power againſt all Conſpiracies that ſhall be made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crown and Dignity*, as the *Oath* of *Allegiance* runs, and to our *ASSISTING* and *DEFENDING to our Power all Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preheminences and Authorities granted or belonging to the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors.*

There are no *unweigh'd* and *idle* words in the *Promiſſory* Clauſes, and we are to make it our buſineſs with the *judgment* of *diſcretion* to conſider the *ſenſe* of the ſame, and to retain it in our Memories: and mens not doing which, hath been the Cauſe of the *Ebb* of *Loyalty* in ſome *Conjunctures*. According to the Degrees of mens intellectual Talents, and particularly the Talent of underſtanding beyond other men the *Laws natural* and *poſitive*, and the *Lex terræ*, ſome are beyond others morally bound to *defend* the particular momentous points relating to *all Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preheminences granted or belonging to the King and his Heirs and Succeſſors*: and therefore a diſloyal *Divine* and a diſloyal *Lawyer*, are things that do particularly *bear* very *ill*.

But as there is a great part of the *Moral* Offices expreſſed in theſe Oaths ſufficiently plain and obvious to vulgar Capacities, and which with their Native Light do ſtrike common underſtandings, ſo the *extent* of theſe *Offices* ought to employ the Meditations of all the Takers of theſe *Oaths*; and how low ſoever their *Talents* lie, they are to uſe all the *means* they can, and particularly that of the *Conſilium peritorum*, as any occaſion ſhall offer it ſelf, for their *defence* of any of the *Privileges* or *Preheminences belonging* to the Crown. Our duty in this kind is very well expreſſed by *Sanderſon* in his third *Lecture*, where ſpeaking of the Subjects Obligations by Oaths of this Nature, he ſaith, *Doubtleſs the Subject to his Power is obliged to defend all Rights which appear either by Law or Cuſtom Legitimate, whether defined by the written Law, or in force through the long uſe of time or Preſcription, that is, ſo far as they are known, or may Morally be known. But he is not equally obliged to the Obſervation of all thoſe which are controverted.* Thus therefore as to any *Juriſdiction*, *Privilege* or *Preheminence* of the Crown that might ſeem *doubtful*, the *ſwearer* is many times bound to the uſe of means that it may be *Morally* known to him, as *Sanderſon*'s words are.

Yet

Yet what I have urged in this *ſixth Concluſion* as *Obligatory* to us by virtue of the *Oaths*, is ſufficiently plain, and there is no occaſion for employing a great *Genius* and *penetrating* Underſtanding and *Witt* to diſcover that it is one of the *Privileges* of the *Crown* to be *Hereditary*, and that the Taker of the Oaths is indiſſolubly bound to defend that Right.

There are ſeveral explicatory Notions of the word DEFEND and its *extent*, that often occur in the Authors that treat expreſsly of the *Jus Protectitium ſeu defenſorium*, among whom I account *Magerus de Advocatiâ armatâ* or of the *Right* of *Protection* given by Sovereign Powers, to be *inſtar omnium*, and who in the 12th *Chapter* there Critically deſcanting on the nature of the *Defence* granted by *Protectors*, ſaith, That *verbum protegere neceſſitatem defendendi cum armis importat*, and that *protector, ſi in defenſionis promiſſione juramentum appoſitum fuerit, etiam non requiſitus, clientibus ſuccurrere tenetur:* and that *defendere non videtur, qui in totum non defendit:* and that *effectum defenſionis non dicitur conſummatè implere qui non omni tempore, auxilio ſuo ac defenſione præſtò eſt.* He there likewiſe tells us, that *ſubditi tenentur defendere honorem Regis:* and that DEFENCE is too performed by *Words* as well as *Deeds:* and mentions how *in ſolenni fidelitatis juramento vaſallus ſe ad id obſtringit quod vitam & honorem famamque Domini non ſolum non violare, ſed & contra aliorum conatus pro viribus defendere ac propugnare velit.*

But none need look *abroad* for the genuine importance of the word DEFEND: for any man of common ſenſe who hath taken the *Oaths* knoweth by the *Recollection* of his ordinary thoughts what it is to DEFEND *himſelf*, and how natural it is for the *hand* to liſt up and expoſe it ſelf to *defend* the *head* from danger, and knoweth by the Call of the Magiſtracy when and where and how by Arms to defend his Prince; and natural *Logick* tells him that he who in theſe *Oaths* hath bound himſelf to ASSIST, hath certainly bound himſelf not to RESIST, and that *defendere qui tenetur offendere non debet:* and that therefore whoever hath taken the *Oaths*, and alloweth the *Doctrine* of *Reſiſtance*, is a real *Heretick*, and *Self-Condemned*: and that according as it is neither deniable nor denied by thoſe who talk of *hæres viventis*, the Taker of theſe *Oaths* hath *bonâ fide* and in the good *faith of a Chriſtian* promiſed the ſame vigorous *defence* of the Rights of thoſe *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* in the firſt moment of the *deſcent* of the *Crown* to them, that is to ſay, immediately on the King's Deceaſe, that he is to perform as to the Rights of the preſent King, and that here being a *Promiſe* of *Defence* to the *King* and his *Heirs*, *Promittens duobus vel pluribus, dicitur promittere ſeparatim & cuilibet pro virili*: and that the Rights of the *Prince* Regnant are not in the leaſt prejudiced by this *Promiſe*, for that *obligatus duobus in ſolidum, eſt obligatus ſecundo, ſalvo jure primi*, and that *verba ſunt intelligenda habito reſpectu rei & perſonæ ad quam referentur.*

And the word *BELONGING* i. e. *All Juriſdictions, Privileges*, &c. *Granted or BELONGING to the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors*, as it ſufficiently enſures our Obligations of *defending* the ſame to our *Kings* in Caſe of Uſurpation made againſt them, how proſperous ſoever it may be, ſo it enſures our Obligation of the *defence* to his *Heirs* in the due Courſe of the Deſcent: and holds our hands from paying Allegiance to any *Uſurper*. The Law of *God* and the *Land* ſufficiently ſhew to whom thoſe *Juriſdictions*, &c. BELONG, that we have ſworn to *defend*:

fend: and the Civil Law doth here appoſitely tell us, that *Poſſeſſio etiam animo retinetur*, and doth account the very *fraud* that may exclude a right Heir to be *Tantamount* to a *Poſſeſſion: Quia pro poſſeſſione dolus eſt.* And according to that Law, *Qui actionem habet ad rem, ipſam rem habere videtur:* and *habere quilibet dicitur quod jure petere poteſt, ſive de quo actionem habet.*

And on the whole matter, if the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* are Lawful Oaths (as all except *Roman* Catholicks grant) it muſt likewiſe be granted, that the Takers of them are indiſſolubly bound *to the uttermoſt of their Power*, againſt all *Uſurpers* and *Uſurpations* to *defend all Juriſdictions*, &c. BELONGING to the *King*, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* as aforeſaid: and the very ſame Arguments that were prevalent with the Takers of thoſe *Oaths* formerly not to *take* the *Engagement*, nor to pay *Allegiance* to the then *Uſurpers*, do *militate*, and are very *cogent* and *concludent* for others who have took thoſe Oaths not to pay it to any but to the *King*, and to his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* in the Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent, and for the *defence* of all *Juriſdictions*, &c. reſpectively *belonging* to them: for according to the words in the forecited *Exercitation*, *The manifeſt drift of the Oath of Allegiance being the continuance and aſſurance of the Crown (upon conceſſion of his then Majeſty's juſt Title) to his Heirs in Succeſſion after* Him *and ONE ANOTHER lineally, and the defence of them therein againſt all OTHER Corrivals and Oppoſers*, it is plain that the defeating the *Succeſſion* in its Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent in any one Caſe, will be an *Uſurpation* not only of the Right of the Lawful *Heir* and *Succeſſor* according to the Proximity of Blood, but of the Right of the Hereditary *Monarchy* it ſelf ſworn to be defended as aforeſaid. It is therefore no marvel that ſome of the Learned and Loyal *Writers* of the *Succeſſion* have judged that any ſuch defeating of the Succeſſion as aforeſaid would be Criminal in the ſame *kind* as the late *Uſurpation* was.

It may be well ſuppoſed that many mens ſo ſeldom and ſo ſuperficially thinking of thoſe Oaths occaſioned their Miſcarriages during the former *Rebellion* and *Uſurpation*. Unthinking men generally take thoſe *Oaths* as *Pills* only to be *ſwallowed* down, and *pro formâ* only, and when *gilded* over with an *Office* of Gain. But to a loyal and rectified mind the frequent ſenſe of the *Moral* Offices reſulting from thoſe *Oaths* is as pleaſant as any thing can be to the Taſte: and according to that ſaying in *Job*, *For the Ear tryeth words, as the Mouth taſteth meat*, a man loyal to the degree required by thoſe *Oaths*, will not only *nauſeate* all *Principles* of Sedition as rank Poyſon, but will be able ſo critically to *try the words* in any *Sayings* that ſound popularly and that are uſed by *Demagogues*, as to find out what in them is wholſome and what poyſonous: and accordingly as for example the excellent *Sanderſon* did in the *Maxim* of *ſalus populi, ſuprema lex*, and did make the *ſalus populi* to include that of *Kings*.

And to this purpoſe if any will by the *Touch-ſtone* of this my 6th *Concluſion* try that *Maxim* that among all *Demagogues* ſo much paſſeth for *currant* Coyn, he will find it not to be *Sterling*, viz. *That People were not made for their Kings, but their Kings for them:* and this *ſaying* is partly favoured by what *Tully* ſaith in his *Offices*, viz. *Ut tutela, ſic procuratio Reip. ad utilitatem eorum qui commiſſi ſunt, non ad eorum quibus commiſſa eſt, gerenda eſt.* But after any one hath ſeriouſly weigh'd this *Maxim*, he will find that *Kings* and their People were made for, and are under natural Obligations to one another, and accordingly as it may be ſaid that

Parents and *Children* were made for one another and to defend one another: and to this purpoſe the *Pſalmiſts* words are, *Lo Children are an Heritage of the Lord, and the Fruit of the Womb is his Reward; as Arrows are in the hand of a mighty man, ſo are Children of the Youth; happy is the man that hath his Quiver full of them: they ſhall not be aſhamed, but they ſhall ſpeak with the Enemies in the Gate.*

But in my further enquiry into the Obligation relating to his Majeſty's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* that reſults from thoſe *Oaths*, my 7th *Concluſion* ſhall be, that the *Takers* of theſe *Oaths* are bound thereby againſt attempting or endeavouring by any new *Law* or *Conſtitution* to *interrupt* the Succeſſion of the Crown in its Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent.

I do account that the foregoing *Concluſion* hath *cut the Graſs under the Feet* of any who have taken thoſe *Oaths*, and yet would have thus interrupted the *Succeſſion*, and makes ſuch *interruption* of its *Courſe* not only *unlawful*, but to be a nugatory, ridiculous and unaccountable thing.

For ſince by the known Rights of the Crown, the next Heir to the Crown is in the next Minute after my King's deceaſe actually King, and I am neceſſarily and indiſpenſably bound to pay actual *Obedience* or *Allegiance* to him then, and have already *ſworn* that I will then expoſe my life in his *defence*, and the *defence* of his Crown and *Dignity*, it is manifeſt folly in me to attempt the *interrupting* the *Succeſſion* by *excluding* the Right *Heir*, whom I have thus indiſpenſably bound my ſelf to *defend*, and to *obey*, and who perhaps by the Courſe of *Mortality*, and *Kings* who are *nominal* Gods coming to *die like men*, may within a few Minutes after my having taken the *Oaths*, be entituled to my born and ſworn *Allegiance*. *Dolo facit qui petit id quod mox reddituru eſt.* But, a ſorry and pitiful trick it is and as remote from the *ſubtilty* of the *Serpent* as the innocence of the *Dove*, that any Swearer would put on himſelf, who attempted to injure any *Prince* by going to *exclude* him from the *Allegiance* that he is to pay him perhaps the next Moment.

We are well *minded* by *Sanderſon* in his *ſecond* Lecture, That *ſimplicity becomes an Oath*, and that the Swearer is to *endeavour to perform what he hath promiſed, without fraud, deceit, double dealing or ſimulation:* and he elſewhere queſtioning whether the words *by my faith* are an *Oath*, ſaith, That *tho by the Cuſtom of ſome Countries, or the intention of him who ſpeaks, they may be an Oath, yet neceſſarily by virtue of thoſe* words *an* Oath *ariſeth not, but only an aſſeveration, or an obteſtation*: and he had before mentioned how *Soto* did judge the words *by my faith* to be an *Oath*: but the words *in faith* to be none.

But others have judged that when on the word *fides* (the which is *juſtitiæ fundamentum*) the word CHRISTIAN is built as an Addition, the compleat Fabrick of an *Oath* is thereby raiſed: and with the weight of thoſe great words before referred to, the *Oath* of *Allegiance* concludes, viz. *And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly upon the true FAITH* of a *CHRISTIAN. So help me God:* which ſheweth that thoſe *words* did not caſually nor indeed without profound deliberation there come in.

When the *true faith* or the *bona fides* of a *Roman*, did ſo much ſcorn to put a *trick* upon a *Law*, doth not the true *faith* of a *Chriſtian* more abhor to put one upon an Oath?

I have in my *ſecond* Concluſion aſſerted it *in general*, that the Taker of all Promiſſory Oaths is bound to endeavour for the Future, as much as in him

him lieth, by his Deeds to fulfil what he hath ſworn in words; and here applying the ſame *particularly* to the King's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, I will ask if it be *congruous* to *bona fides*, i. e. *Common honeſty*, if I am bound by Law to pay a Debt and have promiſed and ſworn to pay it, for me to endeavour by any new *Law* to evade its payment? I have heard of a *Will* made *void* by *Act* of *Parliament*: but after the *Executor* had *ſworn* to execute it well and truely, and to pay the Debts and Legacies of the deceaſed as far as the Eſtate extended, could he *bonâ fide* and with a *Salvo* to *Conſcience*, endeavour to *quaſh* it by the Legiſlative Power?

Nihil ita fidei congruit humanæ, quàm ea quæ placuerant cuſtodii. i. e. Nothing is ſo ſutable to *common honeſty*, as that thoſe things that have been once aſſented to ſhould be obſerved, is a known ſaying in the *Civil* Law; and ſo is that of *Ulpian* in the *Digeſt*, *Bonæ fidei non congruit de apicibus juris diſputare*: and it being a Rule of *Law* there, that *Cum quid unâ viâ prohibetur alicui, ad illud aliâ viâ non debet admitti.* i. e. that which cannot be done one way, or *directly*, muſt not be done *indirectly* or by *another*: and it being conſtrued, that whoever acted contrary to this, did *fraudem facere legi*, do I to the *uttermoſt of my Power*, and on the *true faith* of a Chriſtian, *defend his Majeſty, his HEIRS and SUCCESSORS againſt all Attempts which ſhall be made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crown and Dignity, and aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Privileges*, &c. *belonging to the King's Highneſs his HEIRS and SUCCESSORS*, it afterward to the uttermoſt of my Power I endeavour to *dis-inherit* the *lawful* Heir, and to *exclude* him from the benefit of his inherent *Birth-right* by an extraordinary means? Is not the attempt or endeavour to effect this, to be accounted *fraud*, according to that *Rule* of Law, viz. *Fraudis interpretatio ſemper in jure Civili, non ex eventu duntaxat, ſed ex conſilio quoque deſideratur*: and which follows after the *Rule*, viz. *Generaliter cum de fraude diſputatur, non quid habeat Actor, ſed quid per adverſarium habere non potuerit, conſiderandum eſt*?

'Tis a true old ſaying, that *fallacia pactorum dolum ſemper habet adjunctum*: and *omnis calliditas, fallacia, machinatio ad circumveniendum, fallendum, decipiendumve alterum adhibita* are made to integrate the *definition* of *dolus malus* by *Labeo* in the *Digeſt*. And is it not a known *Rule* among all the Writers of *Defence*, that *Defenſio bonâ fide præſtari debet*, and that *Promittens aliquid facere, quod contrarium illius non ſit facturus, promittere cenſetur*, and that *defenſionem promittens, non tam læſionem illatam avertere quam inferendam præcavere debet*? And can I without outraging the *true faith of a Chriſtian* and the Chriſtian *ſimplicity* and *ſincerity* and *ſingleneſs of heart*, and the *Apoſtles* Precept, *that no man go beyond and defraud his Brother*, project any *Law* to *exclude* thoſe from their *Birth-right*, whom I have promiſed in expreſs words to *defend*?

When the Morality of *Cicero* extended to the inculcating it in one of his *Orations*, that *Eſt aliquid quod non oporteat, etiamſi licet*, and when he in his *Offices* renders it to be *inhoneſtum, injuriam alteri non propulſare*, and when the *Rules* of Law could tell us that *Non omne quod licet, honeſtum eſt*, and when *Seneca* could contemn the *innocence* as poor that was not *more than the Law required*, and thereupon ſay, *Quarto latiùs officiorum patet quam juris Regula*? *Multa pietas, humanitas, liberalitas, juſtitia, FIDES exigunt, quæ omnia extra publicas tabulas ſunt*, and when that St. *Paul* hath ennobled the Moral *Offices* of Chriſtians by enjoyning in his *Epiſtle* to the *Philippians*, the practice of *whatſoever things are true, whatſoever things are honeſt, whatſoever things are juſt, whatſoever things are pure,*

whatſoever

whatſoever things are lovely, whatſoever things are of good report, &c. it may well be expected that *the true faith of a Chriſtian* ſhould prevail on Chriſtians not to attempt the compaſſing of any thing by a new Law contrary to what they have by their *Oaths* promiſed to *defend*, and contrary to the old Fundamental Laws of the Land.

And having thus far proceeded, my 8th *Concluſion* ſhall be, that our Obligation thus relating both to the King and his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* doth clearly ariſe from thoſe *Oaths*, without any *Condition* on his or their part to be performed, and particularly without any reſpect had to what *Religion* they ſhall profeſs. We know that *Juramentum limitatè præſtitum, limitatum producit conſenſum & effectum*: but 'tis likewiſe as notorious that there is nothing of *limitation*, no IFS or ANDS in theſe *Oaths*: and therefore that known *Rule* of *Non eſt diſtinguendum, ubi lex non diſtinguit* muſt here take place in the *Court* of *Conſcience*.

Sanderſon in his 4th *Lecture* ſaith, *If two oblige themſelves mutually in promiſes of different kinds, or not at the ſame time, or otherwiſe without mutual reſpect, Faith violated by the one, abſolveth not the others Obligation, but each is bound to ſtand to his Oath, tho the other hath not performed his part. For example, A King ſimply and without reſpect to the Allegiance of his Subjects, ſweareth to adminiſter his Government Righteouſly and according to Law. The Subjects at another time ſimply and without reſpect to the Duty of the Prince, ſwear Allegiance and due Obedience to him. They are both bound faithfully to perform their ſeveral Duties: nor would the King be abſolved from his Oath, if Subjects ſhould not perform their due Obedience; nor Subjects from theirs, tho the King ſhould turn from the Path of Juſtice.*

Mr. *Ny* doth therefore in a printed *Treatiſe* of his very well for this purpoſe cite Biſhop *Bilſon*, and ſaith, That *Biſhop* Bilſon, *a great Searcher into the Doctrine of the Supremacy of Kings, giveth this as the ſenſe of the Oath*, viz. the Oath (as ſaith the Biſhop) *expreſſeth not Kings duty to God, but ours to them: as they muſt be obeyed when they joyn with truth, ſo muſt they be endured when they fall into Error. Which ſide ſoever they take, either Obedience to their Wills, or Submiſſion to their Swords is their due by God's Law.* And tho ſome ill *Anti-Papiſts* have ridiculed Paſſive *Obedience*, after they had given the *Cautio juratoria* againſt their owning the *Doctrine* of *Reſiſtance*, Mr. *Ny*, doth very particularly, in *p.* 138 of that *Book*, inveigh againſt that *Doctrine*, and ſaith, *Nor if they were able* (i. e. to reſiſt) *is it lawful for a Church to compel by the Sword; more than the Magiſtrate may by the Keys, or what is peculiar to the Sacred Function.* Uzza *erred in the latter*; *and* Peter *in the former. The Primitive Rule and Practice was this*; *Being perſecuted in one City to fly into another, and pray that their flight may not be in the Winter.*

I have read a *Manuſcript* Book of Mr. *Ny* called, *A Diſcourſe of Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Supremacy of the Kings of* England *in diſpenſing with the Penalties thereof*, where he aſſerts throughout the Legality of his Majeſtie's *Declaration of Indulgence*, and the Book was writ profeſſedly for that purpoſe, and he there doth very rationally inculcate the *unlawfulneſs* of *Excluſion*, as in his other Book he did the *unlawfulneſs* of *Reſiſtance*, and ſaith, *That Civil Rights and Claims, and Temporal Things, are the immediate and intrinſic Concern and Intereſt of all States.* Dominium non fundatur in gratiâ. *The juſt Claim of a Prince may not be interrupted upon account he is of this or that Religion or Perſwaſion. Nor may a Subject be juſtly baniſhed, impriſoned, confiſcated, or ruined on the mere account of Religion,*

gion, or becauſe his Conſcience is not caſt into the ſame Mould with the Prince, or preſent Eſtabliſhment. It is POPERY to deny Allegiance *to a* Prince, *or Protection to a Subject upon the account of any ſuch difference.*

It is therefore no wonder that our Anceſtors framing the *Oath* of *Allegiance* would have no Principle of *Popery* therein favoured by a *ſide* Wind; which according to Mr. *Ny*'s Senſe muſt have happen'd, had there been any *diſtinguiſhing* reſerves, or limitations or reſtrictions in the *Oath*, reſpecting the *Religion* of our Princes.

And becauſe many men have been in this Conjuncture of time tempted to ſtrain their *Oaths* and their *Conſciences*, by exceſſive Fears and Jealouſies relating to Religion, (and as if God could not Govern the World but by Princes and their Subjects being of the ſame Religion) and becauſe Mr. *Ny*'s judgment is of great Authority among many of our Religionary *Diſſenters*, I ſhall here inſert ſomewhat more out of that *Manuſcript* of his, that falls under this Conſideration, and which is indeed writ with great Weight and Authority of reaſon, and worthy the Writers great Abilities.

He having there put a Queſtion relating to *Religion* and the *Worſhip* of God being the great *Concern* of a *Nation*, and to the truſt of *diſpenſing* with the *Penalties of Eccleſiaſtical* Laws, ſaith, *In anſwer to it, I endeavour to unfold,* 1. *In what ſenſe Religion is the Concern of the State.* 2. *The nature of this Truſt:* and as to the firſt he ſaith, *The moment and weight of a matter in our deliberation hath its proportion as either under an abſolute, or reſpective Conſideration.* Wiſdom is better than Riches *in it ſelf* abſolutely: *but not in* reſpect *to the ſupport of this preſent life. The knowledge of God and Divine Things is better than to know the Virtue of Drugs and Plants; but not in reſpect to the Study of Phyſick; ſo Religion and the Worſhip of God is the chiefeſt and* better part *in it ſelf conſidered: but in its reſpective Conſiderations as to the Family of a particular Perſon or Community of men for the advancement of Civil Affairs, there are OTHER qualifications and inducements of greater Conſequence, and more directly and immediately tending to the being or well-being thereof. That there be no miſtake in this great Concernment, I further diſtinguiſh: There comes under the Notion of Religion, the Holyneſs and Righteouſneſs that is of the Moral Law, Principles whereof are in all mens natures, and attended in their actings by a natural Conſcience.* 3. *Goſpel Duties directed and ordered by a ſupernatural Light, no Principles or Footſteps whereof are found in us. For the former, Religion in the firſt ſenſe, as the knowledge of God, Conſcience of an Oath, Juſtice, Righteouſneſs in our dealings,* &c. *are ſuch things wherein the well-being of Kingdoms and Commonwealths is much concern'd. But Religion as it ſtands in exerting ſupernatural Principles, and in Duties termed the Commands of Chriſt (as the other the Commandments of God,* Jo. 15.) *Such as Faith, Repentance, Sacraments, Diſcipline, and the like Goſpel Ordinances; in the Duties under this Head conſidered and as diſtinct from Moral Duties, there is little or nothing directly and immediately contributed by them to Mens civil intereſts, further than where theſe ſupernatural Vertues are planted in Mens minds, the Moral Duties of Piety and Honeſty do more plentifully abound and are in exerciſe. As theſe Moral Duties do more immediately concern the Common-wealth, ſo the Laws thereof are principally drawn forth out of them, eſpecially the ſecond Table Duties, forming and building them into Municipal Laws under Penalties and Encouragements greater*

or leſs, as in the Wiſdom of a State is judged moſt conducing to the Well-fare thereof. For theſe Goſpel-myſteries *it is otherwiſe. For as they contribute to us in our Civil Government no otherwiſe than as before mentioned, ſo is there little contributed by the Wiſdom or Authority of any State, advantageous to the Goſpel, but Protection, or being a* defence upon the glory of it. *If* Adam *had ſtood all Common-wealths, had been proſperous and flouriſhing, and yet no Faith, no Chriſt, no Repentance, nor any Goſpel-Worſhip known or profeſſed. And ſince the fall, you have had well govern'd Kingdoms among Heathens and Turks that never received Chriſt or Goſpel-Worſhip. It is with States as with particular Perſons in* Commerce: *another mans Eſtate or Trade or Credit or any other Civil Concern with whom I have to do, is not prejudiced or better'd by Omiſſion or Practice of what is a mere Goſpel Duty. If a man I deal with be unjuſt, lye, ſteal,* &c. *my worldly Intereſt is prejudiced hereby: but whether he repent, or exerciſe faith in Chriſt for forgiveneſs of Sins, and humble himſelf, I am neither gainer nor loſer in my Civil Concerns. Now it is Goſpel-Worſhip, Goſpel-Religion we profeſs in this Nation,* &c.

The *Chriſtian* Religion having ſuffered ſo much by ſo many *Pedantly* and *Bigottiſh* Writers having miſ-repreſented it as an Invader both of the quiet and buſineſs of Princes and Governors, and as if the neceſſary different Sentiments in Religion according to mens ſeveral Capacities, were ſtill to give the Political Conduct of the World unneceſſary trouble, and as if *God who was in Chriſt reconciling the World to himſelf*, deſign'd by any various Religionary Notions to render Chriſtian Princes and their People *irreconcileable* to one another, and (if I may ſay) to make the *World* irreconcileable to it ſelf, I am glad when I find the Subject of Religion by falling into the hands of any man of large and noble thoughts, to have right herein done it, as particularly hath thus been done it by Mr. *Ny*, who had made Religion and Politicks very much his Study: and I can refer the Curious to a Great Man of the *Communion* of the *Church* of *Rome*, with ſome of whoſe Notions in this Point Mr. *Ny*'s were partly Co-incident, as any may find who will conſult the 2d *Volume* of the *Memoires* of *Villeroy*, whoſe great Character is Recorded by the Biſhop of *Rhodes* in his *Hiſtory of* Harry *the 4th of* France, and to whom he was *Secretary*, and was ſo before to *Charles* the 9th and *Harry* the 3d, and afterward to *Lewis* the 13th, and the greateſt part of *D' Oſſat*'s memorable printed *Letters* from *Rome* was to him with high reſpect Addreſſed. In the beginning of that *Volume* we have his *Diſcours de la vraye & legitime conſtitution de l' eſtat, & que l' ordre y eſt, encore que la Religion n' y fuſt*: and in *p.* 6, he diſcourſeth of this Subject, viz. *L' eſtat, & la Religion n' ont rien de Commun*: and in *p.* 11. there his Subject is, That *l' eſtat n' eſt eſtably ny mainteny par la Religion, ains la Religion conſervée par l' eſtat*: and in *p.* 16. his Theme is, That *la difference de Religion n' empeſche point la paix de l' eſtat*: and in *p.* 19. he diſcourſeth of this Aſſertion, That *Le Prince ne doit etre conſideré pour ſa Religion, mais pour ce qu'il eſt chef du peuple.*

It may moreover be ſuppoſed that God in his Government of the World, and in his care for the Church in particular Countries, when he thinks not fit to incline a Princes mind to receive the ſame Religionary Sentiments that the generality of the People owns, doth yet often endow him with thoſe Moral Vertues and habitual inclinations whereby he is much better qualified for the Protection of the People than any can imagine him to be by Orthodoxy in the Speculative points of revealed Truth.

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The *Church* we know is in *Scripture* repreſented as a helpleſs *Minor*, and *Kings* are there mentioned to be its *Nurſing Fathers*: and thus the *Canon* Law tells us, that *Eccleſia fungitur vice minoris*, and the *Canoniſts*, that *à minoribus ad Eccleſiam valet argumentum*. It is here therefore obvious to conſideration that *Power* and moral Honeſty and Diligence and Courage and Diſcretion are the chief endowments requiſite for the protection of an *Orphans* Perſon and *Eſtate*. We find theſe ſayings commonly uſed by the *Roman Catholick* Authors who treat of the *Rights* of *Protection* granted by *Sovereign* Powers, viz. *Religio cum protectionis jure nihil commune habet*: and *Religionis communio propriè nulla homini cum homine, ſed homini cum Deo*: and *Religioni cum juribus Gentium nulla eſt neceſſaria conjunctio*: and on theſe grounds *Mageras* in his 8th *Chapter* of his *Advocatia armata*, raiſing the *Queſtion* whether *Roman Catholick and Lutheran and Calviniſt Princes may lawfully protect and defend one another*, determines that they may; and that they ought ſo to do, purſuant to the agreements of the *Interim* and other *pacta Conventa*: and in his 16th *Chapter* he refers to the ſettlement of the *Confraternities* in *Germany* between *Princes* of ſeveral Religions, and particularly of that ſettled between the *Dukes* of *Bavaria* and the *Count Palatines* of the *Rhine*, *Tam quoad honorum & principatuum, quàm dignitatis Electoralis ſucceſſionem*, and which was not to be diſſolved by either of thoſe *Electors* changing their Religion. And the ſame reaſons are aſſign'd by him and other Writers of the *jus Protectitium* for the lawfulneſs of *Chriſtian* Princes protecting *Jews*, *Turks*, and *Infidels*: and it paſſeth among them as the common opinion of the *Canoniſts* and *Civilians*, *Infidelitatem non privare quem jure naturali, dominiove rerum aut provinciarum*.

And as I have already referred to the *Inſtance* of *Abraham* in obliging himſelf at once to *Abimelech* and his *Son*, and his *Sons Son*; I ſhall here caſt my Eye on *Abimelech* as an *Idolater*, and take notice that the aforeſaid *Father of the Faithful*, and by whoſe *Boſom* Heaven is repreſented, and who had the honour done him by Holy Writ, to be called *the friend of God*, and by the *Chronological* Writers of Memorable Things to be called *Inventor fœderum*, (and moſt worthy of him, as being *the friend of God*, it was, to be the *Inventor* of *Alliances* and federal friendſhip with *men*) did make that *firſt* Alliance with an idolatrous Prince and with his whole Race of Idolaters in Proſpect.

If then it is an allowed judged point by the conſent of Parties, That Religion is out of the Caſe when one Prince doth freely protect another, and his Subjects of different Religions, it may be thence very well inferr'd, That it is moſt reaſonable and juſt, and ought not to any to ſeem ſtrange that Subjects, who *owe* a *natural* Allegiance to their Princes, are indiſpenſably bound to pay the ſame to them, and to defend all their Regal Rights without any regard to the Religion their Princes may profeſs: and on the other hand that Princes may oft protect their Subjects who differ in Religion from them, in the enjoyment of their Rights.

I grant that ſome Popiſh Princes abroad having rivetted the *Inquiſition* into their *Politicks*, and being perhaps of harſh or bigotted diſpoſitions, have out of a regret againſt *Hereticks* expelled *Infidels* from their Territories, and by which expulſion ſuch Princes have been ſufficient loſers in this World: and a *Caſe* of which nature is particularly referred to by the Biſhop of *Rhodes* in his *Hiſtory* of *Harry* the 4th of *France*, who accounting the *Moors* in *Spain* to be about a *Million*, mentions the hard uſage they there found, and that before they were thence expulſed they

applied

applied to *Harry* the 4th for Protection, once when but King of *Navarre*, and afterward when King of *France* and a *Roman Catholick*, and who then did no more doubt of the lawfulneſs of protecting them, than while he was a Proteſtant, however he forbore on Political grounds only to protect and defend them. Nor when he forſook the Communion of the *Proteſtant* Church were any of his *Heretical* Subjects uſed by him with any hardſhip on the account of the hard word of *Hereſy*: and I believe his Notion of the *practicableneſs* of an orderly Political Government without reference to Religionary differences, was the ſame with his great Miniſter *Villeroy*'s.

I have mentioned how Cardinal *D' Oſſat* told the *Pope*, that if his Holyneſs were King of *France* at that time that *Harry* the 4th was, he would ſhew the *Huguenots* the ſame favour that *Harry* the 4th did; and ſhall obſerve it that in the famous printed *Oration* of Cardinal *Perron*, made to the 3d *Eſtate*, or *Commonalty* of *France*, tho he ſpeaks of the *LATERAN Council*, and owns and aſſerts it to be a *general* one as ſtrenuouſly as the Learned Biſhop of *Lincoln* hath ſince done, and ſaith, *When that Council intended to provide for the extirpation and rooting out of the Reliques of the* Albigenſes, *it ordained that the Princes who ſhould become Contemners of the Council that Condemned the* Albigenſes, *ſhould be deprived of the Obligation of their Subjects fidelity to them*: yet he then adds, *And this I remember not for an Example to diſturb or trouble the publick Peace or Tranquillity, ſeeing the Hereticks are here in ſo great a number as that they make a notable part of the Body of the Eſtate*, &c.

Here then I have named two *Cardinals* of as great real *Eminence* as any the Church of *Rome* could ever ſhew, who held it lawful for a Catholick Prince to protect his Proteſtant Subjects, notwithſtanding the *Lateran* Council.

But what *Tacitus* ſpeaks of the *Duty* of common Men, namely, that they ſhould not penetrate *Abditos Principis ſenſus*, nay, be particularly applied to their Religion. And the *Apoſtles* Caution of *Who art thou that judgeſt another mans ſervant*, may here be improved by ſaying, *Who art thou that judgeſt thy Natural Liege Lord*, and particularly as to matters of Religion, wherein the moſt Antimonarchical Writers will allow them accountable only to God. And to any Proteſtant who having followed his judgment of Diſcretion, hath ſeparated from the Communion of another Church, and yet ſhall Cenſure his Prince for ſo doing, thoſe other words of the *Apoſtle* are juſtly applicable, *Therefore thou art inexcuſable O man whoſoever thou art that judgeſt: for wherein thou judgeſt another thou condemneſt thy ſelf: for thou that judgeſt doeſt the ſame things.*

The Chriſtian Religion that hath enjoyned us not only to defraud and injure, and offend none, and to *love our Neighbour as our ſelf*, and extended that Neighbourhood to all Humane kind, hath likewiſe commanded us to *HONOUR all men*, and eſpecially to render *honour* to whom *honour* is particularly due, and not *raſhly* to *judge* another: and if men would imprint on their minds a ſerious Senſe of the *Moral* Offices to which they are obliged by Virtue of thoſe *Expreſſions*, they would ſoon be better guided in the Meaſures of their Obligations relating to the *King* and his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* without being tempted as formerly to exclude any of them from their Civil Rights on the account of Religion.

Ames in his *Caſes* of *Conſcience* doth well deſcant on thoſe Moral Offices: and in his *Chapter* of *Charity to our Neighbour*, he aſſigns ſome particular *Caſes*, in which, *as to the actual exerciſe and effect of Charity, one is to love*,

love, his Neighbour more than himſelf, and inſtanceth *in our being in Temporal Matters obliged to prefer publick Perſons to our ſelves*, and ſaith, That *all are to be reckoned among publick Perſons concerning whom it is manifeſt that they are uſeful to the Realm*: and in the Caſe of whom he determines it, *That on their occaſionally being in danger of their lives, we are to venture ours.*

Are we not then, when we may without the peril of our lives defend the Civil Rights of an Heir of the Crown, who by the venturing his life hath ſupported the honour of the Realm, obliged to forbear excluding him from the benefit of his Birth-right? The *Privilege* of his owning the belief of Religionary Propoſitions, tho differing from any other mens, was purchaſed for him by the *Blood* of *Chriſt*, and in *uſing* it, he doth but *uſe* his own *Right*, and conſequently injures no man: and if we ſlight the offering his own blood to us, ſhall we too vilify, or (as I may ſay) endeavour to nullify in his Caſe the effect of the Blood of his *Saviour*?

Ames in his Chapter *De honore proximi* tells us, That *Honour, according to the common Notion of it, doth denote the Teſtification of the excellence and worth of any one: and that ſuch Teſtification thereof cannot appear before men but by Words and Actions: and that it likewiſe includes a congruous judgment and internal affection, in the which there is a kind of inward teſtifying before God: and therefore the ſolid Office of HONOURING doth chiefly depend on the inward acknowledgment of any ones worth or excellence.* And afterward referring to the expreſs Command in St. *Peter* of *honouring all men*, he ſaith, *Vix quiſquam reperitur in quo non poſſimus aliquid obſervare in quo nobis eſt ſuperior, ſi ex humilitate judicium feramus.* Phil. 2. 3. and then ſpeaking of impious men, ſaith, *Quatenus boni aliquid habent, juſtum ejus teſtimonium non eſt ipſis denegandum.* He afterward in his *Chapter* concerning *raſh judgment*, ſhewing that it is a Sin and how, ſaith, 1. *'Tis a Sin of Levity againſt Prudence.* 2. *'Tis contrary to the Principles of Nature,* Quod tibi non vis fieri, *&c. for no man is willing that his Neighbour ſhould judge raſhly of him and his Actions.* 3. *It diminiſheth the good of ones Neighbour, and oppoſeth his Right: for that every man hath as much right to his good Fame, as to a* depoſitum *in any mens hands, till he himſelf has by his actings took it away.* 4. *It begets contempt of ones Neighbour,* Rom. 14. 3. 10. *by which means it happens that he is held unworthy of beneficial employments.* 5. *'Tis an Uſurpation of the judgment and Authority of God, who judgeth of hidden things*: and in that *Chapter* raiſing the Queſtion, *Whether and how doubtful matters are to be interpreted in the better part?* he anſwers, 1. *That what is doubtful as to things, ought to be weighed according to reaſon, without inclining to either part.* 2. *That what is doubtful as to Perſons, wherein their good or ill repute is concerned, is abſolutely to be interpreted in the better part.* 1 Cor. 3. 5. *and that at leaſt in ſuch a Caſe we are not to judge ill of our Neighbour*: and further, *That we are ſo in common Offices or Duties to demean our ſelves to him, as if he were an upright man, ſince the contrary doth not appear to us. This is the judgment of Charity.* And in his Chapter *De exemplo bono & ſcandalo*, he ſaith, That *there muſt of neceſſity be Sin in every Scandal, becauſe the ruine or Spiritual detriment of ones Neighbour is therein concerned.* He there moreover doth inculcate one great point of Morality in order to the avoiding of Scandal, and ſaith, *Damnanda & horrenda eſt illa perverſitas judicii qua ſolent multi quorundam labentium Caſu aut hypocriſeos detectione, alios profeſſionem ſimilem facientes, hypocritas idcirco*

pronunciare. Hoc eſt enim planè Diabolum imitari in piis accuſandis & iniquâ ſuſpicione gravandis, Job 1. 11.

And having ſaid all this, may I not ask if he *honoureth* his *Prince* who doth not think him wiſe enough to chooſe his Religion? When the fate of our Princes is uſually to fix their Marriages with Relation to the welfare of the State, and when their Favourites are ſo ſeldom permitted by the Populace to lie quiet in their Boſoms, and that 'tis a Princes Lot thus not to be like others, able to chooſe his Wife or his Friend, ſhall he not chooſe his God? ſince that *Verſe* in *Phil.* 2d referred to, ſaith, *In lowlineſs of mind let each eſteem other better than themſelves*; doth he obſerve that Precept who eſteems not his Prince as fit to be truſted with the freedom of chooſing his way to Heaven, and the judgment of diſcretion as himſelf? ſince there are many qualifications of Excellence for the diſcharge of the Regal Office, that claim preference of a Princes Orthodoxy in the belief of the Myſteries of the Goſpel, doth he *honour* all men, and particularly, give *honour to whom honour is due*, who when he ſees the whole World agreed in the Fact of his Princes Heir being moſt ſignally, perhaps beyond any one of the Age, bleſt with thoſe qualifications, ſhall inſtead of teſtifying *by words and actions ſuch his Excellence and intrinſic worth* (and wherewith God hath *honoured* him) try to exclude him from the Throne? A Great Philoſopher of our Nation, and one who hath writ Philoſophically of the *Paſſions*, tells us, That *the value or worth of a man is, as of all other things, his price, that is to ſay, ſo much as would be given for the uſe of his Power, and therefore is not abſolute but a thing dependant on the need and judgment of another*: and then tells us, That *an able Conductor of Souldiers is of great price in time of War preſent or imminent.* And any one that will conſider what the preſent War-like State of the World abroad is, and that by neceſſity of Nature in the growing populous World we muſt expect the peremptory noiſe of *Wars and Rumours of Wars*, to be more and more calling on our attention, will probably be of opinion that the High-born Lawful Princes of great Martial Talents will be the beſt Heirs and Succeſſors Heaven can ſend any Countries. That *Author* ſomewhat ſuitably to *Ames* his *Notion* of *Honouring*, ſaith, *The manifeſtation of the value we ſet on one another, is that which is commonly called honouring and diſhonouring. To value a man at a high rate is to honour him: at a low rate is to diſhonour him.*

And I may add that an heroical Habit of Courage in any Prince is the more valuable or intituled to *honour*, becauſe it is by neceſſity of *Nature* accompanied with the higheſt Clemency and gentleneſs, it being the exceſſive fear of danger that puts Cowardice on Cruelty.

The *Author* I refer to ſays likewiſe, *That to be deſcended from Conſpicuous Parents is honourable, becauſe they more eaſily attain the Aids and Friends of their Anceſtors. On the contrary to be deſcended from obſcure Parentage is diſhonourable.* With how great an *honour* then and reverential awe ought we to think of the great Claim of Birth-right, the next Heir of the Crown hath, which may be lineally and ſucceſſively derived from the *Britiſh*, *Scotiſh*, *Daniſh*, *Saxon*, and *Norman* Princes above two thouſand years, which is more ancient than any Prince in the World can ſhew? and when God who finiſhed his Work-man-ſhip of the World in Six days, hath been two thouſand years in making up the Hereditary Glories of this *Line*, can we without horror think of any ones diſhonouring it, by breaking in on its Succeſſion under pretences of Religion

or

or honouring God? when ſo many Fountains of *Royal* Blood have been filling this *Sea* of Honour two thouſand years, will a few men by their poor Sculls project to empty it, or with the Breath of *Sophiſms* to turn the Great Purple Tide that hath born down the World before it ſo many years?

But it is not only the thought of the *Aides* that the next *Heir* of the Crown may have from the *Friends of his Anceſtors*, that may make his *Deſcent from Conſpicuous Parents ſo juſtly to be honoured*, as was ſaid, but the ſight of all the Lines of the Great and Honourable Actions of his numerous Anceſtors, being made by the hand of Heaven to point at him as the Centre, and their being fixt ſo in his Memory that we cannot well think of his thinking of any thing but *Honour*, that muſt make other Subjects pay the greater Veneration to his High Birth.

It is ſo hard a matter even for the flights of imagination with the exquiſiteneſs of Art to produce thoughts of Kings and Princes any way proportionable to their real Figure, that I have obſerved that our old famous *Dramatiſts* of the former Ages could hardly in any *Scene* give us the Character of a King done up to the height of a Monarchs Glory: and as the Characters of Kings in thoſe days were expreſſed, it was but neceſſary that the *Rule* in *Theaters* ſhould be, that the Kings ſhould enter there with *loud Muſick* that ſo their Quality might that way be underſtood.

It is then no marvel if ſo many in the preſent Age who are not made *è meliore luto*, and whoſe Education was low, and whoſe Souls are narrow, cannot comprehend the honour of the great part that God calls Kings to Act on the Stage of the World, and are eſpecially Strangers to the great thoughts that are to be ſuppoſed to Crown the Souls of Kings when they eſpouſe a Religion.

But in that great particular Concern of Princes owning their Religion, we are morally bound to think of them with all the honour we can: nor to repine at that our Duty to them, ſince in the Concern of Religion, and as it is a Principle of the Divine Life we are to *honour* our *Inferiours*, and cannot without profanation and uſurping on Gods Right *judge* them raſhly.

We are not to think that our *honouring all men*, and the neceſſary parts of that duty are recommended to us by way of *Council* in order to a more *perfect life*, and as not *ſub peccato* obliging any but thoſe who have by *Vow* bound themſelves to the practice of the ſame: but we are to eſteem them *Precepts*, and properly ſo called, and univerſally binding, and as neceſſary parts of that *Holineſs without which no man can ſee God*. And therefore when I ſee any man after much labouring of his thoughts to have changed the Profeſſion of his Belief of any *Tenets* controverted among Chriſtians, and particularly one who was in the Communion of the *Church* of *England* to own the belief of *Tranſubſtantiation*, *Purgatory*, and the Doctrine of *Juſtification* according to the Senſe of the *Council* of *Trent*, or other ſuch points, and ſhall find that moſt certainly that it neither was nor could be for *Gain* or reſpect to Temporal advantages that his judgment appeared thus altered, nor yet out of *levity* and natural inconſtancy, and that his habitual conſtancy and ſteadineſs in all meaſures relating to Perſons and things long by me obſerved, have aſſured me that no ſuch change could thence proceed, and ſhall further obſerve in ſuch Perſon a greater tenderneſs in his regard to *ſecond Table* Duties than before, and that his inclinations of Beneficence to all Mankind, and particularly

cularly to his former friends now differing in judgment from him, have not been tinctured and discoloured by any alteration of his Notions, I shall think my self under various *Moral* Obligations to *honour* such a Person, tho perhaps erroneously opining. I will honour him for his discharge of his Duty in *trying all things*, and having spent time in examining the truth of Religionary Speculations, and taking up a Religion not by *chance* (as most Orthodox Religionaries do) but by choice. I will *honour* him for following that which *Sanderson* in his Lectures of *Conscience* calls the *next* and *immediate* (tho not the *adequate*) *Rule* of his *Conscience*, the *light* of his *mind* for the time *present*, a *Light* that I see so many Orthodox Religionaries playing with or endeavouring to extinguish. I will *honour* him for the great Sacrifice I think that he honestly intends to truth, (and to offer which to it I see so many Persons who erred, so reluctantly brought to its Altars) I mean the Pride and Glory of the Humane understanding by a Recantation of its former Sentiments, a *Sacrifice* that to him, who *consults with Flesh and Blood*, may seem as unpleasant, as the offering up of *Isaac* did to *Abraham*. And since to *presage* well of men is to *honour* them, I will thus in the Case of such a Person, who hath thus *honoured* God by *taking* up his *Cross* and taking *shame* to himself, believe that God will *honour* him, and judge, that tho he may *in statu viatoris* have mistaken *Error* for *Truth* in his *way*, he will not mistake *Hell* for *Heaven* at his Journeys end. Moreover since to speak *rashly to* or *of* any men is a *dishonour* to them, I will not only not *dishonour* such a Person by determining that his Error is *voluntary* (which whether it be so I can never know, and which if it be not, I do know it can be no Sin) but will pay him the just *honour* of my judging it to be *involuntary*; as knowing that neither he nor any one else can command his own understanding, and that the nature of the understanding is such that it can no more apprehend things otherwise than they appear to it, than the Eye see other Colours in the *Rain-bow* than it doth, whether those Colours be really there or no. Moreover altho I know that no *Law* binds without a *Promulgation*, and that that *Promulgation* of Divine positive Laws may by reason of mens diffent Abilities of understanding be sufficient for one man that is not for another, (and so that the erroneous opinion of one man may be a Crime, and another mans holding the same opinion may be innocent) yet I will not *dishonour* the *understanding* of any man for his not believing the Controverted points of Christian Religion, that I observe other men of great intellectuals profess the Belief of: and do consider, that as *the Wind bloweth where it lists*, so the influx of the Divine Spirit on men is not confined to the excellence of their *understandings*, and that God doth not always reveal his mind to men according to the Proportion of their Gifts and Graces, and that when the *Book* of the *Law* was found and read before *Josiah*, *Hulda* the *Propheteſs* was sent to and consulted, tho there were *Prophets* in the Land at that time: and that that was Revealed sometime to *Nathan*, that was not to *David*, who was in all points his Superiour. I will according to what was *cited* out of *Ames*, *Interpret* every thing of him in the *better* part that is *doubtful*. And tho men do naturally think themselves *equally* wise, I will, according to the Morality enjoyned by that *place* in the *Philippians*, *Esteem him better than my self*: since a great part of *Wisdom* consists in the *proportioning* of the *means* to the *end*, I will out of the knowledge of my own frequent Omissions in that kind, account that we both having designed the same end of Eternal Happiness,

he

he tho differing from me in ſpeculative points, yet hath by his Practical Devotion proportioned his means to that end better than I have done. Moreover becauſe it is a *diſhonourable* thing for any man to receive a Religion in groſs, and *ſervilely* to own all the Religionary *Sentiments* that the *Major* part of any Church ſeem to do, I will not ſo much as in my ſecret thoughts charge ſuch a Perſon with owning all the *Religionary* Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, and much leſs with owning any one of the Tenets that is *Irreligionary*, how juſtly ſoever chargeable either on the *Papacy* or any of its *Adherents*.

I who am a Son of the *Church* of *England*, have conſidered how its Conſtitution hath been prop'd up in various ways, and on different *Hypotheſes* by ſeveral of the *Fathers* and great *Writers* in that *Church* before Arch-Biſhop *Laud*'s time and ſince, and how ſome of them in ſome points receded from its *Articles*, and that many of them did in ſeveral Doctrines of importance variouſly interpret its Articles. My Converſation with ſeveral *Divines* of that *Church* who are equally Learned and Pious, hath let me ſee that in many Theological ſpeculative points they differ much from one another, and yet retain perfect Charity for one another; and their Notions as to which points they have in prudence not troubled the *Populace* with. And yet even in our very Proteſtant Populace in this *Conjuncture* of *Zeal* againſt *Popery*, I have obſerved ſo much *Candour* expreſſed to Proteſtant Writers who have aſſerted ſome ſpeculative points that ſeemed to agree with the *Doctrines* of the Church of *Rome*, that no one man hath either called them *Papiſts*, or *Proteſtants in Maſquerade* for ſo doing.

I have not heard of any who hath cenſured Mr. *Baxter* as a *Papiſt* or Popiſhly affected, ſince Dr. *Tully* in his printed *Letter* to him, *p.* 21. deſiring him *to take his Balance and weigh more diligently, that he might ſee the very ſmall odds, between His Juſtification and the Council of* Trents, addeth, *for to me neither of them turns the Scale upon the other.* There was likewiſe after the beginning of the Popular Out-cryes of the *Danger* of *Popery* a Learned *Metrophyſical* Book of Dr. *Gliſſon* (who was *Profeſſor* of *Phyſick* in *Cambridge*, and *Fellow* of the *Royal Society*) Printed and *Dedicated* to the *EARL* of *SHAFTSBURI*, and in the 28th *Chapter* there, viz. *De ſubſtantiarum penetrabilitate mutatâ quantitate*, the *Dr.* ſaith, That *'tis better to admit* Penetration, *than a* Vacuum, *however we have been taught from our Child-hood to believe that there is no penetration of Bodies and Dimenſions*, and doth Combat thoſe old *Notions* of *Philoſophy* with which *Tranſubſtantiation* was oppoſed formerly; and yet was never cenſured ſo much as *Popiſhly affected* for ſo writing; nor have I obſerved any one to blame him for it, or to have animadverted on his Book. I have likewiſe obſerved that ſeveral Proteſtant *Divines* have not been in the leaſt reproached or cenſured as maintainers of *Purgatory*, when they have profeſſed their Beliefs that the Souls of good Men after Death go to a good *Hades*, and of bad Men to a bad one, and are to ſtay in thoſe common receptacles till the day of Judgment. It is hence obvious that there are ingenious Proteſtants who do not take up their Religion in *groſs*, and that the fear of Popery or hatred of it is not generally ſo much founded on the Speculative *Religionary* Propoſitions maintained by Papiſts, as partly on the Arbitrary Power claimed by the Pope to impoſe *Creeds* on men, and by which Power he may if he pleaſeth command them to believe that there are no *Antipodes*, and excommunicate any who believe there are, as one Pope long ſince did, and

partly on his claiming a Power to diſturb the meaſures of their *Loyalty* to their Princes.

In ſuch a *Conjuncture* therefore as this, when 'tis ſo much out of *faſhion* to think any one the leſs a Chriſtian, or the leſs a Proteſtant for differing from others of the Church of *England*, in ſuch point as aforeſaid, it would be an aggravation of the immorality of our not acknowledging the honour due to any Perſon of the *Roman-Catholick* Communion, becauſe ſuppoſed to own Speculative Religionary *Tenets* of this Nature, and which too have no influence on Mens Converſation with each other, or on their Actions as they are Members of any Civil Society, and (as one ſaith) *would be ſtill the ſame with all the Conſequences of them, tho there were no other Perſon beſides one's ſelf in the World.* And therefore as I will raſhly charge no Proteſtant with the ſervile reſignation of his reaſon to any true Church, nor look on him as one who doth, *More balantium antecedentem Ducem ſequi*, ſo I will not without juſt ground and certain proof charge any Papiſt with the taking up his Religion *in groſs* from the *Papal* Chair, nor with the owning all the Religionary *Tenets* that many *Romaniſts* do, and much leſs with any one of the Irreligionary Tenets imputable to any Order of the Church of *Rome*, or to the Papacy. To think any *Papiſt* the leſs a *Chriſtian* for owning ſuch *Tenets* which being held by ſome *Proteſtants*, we think them not the leſs Chriſtians for, doth moſt notoriouſly come under the Sin of *Acceptio perſonarum*, and is contrary to that *Precept* of St. *James*, viz. *My Brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt the Lord of Glory with reſpect of Perſons:* and by which *accepting* of ſome mens *Perſons* the duty of *honouring all men*, and *valuing* their *real* worth is manifeſtly outraged.

I will by no means therefore raſhly charge any particular Papiſt with owning the *Tenet*, that he is *implicitly* to obey the Commands of the *Pope* without weighing the Juſtice of them: for I find the contrary *Tenet* own'd in print by the *ſeven Divines* of *Venice*, as *Ames* mentions it in the *Preface* to his *Puritaniſmus Anglicanus*, where he ſaith, *In Tractatu illo Judicioſiſſimo à ſeptem Theologis* (meaning thoſe of *Venice*) *de interdicto Papæ conſcripto, verbatim ponitur & nervosè firmatur hæc propoſitio*, viz. *Chriſtianus præcepto ſibi facto etiam à Pontifice ſummo, obedientiam præſtare non debet, niſi prius præceptum examinaverit, quantum materia ſubjecta requirit, an ſit conveniens, legitimum & obligatorium: & is qui ſine illo examine præcepti ſibi injuncti, cæco quodam impetu obedit, peccat.*

And do not many of the Church of *Rome* by their being *picque'z d' honneur* upon the being called *Papiſts*, give ſome indication thereby of their being not obliged to pay an abſolute blind Obedience to the *Pope*? And tho *Bellarmine* and ſeveral of the Popes Parafites have called thoſe *Hereticks*, that believe not the *Jure-Divinity* of the Popes Monarchy over the World, yet all the *Gibelline* Papiſts of old made it *HERESY* to ſay that the *Emperor* was not by *Divine* Right Lord of the World. Moreover tho ſome Papiſts have writ opprobriouſly of the *Scripture*, and called it as well as made it a *Noſe* of *Wax*, yet is the reverence of others of that Church for thoſe inſpired Writings ſufficiently known, and as may appear by that great ſaying of *Panormitan* ſo often cited by the Proteſtant Writers, viz. *Laico verum dicenti cum Evangelio, magis credendum, quam Concilio falſum dicenti contra Evangelium.* It is ſo eaſie a thing for every man of ordinary reading and obſervation to expatiate on the common place of the *diſagreements* of the Writers of the Church of *Rome*, in various important Religionary Doctrines, that I need not here do it.

'Tis

'Tis a common Obſervation that in *Spain* and *Italy* it is the common opinion that *Latreia* is due to the *Croſs*, which in *France* and *Germany* is not ſo: and that at *Rome* no man may ſay that the *Council* is above the *Pope*, nor at *Paris* that the *Pope* is above the *Council*: and as to the great *Doctrine* of *Juſtification*, every one hath heard of *Bellarmin's Tutiſſimum*, and of *Stephen Gardners* laying his dead graſp on *Chriſt's* Merits as he was ſinking: and as to ſome *Papiſts* not believing the *School Concluſions* in that *Church*, there is a famous inſtance cited by *Crackanthorp* in his *Logick*, concerning a great *Roman* Catholick *Writer*, who ſaid, *Sic dicerem in ſcholis: ſed tamen (maneat inter nos) diverſum ſentio. Sic dicimus in ſcholis: ſed tamen (maneat inter nos) non poteſt probari ex ſacris literis.*

And therefore (ſince as was ſaid) *every man hath a right to his good name till he hath juſtly forfeited it*, I will *honour* ſuch a *Roman* Catholick as before deſcribed, with the reputation of his being a good *Chriſtian*, and ſhall think that I am Morally bound to eſteem all Papiſts ſo qualified to be better *Chriſtians* than any *Orthodox* Proteſtants that want thoſe Moral Endowments: and according to my Obligation to *honour all men and love the Brotherhood*, and conſequently to be readier to do good *Cæteris paribus* to Chriſtians than to thoſe who are ſtrangers to Chriſtianity, will thus *love* ſuch a Papiſt as a part of that *Brotherhood*, and by our *Saviours* meaſures in thoſe words of *the ſame being his Brother, Siſter and Mother whoſever ſhall do the will of God*, will take notice of and honour, and love ſuch a *Roman* Catholick as much as if the cloſeſt *Jura ſanguinis* united me to him, and with reſpect to not only the *ONE Blood* that *all Nations were made of*, but the *ONE Blood* they were *redeemed* with, and by virtue of thoſe other words of our *Saviour*, viz. *That if any man will do his Will, he ſhall know of the Doctrine*, &c. will account that in points *neceſſary* and *eſſential* to ſuch a mans ſalvation, our bleſſed Lord hath been as ready to make his Doctrine known to him, as effectually as he could be ſuppoſed to make it known to ſuch near Relations.

They are expreſſions worthy of a *Divine* of the Church of *England*, in an excellent *Sermon* that goeth under the name of Dr. *Tillotſon*, viz. *I had rather perſwade any one to be a good man, than to be of any party or denomination of Chriſtians whatſoever. For I doubt not but the belief of the ancient Creed without the addition of any other Articles, together with a good life will certainly ſave a man.* And ſince *Juſtin Martyr* when *Trypho* the *Jew* demanded his thoughts of the *Salvation* of the *Jews* then living, and expected that he would pronounce them *damned*, the *Martyr* anſwered, *That he hoped they might be ſaved if with their Ceremonials they did alſo obſerve* αἰωνίους καὶ φύσει δικαιοπραξίας καὶ εὐσεβείας, i. e. *The Eternal and Natural Rules of indiſpenſable Holyneſs*: and ſince he notwithſtanding the barbarous uncharitableneſs of the ſtiff-necked and narrow ſouled *Jews*, who would not ſhew a Traveller the way that was not of their Religion, did yet ſhew the invincible Charity of a Chriſtian to them being ready (as he ſaith) προσλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν ἁπάντων ὡς ὁμοσπλαγχνοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς, i. e. *To receive them friendly and to communicate all things to them as BRETHREN or affectionate friends*, it may well be eſteemed an *uncouth* ſight to ſee ſome peeviſh *Nominal* Proteſtants, who obſerve none of thoſe *Rules*, yet to exclude *Papiſts* out of the Chriſtian *Brotherhood*, and even to damn them who with the *Ceremonies* of the Church of *Rome*, do moſt religiouſly obſerve thoſe Great and Noble Rules.

And

And therefore tho the reconciling of *Churches* is by ſome good men hoped for, and by all good men wiſhed, yet ſince it can by no rational men be ſuppoſed poſſible without a previous reconciliation of *Perſons* firſt had, and that this latter is no *Project* but a *Moral* Duty and *Vital* part of Chriſtianity, and that 'tis an empty Project for any one to think to deſerve the name of a *Chriſtian* without being reconciled to the whole Creation of God, and being *firſt reconciled to his Brother* as the *Expreſſion* is in St. *Matthew*, I ſhall wiſh that this *Duty* of *honouring all men*, and as incluſive of our *internal affection* and *teſtifying before God the worth and excellence that is in any* Roman *Catholicks*, and of the *interpreting* all *doubtful* matters relating to them in the better part, (as was before explicated out of *Ames*) may more and more be thought of by Proteſtants as *Eſſential* to their Chriſtianity.

Any one who will conſider that *Canon* of our *Church*, viz. *It was far from the purpoſe of the Church of* England *to forſake and reject the Churches of* Italy, France, Spain, *and* Germany, *or any ſuch like Churches in all things that they held and practiſed*, &c. *that it only departed from them in thoſe particular points wherein they were fallen, both from themſelves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apoſtolical Churches which were their firſt Founders*, may ſee the great perfection of the *Principles* of the *Church* of *England* in *honouring all men*, and *loving* the whole *Brotherhood* of *Chriſtianity*: and our *Duty* wherein as neceſſary to Salvation is very excellently inculcated by a great *Father* of that Church, I mean, *My Lord Primate Bramhal* in his *juſt Vindication of the Church of* England *p.* 15. where having ſaid, That *the Communion of the Chriſtian Church Catholick is partly internal, partly external*, and made it part of this *Internal* Communion, *to judge charitably one of another, to exclude none from the Catholick Communion, either Eaſtern or Weſtern, Southern or Northern Chriſtians*, &c. *to rejoyce at their well-doing, to ſorrow for their Sins, to condole with them in their ſufferings, to pray for their conſtant perſeverance in the true Chriſtian Faith, for their reduction from all their reſpective Errors, and their re-union to the Church in Caſe they be divided from it*, &c. *and laſtly to hold an actual external Communion with them* in votis, *in our deſires, and to endeavour it by all thoſe means that are in our Power*, he tells us in plain terms that *this internal Communion is of abſolute neceſſity among all Catholicks*. And in *p.* 26th he declareth to the ſame purpoſe, *That internal Communion is due always from all Chriſtians to all Chriſtians, even to thoſe with whom we cannot communicate externally in many things, whether Opinions or Practices. But external Communion may ſometimes be ſuſpended more or leſs*, &c. and he doth afterward in *p.* 18 aſſert, *That Chriſtian Communion implies not an Unity in all Opinions:* and ſhews, *That the* Roman *and* African *Churches held good Communion one with another, while they differ'd both in Judgment and Practice about Rebaptiſation.*

As for any projected Univerſal *Unity* of Opinions, I look on it to be as impracticable as our *levelling* Republicans *EQUAL* Diviſion of *Lands* in the late times by their wild *Agrarian* Laws: for the Birth of the next Child would neceſſarily break that their *Model*, and the ſame fate might be expected to happen the ſame way to this *Model* of *Unity* of Opinions, or perhaps by the birth of the next hour. But this *Internal* Communion is a thing moſt poſſible, and our Duty tho without hope of Unity in all Religionary Opinions to enſue thereby, according to the Doctrine of this *Great* Primate.

If

If then we are *Morally* bound to have this *Internal* Communion with all Foreign *Roman* Catholick Princes and their Subjects, as before deſcribed, how can we without horror think of the excluding any Heir to the Crown (for fear of his believing the ſame Religionary Notions that they do) from the Catholick Communion, and of excluding him from his Birth-right on ſuch an account whom we muſt always have this *Internal* Communion with, *and rejoyce in his good ſucceſſes, and condole with him in his ill, and to hold an external Communion with him and any Church he is of*, in votis, *in our deſires, and to endeavour it by all means that are in our Power*? Did any *endeavour* it, who would by depriving him of his *Birth-right* on that account, and holding the ſame *Tenet* with *Papiſts* of *Dominium fundatur in gratiâ*, gave him ſuch a juſt Cauſe of *Scandal*, as without the Divine Spirit aſſiſting him, might endanger his withdrawing from the whole Chriſtian Communion: And tho the honeſt *Heathen* could tell us, That *Cavendum eſt ne pœna major ſit quam culpa*, and all *Caſuiſts* agree, That *Pœna non debet excedere delictum*, and tho *Magna Charta* tells us, That *Ex quantitate pœnæ cognoſcitur quantitas delicti, quia pœna debet eſſe commenſurabilis delicto*, yet attempted to puniſh him by the loſs of his Birth-right of the Crown, when it could not be certain to us that he had committed any fault at all, and when by the judgment of Charity we were bound to believe that he had committed none?

To many of our Nominal *Proteſtants*, whoſe thoughts and *Ideas* of *Chriſtian* Communion are too narrow to extend not only to a *National* Church, but to a *Parochial* one, this Notion of the incomparable *Primate* (for whoſe *auguſt* Charity one Chriſtian *World* of *Religionary* differences was not enough to overcome) about *internal* Communion, will I believe ſeem *new* Doctrine and *Durus Sermo*; but if they would *be* true *Chriſtians* inſtead of being *called* true *Proteſtants*, this *Duty* of *Internal* Communion *from all Chriſtians to all Chriſtians*, muſt be practiſed by them: and if this Duty hath a *Divine* Right for it as to the Perſons of *Papiſts* abroad, it muſt be operative as to thoſe here at home. *He who loveth not his Brother whom he hath ſeen*, I may ask, *how can he love* either his *God*, or *his Brother that he hath not ſeen*? The *ſham-war* among any *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts* muſt not only be left *off*, but they muſt *honour* the *Perſons* of one another: and *Proteſtants* are not only to forbear robbing *Papiſts* of their *Goods*, on pretence of carrying away their *Images* and *Pictures*, but are to *honour* the *Image* of *God* ſhining in the lives of, or the Gifts of God diſpenſed to any *Papiſts*.

Mr. *Burroughs* in his *Irenicum*, p. 38. ſaith, *We accounted it Tyranny and Perſecution in the Biſhops, when they would not ſuffer ſuch as could not conform to their Church Diſcipline and Ceremonies, to teach Grammar or practiſe Phyſick*: and ſaith, *That there was no dependance between their Errors (if you will call them ſo) and theſe things. To deny the Church and Commonwealth the benefit of the Gifts and Graces of Men, on ſuch a pretence that they will abuſe their Liberty, we thought it was hard dealing; yea no leſs than a Perſecution. Suppoſe a man differs from his Brethren in point of Church Diſcipline, muſt not this man have a place in an Army therefore? Tho he ſees not the reaſon of ſuch a Diſcipline in the Church, yet God hath endued him with a Spirit of Valour, and he underſtands what Military Diſcipline means*, &c.

Ought not then Perſons of his Principles to *revere* the *Heroical* Endowments of an Heir to the Crown, which do much preponderate as to the continuance of the being and well-being of the Kingdom, to ſup-

poſed Orthodoxy in ſome Myſteries of the *Goſpel*, as was ſhewn out of Mr. *Ny*? King *James* had great *Talents* in *Polemical* Divinity, to prove by words, that the *Pope* was *Anti-Chriſt*; but will not theſe latter Endowments neceſſarily prevent the *Pope's* being *Anti-Chriſt* in Deeds, if he were inclined to hurt us by ſhewing himſelf ſuch? *Ames* in his *Puritaniſmus Anglicanus* giveth this as the chief *Reaſon* why the *Puritans* hold the Biſhop of *Rome* to be THE *Anti-Chriſt*, viz. *For that he being an Eccleſiaſtical Ruler doth arrogate and exerciſe the chief Power over Kings and Princes.* And doth any one fear that he can exerciſe ſuch *Power* over a Prince of theſe Endowments? And I may add, have not many Factious and *Republican* Nominal Proteſtants here compleated that *Figure* of *Anti-Chriſt*? How many Vertues muſt any indifferent man overlook in this *Pope*, who thinks he would outrage our Civil Government, and how many Vices muſt he wink at in ſuch Perſons who thinks they would not do it?

And by Virtue of our bleſſed Lords having decided it that *he was the better Son who ſaid he would not do the Will of his Father and did it*, may it not be ſaid, That thoſe Papiſts who ſay they will not take theſe *Oaths*, and yet perform their Natural Allegiance, are more loyal than ſuch *Nominal* Proteſtants, who have took the *Oaths* and obſerve them not? As much an Abhorrer as I am of the *Principles* of the *Jeſuites* Condemned by this *Pope*, I ſhall yet think my ſelf bound by the *Moral* Offices beforementioned out of *Ames*, not to charge the belief or practice of them on all Perſons in that *Order*. For when I conſider the *Devotional* Books of ſome *Jeſuites*, writ with ſuch ſtrong and lively expreſſions of the *Practick* part of Religion, as any Perſon of *Candor* will think to be founded on a real deep ſenſe of all *Moral* Offices lying warm at their hearts, I account it impoſſible for them to have believed ſome of thoſe *Tenets*: and as I once obſerving at the *Anatomy* of a poor *Malefactor*, that his *Stomach* appeared not able to contain above the *Quantity* of a *Quart*, would eaſily have thence inferred, had I heard him accuſed of being wont in his life-time to debauch by *ingurgitating* vaſt quantities of *Liquor*, that there could be no ſuch thing, ſo ſhall I think it not poſſible that this *ſober* Party of the *Jeſuites* who are really devout, can ſwallow ſuch *Irreligionary* Principles, as too many others of them have done,

We know that not only many eminent Popiſh Writers, but particularly *Azorius* the *Jeſuite* hath writ againſt the *Jeſuites* Doctrine of *Equivocation*, and *Mental* Reſervation: and *Crackanthorp* and *Ames* and other Proteſtant Writers in their Writings, impeaching that *Doctrine* of the *Jeſuites*, have quoted *Azorius* as on their ſide in that point.

I doubt not but many Pious Perſons of that *Order* are glad of this *Pope's* having damned ſuch *Tenets*, which they never did or could *believe*: and I will now upon the *Popes* having condemned them, judge no particular *Papiſt* to *believe* them till I find cauſe ſo to do.

And notwithſtanding the hard uſage our Learned Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln's* Book had from the *Author* of *The Compendium* ſaying, *That the Title of the Book confuted the whole*, becauſe it mentioned the *Principles approved by the Church of* Rome *pernicious when really believed and practiſed*, I ſhall ſtill think the *Pleonaſm* or exuberance of the Charity in ſo qualifying the *danger* of the *Tenets* he confutes, to be worthy a *Prelate* of the *Church* of *England*, and do think the like of the Charity of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* expreſſed in his printed *Sermon* of the 5th of *November*,

November, where having ſpoke of *the Doctrines of Diſſenters tending to Sedition and Rebellion, that ſeem to be derived from the Church of* Rome, he ſaith, *if thoſe Doctrines are believed and practiſed, they muſt neceſſarily produce Confuſion among us*: and do think that if the *Papiſts* could gain the point, namely, to be looked on by Proteſtants as not to *believe* ſeveral parts of the *Tenets* of *Popery* that are *Irreligionary*, and particularly that about the *Exterminium* of Hereticks enjoyned by the *Lateran* Council to be not believed by them, it would be a point very well gain'd, and any one who could gain it for them, would be a more uſeful friend to them than ever *Bellarmin* was.

To give a man the *Lye* is the greateſt *diſhonour*, and therefore when any Papiſt ſhall tell me that he believes not the *Lateran* Council as obliging, or other *Tenets* chargeable on the *Papacy*, I ſhall not tell him that he *doth*, but ſhall paſs my *judgment* of *Charity* that he doth not believe the ſame, and ſhall account him ſtill a *Roman* Catholick tho perhaps erroneouſly denying that to be a *General* Council, as I account *Luther* a Chriſtian and Owner of the Authority of the *Bible*, tho he erroneouſly denied the Divine Authority of the *Epiſtle* of St. *James*. The Learned Author of *The Advocate of Conſcience Liberty* printed in the *Year* 1673. and ſaid to be Mr. *Brown* a *Franciſcan*, in his 8th *Chapter*, viz. *Of* Roman *Catholicks being not guilty of Practices or Principles deſtructive to Government*, and reproaching the *ENGLISH* and Foreign *Proteſtants* with ſuch *Principles* ſaith, *Was it from any of their Books* (meaning the Books of the Papiſts) *you have drawn thoſe wild Maxims, That the Authority of the Magiſtrate is of Humane Right? That the People are above the King? That the People can give Power to the Prince and take it away? That if a King fail in performing his Oath at Coronation, the People are looſened from their Allegiance? That if Princes fall from the Grace of God, the People are looſed from their Subjection? Do not theſe Doctrines proceed from* Wicliff, Waldenſes *and other Sectaries?* And then mentioning *Calvin* for owning ſuch *Maxims*, ſaith, *That* Calvin l. 4. c. 3. Inſtit. *from his high Conſiſtory giveth this Abſolution to all Oaths of that Nature*, Quibuſcunque Evangelii hujus lux effulgeat & ab omnibus laqueis juramentiſque abſolvitur. But that Loyal *Franciſcan* there happened to injure *Calvin* by a *falſe* quotation, which I believe he had took up on the Credit of the *Romaniſt* Author of *Monarcho-machia* or *Jeruſalem* and *Babel*, who had cited the 4th *Book* of *Calvin's Inſtitutions* for that purpoſe, but very falſly: for *Calvin* in all that *Chapter* hath not a word of ſuch *Oaths* of *Allegiance* as Subjects take to their Sovereigns: but treating only of *Monaſtick* Vows, he ſaith, *Nunc poſtquam veritatis notitiâ ſunt illuminati, ſimul Chriſti gratiâ liberos eſſe dico*, &c. i. e. *from thoſe* Monkiſh *unwarrantable Vows that they had made, and out of Error and Ignorance held themſelves obliged by.*

But I doubt not if *Parſons* aliàs *Doleman*, and the *Book* of *The Prelate and the Prince* had been ſhewed to this *Franciſcan*, he would have anſwered to this effect, viz. *Theſe men and many* Roman *Catholick Authors by them cited, held thoſe diſloyal Trayterous Principles beforementioned, but I fall will a Sacrifice rather than hold ſuch.* I honour the ſpirit of Zeal againſt Diſloyalty that runneth through his *Book*, and in *p.* 204, 205, 206, 207, 208. he very learnedly endeavours to anſwer the objection about the *Lateran Council*, and ſaith thereupon what the matter will bear: and he and many other *Roman* Catholick *Writers* have diſown'd the Authority of that *Council* as obligatory: and therefore the judgment of Charity

Charity will incline any one to think that ſuch *Roman* Catholicks would not diſorder the World by it.

Moreover ſome Proteſtant *Writers* have judged that *Council* to be invalid, and Dr. *Donne*, who was very well ſtudied in the Learning that relates to the *Canon* Law and *General* Councils, doth particularly in his *Pſeudo-Martyr* p. 377, 378, 379, 380. take a great deal of pains to ſhew the *invalidity* of that Council: and that it was never meant to oblige *Sovereign* Princes.

But the *Author* of *The Prelate and the Prince* doth in *p.* 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236. with much Learning ſtatuminate the Authority of that *Council*: and aſſerts it to have been a *General* one, as the Cardinal *Perron* and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* have done: yet what I have mentioned of that Famous *Cardinal's* not *believing* the Principle of the Church of *Rome* founded on that Council for Princes exterminating their Heretical Subjects as always Obligatory, nor promoting the practice thereof in *France*, where the *Huguenots* were then about a 7th part of the whole People, hath juſtified the reaſonableneſs of the *Charity* of our *Biſhops* in qualifying the *danger* of ſome *Papal* Principles with the reſtriction of their being *really believed* and *practiſed*: and the ſame Rule in my *Notion* of their danger ſhall always guide me, that is to ſay, when the *Poyſon* of ſuch *Principles* is really ſwallowed, it muſt then be pernicious. The poyſon may lie in the *Boxes* of the *Canon* Law or a General *Council*, and yet not poyſon the minds of pious Catholicks, nor foul their fingers. I having found juſt cauſe ſo far to *honour* all the *Roman* Catholicks of my Acquaintance, as to judge them free from any Complication of the belief and practice of any irreligious Principles with the Principles of their Religion, and particularly from the owning any Principle of *Diſloyalty* or the *Jeſuites* Doctrine of *Calumny*, or the Obligatorineſs of the *Lateran* Council, will not raſhly pronounce any other particular Papiſt guilty of the belief or practice of ſuch Principles.

Nor is it any great honour that I have done to any men of extraordinary Vertue in thus judging, that they cannot *believe* or *practiſe* ſuch Principles: for that it being true in the Courſe of *Nature* what *Machiavel* ſaid, that next to the being perfectly good, 'tis the moſt difficult thing to be perfectly bad, the World hath had thereby ſome *Garranty* againſt the belief and practice of ſuch Principles, and by neceſſity of Nature muſt ſtill have.

But ſince Mankind in general may expect to find in our eſteem the benefit of the *preſumption* of *Law*, viz. That every man is preſumed to be good, and that the high Births and Educations of Princes and the great Examples of their Magnanimous Anceſtors, may well paſs as ſtrong preſumptions of Nature againſt their doing any low ungenerous Acts of Cruelty, and ſince in Gods great *Ordinance* of *Magiſtracy* an eſpecial Divine preſence may by Virtue of *Holy Writ* be *preſumed* to accompany the very Magiſtrates appointed by *Sovereign* Princes, according to that in 2 *Chron.* 19. 6. where after it was ſaid to the Judges, *Take heed what you do, for yee judge not for man but for the Lord*, the following words are, *Who is with you in the Judgment?* and that therefore *as Chriſt is ſaid to be preſent with thoſe Officers he appointed in the Church, becauſe there is a ſpecial Virtue and Efficacy of Chriſt manifeſt in their Miniſtry, there may likewiſe be expected a ſpecial preſence Divine in the Adminiſtration of Magiſtracy from the like manifeſtation of God in his Wiſdom, Power, Goodneſs*, &c. *for the Well-fare of Societies*, (as Mr. *Ny* obſerves) and ſince *Kings* and Princes

Princes are an *Ordinance* of God or *Medium* by which in a more ſpecial and peculiar way he communicates his *Goodneſs* to *Chriſtians* according to the Style of the 13th of the *Romans* (the great *Sedes materiæ* of *Loyalty*) *for he is the Miniſter of God to THEE for good*, it may well be thought *profaneneſs* and *Sacrilege* for men to *bode* and preſume ill of the future Acting of any *Heirs* to Crowns: and particularly as to their believing or practiſing any thing pernicious to their Realms.

What *Roman* Catholick Prince doth not deride *Innocent* the 3d (under whom the *Lateran* Council was held) for telling it in the *Canon Law* that *the Papal Power is as much greater than the Imperial, as the Sun is greater than the Moon*, and at the Marginal *Note* there for ſaying *That the Papal Power exceeds the Imperial no leſs than* 7744? There is a *Prince* whoſe *Emblem* is the *Sun*, and whoſe Power exceeds the Papal in every ones account to more than that Proportion. And is it not therefore but according to reaſon and common ſenſe that we ſhould believe that of all men in any Realm, the Prince will be the lateſt brought to the belief of that *Papal* Power ſo categorically aſſerted by that *Council*, *That Kings may be Excommunicated by their own Biſhops for not obeying the Pope, and their Subjects in ſuch Caſe be abſolved from their Oaths of Allegiance*? Do not all the *French* Kings, notwithſtanding that *Council*, claim the liberty of ſo much freedom from the *Papal* Power, that *Popes* can neither directly nor indirectly command or ordain any thing concerning Temporal Matters within their Dominions, and that neither the *French* King, nor his Realm, nor his *Officers* can be *Excommunicated* or interdicted by the *Pope*, nor his Subjects *abſolved* from their Oath of Allegiance?

As I have therefore in my Writing to a Noble *Lord*, one of his Majeſty's *Miniſters*, who was barbarouſly accuſed by one of the *Plot-Witneſſes* for being a *Papiſt*, and deſigning to advance the *Papal* Power, ſaid that I would be the *laſt* man in *England*, *who would believe he could be a Papiſt*, meaning it as impoſſible that he could believe or practiſe any irreligionary *Tenet* of Popery, I will account it more impoſſible that any *Roman* Catholick Prince now living in the World ſhould favour the Uſurpation of the *Papal* Power, however any of the Popiſh Clergy or Layety in his Realms might perhaps be addicted to favour the ſame.

That great *Affair* of the *Munſter Peace* wherein ſo many great *Roman* Catholick *Crown'd* Heads, agreeing perhaps in the *Lateran* Council being a *General* one, did yet certainly agree together in the *Year* 1648 for *Lutheran* and *Calviniſtick* Princes and States and their Subjects quietly poſſeſſing forever their Properties both in their *Religions* and *Eſtates*, hath afforded the World an important *Inſtance* of Heavens ſo far influencing the underſtandings of thoſe Crown'd Heads, that they thought not themſelves obliged to put the *Decree* of that *Council* in practice by exterminating Hereticks, but to the contrary. And becauſe the Affair of that *Peace* and the great *Pacta Conventa* therein for the effect aforeſaid, have been ſcarce more taken Notice of here than the Tranſactions in *China*, and that the notification of the ſame may advance the meaſures of our Duty by *Internal* Communion, and help to *un-blunder* ſome of our *Nominal* Proteſtants in their fancying it ſo neceſſary for the quiet of Chriſtendom, that Chriſtian Princes and their Subjects ſhould agree in the belief of the Speculative points of Religion, I intend to take an opportunity to publiſh ſome Account of the ſame.

I account my having thus largely dilated on the *Moral Offices* as aforeſaid, hath tended to corroborate this my 8th *Concluſion*. I am here conver-

ſant in the great *Court* of *Conſcience*, the *Court* whoſe *Seat* is in the *Practical* and not *Speculative* intellect, and the great things of which it holds *Plea* are, as *Sanderſon* tells us, *Actus morales particulares proprii*: and therefore particular urging of *Records*, againſt which lies no averment, is not more pertinent in *Courts* of *Law* than of *Moral* Offices in this. And moreover I obſerving in this *Conjuncture* when many mens zeal hath been ſo hot againſt the *Speculative* points of *Popery*, which diſturb not *Civil* Society, that yet they have *believed* the more pernicious *Tenet* of it, and would have practiſed the ſame, viz. *The founding Dominion in Grace*, and that tho they have been altogether neglectful of their *Actus morales particulares proprii*, they have both preſumed to judge *diſhonourably* and *raſhly* of the *Actings* of others, and to trouble the World not only with their Anxiety about the *Acts* of Kings and Princes, but the *Actus Dei*, and his illuminating Princes underſtandings with the Heavenly Myſteries, I have thought this diſcourſing of our *Moral* Offices as aforeſaid, the more *a Propos* and ſeaſonable, as tending to fortify the rationality of this 8th *Concluſion*, by expoſing the *abſurdity* of a *reſpective* or *conditional* Loyalty, a *Loyalty* that any Chriſtian who hath taken theſe *Oaths* ſhall think ſufficient, doth moſt certainly take the name of *Loyalty* and Proteſtancy and of Chriſtianity, and even of *God* in *vain*: and as the *Scripture* implies that there is a *Repentance* to be *repented of*, I ſhall ſay that ſuch a mans *Proteſtancy* is to be *proteſted* againſt. And when we conſider that the Presbyterian *Author* of the *EXERCITATION* beforementioned, hath in *p.* 41. with ſo much Loyalty and Reaſon told us in terms, *That Obedience is owing to Princes without condition of Religion, or Juſtice on their part performed, and the* Scripture *is clear for an irreſpective and* (*in regard of the Rulers Demeanor*) *abſolute ſubjection.* Exod. 20. 12. 21. 25. Rom. 13. 1,2,&c. Tit. 3. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13. 1 Sam. 24. 6, 7. 26. 9, 10, 11. Jer. 27. 12. 29. 7. Matth. 22. 21. and hath told us in *p.* 56. That *our Oaths put no condition on the Prince, but are all abſolute and irreſpective, and run without* ifs *or* ands *in like manner as the Obligation of Subjects Allegiance to their Sovereign is irreſpective according to Divine Inſtitution*, methinks it ſhould make any *Son* of the Church of *England* to *ſtart* at the *thought* of his being out-done in *Loyalty*, and ſworn Allegiance by a Covenanting *Presbyterian* (for ſuch that *Author* was) and at the *thought* of any ones having taken thoſe *Oaths* relating to the *King*, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, and afterward *interlining* the interpretation of them with *ifs* and *ands*, and at the *thought* of ſuch an *interlineation* not appearing as ill in the *Court* of *Conſcience*, as any would do in a *Court* of *Law*.

But the truth is the Church of *England* appearing in this late Religionary *Fermentation*, to have ſo incorporated this *Doctrine* of *abſolute* and *irreſpective* Loyalty into its Conſtitution beyond any other *Church* in the World, and likewiſe the *Doctrine* of *Charity and Moderation toward all Chriſtians, whether Foreigners or Domeſticks, whether whole Churches or ſingle Perſons* (as Primate *Bramhal*'s words are) that the ſame doth now (as I may ſay) ſtrike the Eyes of all indifferent men and enforce it ſelf on the thoughts of any who do but for Curioſity *walk about this* Sion *and go round about her and tell the Towers thereof*, I mean do conſider its *Prayers, Homilies, Articles, Canons and* Eccleſiaſtical *Conſtitutions*, it hath hereby been neceſſarily made like the *Eagle* to *renew its youth*, and to be invigorated as with a new *Soul* after its Enemies thought it dead or aſleep, and after Mr. *Hooker*'s ſhrewd *gueſſing* that after the *Year* 1677.

That

That what followed would be likely to be ſmall joy to them who ſhould behold it. For the *Doctrine* of *abſolute* and *irreſpective* Loyalty being *Eſſential* to the Peace of Kingdoms, and likely to be ſo more and more to the Worlds end, and the Church of *England* appearing as by conſent of *Parties* to be *THE Church* that overtowers all others in the *Principles* for *THAT Sort* of *Loyalty*, as well as in the *auguſt* Principles of *Charity* for all Chriſtians; according to the ſaying of *Magnes amoris amor*, it muſt *naturally* attract the *love* of thoſe in other Churches, and ſuppoſing that any Church or People love themſelves and cannot be preſerved but by *Loyalty*, Nature will direct the World to a *growing* love for the Church of *England*: and therefore I am no *Viſionaire* in predicting from natural Cauſes, *That what ſhall follow to the Church of* England *will be great joy to thoſe who ſhall behold it*, to the very end of time. And nothing could poſſibly in my opinion have brought it to this firm State of its Glory, but the diſloyal *Principles* and *Practices* of ſome of its Competitors, and particularly the juſt and dreadful apprehenſions given to conſiderate men upon ſome Nominal *Proteſtants* and Nominal *Property-men*, having founded *Dominion in Grace*, and yet having reproached the Church of *England* and its *Divines* with *Popery*, and invited the Proteſtant *Mobile* to make a *Schiſm* from it on ſuch an account, and printed many Seditious *Pamphlets* for the Eſtabliſhing the *IF, or AND-Loyalty*, or indeed which is all one, an abſolute *Diſloyalty*, and in ſuch a Conjuncture, when it would have been not more pernicious to the particular *Souls* of the *Diſloyal* than to the *Body* of the whole Nation, and to the State of *Chriſtendom*.

Thus through the *Divine* Omnipotence, which can bring good out of evil, hath our late *Fermentation* been made *perfective* to our *Church*, as well as the Hereditary *Monarchy*, and the *Rule* of *God's* governing the World by the *Prayers* of his *Church* and *Luſts* of his *Enemies*, been here exemplified: and as the *Air* that is the *Steem* of the dull *Earth*, or the *Textura halituum terræ*, as *Gaſſendus* calls it, is made by nature to be the Vehicle of thoſe Beams of the Sun that dazle our Eyes; thus have the *Fumes*, exhaled by ſuch mens *Luſts* of Diſloyalty and Malice that *darken'd* their own underſtandings (and would have obſcured the glory of the Church of *England*) been made inſtrumental in diſperſing its brightneſs through the World, and even in the opening of the Eyes of many to behold it with amazement; and that ſervice hath been done our Church thereby, which by all the *Pens* of its *Jewel* and *Hooker* and *Sanderſon* could never be effected.

England that had ſo much the *Carriage* and the *Trade* of the *World* till the *Munſter Peace* of 48, could bear the *Civil* War after 41, and breathe under it and flouriſh after it; but as the State of the World abroad and at home now is and likely to be, our *ALL* muſt depend upon the Principles and Practice of *Loyalty*, and therefore this new Soul I ſpake of as now animating the Church of *England* muſt be immortal, and it may well ſay to it ſelf under any Prince that can come, *Soul take thy eaſe, thou haſt Loyalty and the Principles of it laid up for many years*, and *England* did not before 48 more excel other *Realms* in *Trade*, than its Church doth now other Churches in *abſolute* and *irreſpective* Loyalty.

That great *Judge* of *Churches* and their Principles, Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, having in *p.* 36. of his famous *Star-Chamber Speech* remarked the *dangerous Conſequence of avowing, That the Popiſh Religion is Rebellion*, ſaith, *That ſome Principles of theirs teach Rebellion, is apparently true*, &c. and

I ſhall add, that ſome Principles of our late Covenanting *Diſſenters* have taught it, is apparently true; and for ſuch of the latter who *believed* and *practiſed* theſe *Principles*, to reproach any Papiſts with *Diſloyalty*, is as *apparently* ridiculous as was Mr. *Prynn*'s writing *two* Voluminous *Tractates* of *The Diſloyalty of Papiſts* at the time when he was making ſo great a Figure in the late Rebellion. But however, ſuitably to the *Moral* Offices urged by *Ames* of not condemning whole Parties of men on the account of the guilt of ſome Perſons, I have under this *Concluſion* cited the loyal *Principles* of ſome *Recuſants* of all ſorts pertinent to my Scope: and becauſe the *irreſpective* Loyalty that I affirm therein we have obliged our ſelves to by our *Oaths*, is ſo incomparably aſſerted in a long *Speech* of that Great Man of the *Church* of *Rome*, *Reginaldus Belnenſis*, Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges* in *France*, I ſhall refer any one to it as printed in *Thuanus*. The *Speech* was ſpoke in a Famous *Aſſembly* and on a great occaſion, for to make way for the quiet Reception of *Harry* the 4th of *France* while a *Proteſtant* into the Throne; and it was framed with ſuch profound thoughts of *Loyalty*, and with ſuch extraordinary Learning referring both to the *old* and *new* Teſtament, and to *Fathers* and *Church Hiſtory*, and *Civil* and *Canon* Law, and with ſuch cloſe and *nervous* argumentation to evince the *Divine* Right of *Allegiance* due to Princes, and particularly without any reſpect had to their *Religion*, that it may paſs for one of the beſt *Bullwarks* of abſolute *Loyalty* I know of next to the 13th of the *Romans* and other things contained in Holy Writ. And becauſe I think no ſerious Chriſtian who reads it will ever find in his heart afterward to *ridicule* paſſive *obedience*, or make ridiculous Platforms of *Conditional* Loyalty, I do intend to *Tranſlate* and Publiſh it. Moreover becauſe there is in that *Speech* one *Noble* peculiar Character of the *Moral* Offices of Loyalty, wherein it is pity that the proverbial *Engliſh* good nature ſhould in any men come ſhort of that of the *French* Civility, and any *Proteſtants* Loyalty of a *Roman-Catholicks*, I mean that Arch-Biſhops *honouring* the *Mind* and *Soul* of his *Prince*, who was not of the Communion of his *Church*, and even then *vindicating* him from *Hereſy*, and ſaying, *That he ought not to be thought a Heretick*, and propping up his *honourable* thoughts of his Prince with a Quotation out of St. *Auſtin*, viz. That *he was not to be reckon'd among Hereticks who without pertinacy defended his opinion tho erroneous*, &c I think the hanging up ſo great a Picture in publick view, wherein that *Man* of *God* did with ſuch exquiſite draught, deſign, and colour thus paint his *Princes* Character and that of his own Loyalty to *Eternity*, may be variouſly uſeful: and the very ſight of the great *Colours* in which cannot methinks but raiſe the *little* ones of *Bluſhes* in any *Nominal* Proteſtants who do with ſuch foul and hard hands handle the Religionary Concernments of Kings who are Nominal *Gods*, and make no difference between the danger of Heterodoxy in *Subjects* and in *Princes*.

I have mentioned it that there is leſs danger of any Princes believing or practiſing what may favour the *Papal* Uſurpation than of ſuch Belief or Practice in a Subject, and it were an eaſie matter to inſtance in many erroneous Religionary *Tenets*, which as held by Parties among *Subjects* may cauſe general apprehenſions of danger, but from which as held by a *Prince* it would be *ridiculous* to fear any ill, or to imagine that the Prince can *imbibe* the *dregs* of thoſe *Tenets* as they diſcriminate diſcontented Parties: as for *example*, how can any one fear that a Prince by believing the *Perſonal* Reign of *Chriſt* on Earth for a *thouſand* years would hurt his

his own Government? or that a *Prince*, by being a *Socinian*, would hold the *Tenet* of the unlawfulness of *Defensive* War? or that a *Prince*, who favoured the *Order* of the *Jesuites*, would approve of their *Tenets* of *Calumny* and *Equivocation*, &c. and several of their vile *Casuistical* Tenets? or that any Magistracy would permit some of their *Apologies*, and particularly that of *Guymenius*, to be so much as published in the *Language* of the Country?

But the truth is, we are *Morally* bound to make a great difference in our Demeanor toward our Princes, when supposed to erre in opinions about Religion, from the Measures we are allowed to take in relation to our fellow Subjects so erring. Error is a part of Humane frailty, and Subjects are *Morally* bound to conceal the *frailties* of their Kings, and not to censure or publish them to their dishonour, and are to be more ready to *Apologize* for their Princes on all occasions, than for their Parents. S*t. Peter* in that *Verse*, where the *Duty* of *honouring all Men and loving the Brotherhood*, is mentioned, subjoyns a particular Precept of *honouring the King*. We are never to think of the *hearts* of Kings, but as being in the *hands* of God, nor of any *Mists* of Errors that may be in their *heads* without thinking of the *Rays* of the Divine Power that like a *Glory* surrounds theirs, and which in the usual Concourse of Providence do dissipate all danger from any Errors within them. Tho in mens beliefs who are *Subjects*, *Religionary* Errors are often complicated with *Irreligionary* ones, yet we are to think of the *Oyl* of the Lords *Annointed* as *uppermost* and appearing above such latter Errors, and suppressing the *Fumes* of them in the minds of Princes, and are to fear no more harm from the *Persons* of our Princes than from our *Guardian* Angels differing from us in many great *Religionary* Speculations, and are to think with honour of our King, *as an Angel of God to discern between good and bad*, Religion and Irreligion: and it is an *absurd* thing for any not to imitate the Popish *Arch-Bishop* aforesaid in clearing his *Prince*, tho of another Communion, from *Pertinacy*, since such a *Moral* defect is a *humour* of *positiveness*, that of all men Kings are most naturally free from, and whose becoming diffidence of their own understandings how great soever, is Conspicuous by the wearing away so much of their lives in hearing the *advise* of their *Council*. And when ever *Passive* Obedience is called for by Princes and must be readily payed as a due Debt, we are even then to *strain* our most improved thoughts to find an honourable Interpretation of our Princes Actions, in like manner as some of the Loyal *Non-Conformists* to the *Gallican* Church have done, as appears by a *Great* Observation in their *Book* called the *Policy of the Clergy of* France, a Book that *Maimbourg* in print hath acknowledged to be the best lately published by their Party, *viz.* That their Princes never made any great Assault on the Papal Power, but what cost their Protestant Subjects dear.

This, *This* is *Loyalty* worthy the name of *Christian*; and after all if yet any men will make wanton *Suppositions* of the *beliefs* or *practices* of Sovereigns being never so contrary to Religion, let those know that an *absolute* and *irrespective* Loyalty is that which by these Oaths they have obliged themselves to: and that therefore it is an absurd thing to attempt to exclude any *Heir* of the Crown from his Birth-right on any pretence of his Religion or other pretence whatsoever, since we must pay an absolute Obedience and Allegiance to him immediately on the Descent of the Crown to him, and accordingly as by these *Oaths* we have obliged our selves to do.

Having thus in theſe *Concluſions* aſſerted the *Obligation* relating to our Kings *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, as reſulting from the plain and genuine *Senſe* of the words in the *Oaths*, altho it is a common, ſure *Rule*, That *Verba ubi ſunt expreſſa, voluntatis ſupervacanea eſt quæſtio*, yet I ſhall *ex ſuperabundanti* chooſe to corroborate ſuch my Aſſertion by laying down this as my 9th and laſt *Concluſion*, that it is manifeſt that it was the Law-givers *intention* to bind the Takers of theſe *Oaths*, not only *to bear true Faith and Allegiance* to his Majeſty, but to his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* in the Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent, as I have before expreſſed.

It need not be much dilated on, that *Relations* are *Minimæ entitatis*, but *Maximæ efficaciæ*: and that, *Liberi ſunt quaſi partes & appendices parentum*, not only *Fictione Juris*, but *Naturâ & rei veritate*, and that in the framing of the *Oath* of *Allegiance* and the deſigning the Obligations to ariſe thence, the King had a neceſſary regard to *natural* affection, and to the preſervation of the Hereditary Monarchy in the Line of his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*: and ſuitably to what is expreſſed in the *Preamble* of the *Statute* of 25 *H.* 8. c. 22. viz. *That ſince it is the natural inclination of every man gladly and willingly to provide for the ſurety of both his Title and Succeſſion, altho it touch his only private Cauſe, we therefore reckon our ſelves much more bound to beſeech and inſtant your Highneſs to foreſee and provide for the* PRESENT *ſurety of both you and of your moſt lawful Succeſſion and Heirs.*

Nor need it be much inſiſted on, that 'tis natural for every Government to defend and preſerve it ſelf: and to this purpoſe the *Author* of the *Exercitation* cites *Alſted* a *Lutheran* Divine, and likewiſe *Grotius* and *Dudley Fenner*, for maintaining the lawfulneſs of what the old *Athenian* famous *Oath* enjoyned for the preſervation of its *Polity*, namely, of any private Perſon killing any Uſurper, or one who without a lawful Title forcibly invaded the Government. The *Athenians* had ſeveral *Oaths* of a high nature, by the Religion of which they tyed themſelves to defend their Government: and one was the *Jusjurandum epheborum*, which they took when 20 years old, and which is ſet down in *Petitus* his Noble *Commentary* on the *Athenian* Laws, and part of which as rendered by him into *Latin*, is, *Patriam liberis non relinquam in deteriore ſed potius in meliore ſtatu. Navigabo ad terram eamque colam, quantulacunque illa ſit quæ habenda mihi tradetur. Parebo legibus quæ obtinent*, &c. *quod ſi quis leges abrogare velit, populo non ſciſcente, minime feram. Vindicabo autem ſive ſolus, ſive cum aliis omnibus. Patria ſacra colam*, &c. *ad mortem uſque pro nutriciâ terrâ dimicabo.* But this *Oath*, tho *famous* enough, was not *THE famous* one I referred to: but 'tis the other of which the *formula* is ſet down in *Petitus* there, p. 232, 233. and which beginneth with *Occidam meâ ipſius manu ſi poſſim eum qui everterit Rempublicam Athenienſium, aut eâ everſâ Magiſtratum geſſerit in poſterum*, &c. That *Oath* of ſo high and ſtrange a nature was made ſhortly after the driving out the thirty Tyrants and the Law made, that *Si quis Athenienſium Rempublicam evertat, aut eâ everſâ Magiſtratum gerat, Athenienſium hoſtis eſto, impunéque occiditor*, &c.

To ſecure their Government forever from future Uſurpation was the intent of that terrible *Oath*: and to ſecure the Government of the *Hereditary* Monarchy here was the intent of our gentle ones, and ſufficiently ſavouring of the *Manſuetudo Evangelii*, and which Oaths, however binding the Loyal to *defend* the Government with their lives, do yet ſtrictly bind to the defence of the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the Crown, one

of

of which is both by the 13th of the *Romans*, and the *Lex terræ*, to *be a terror to the Evil*, and *to bear the Sword*.

But Sir *E. Coke* having told us in his *Commentaries*, That *the true Scope and design of our Statute Laws are oftentimes not to be understood without the knowledge of the History of the Age when the particular Statute was made*, I shall (looking back on the Conjuncture when the *Act* for the *Oath* of *Allegiance* was made) take notice, that by many particular matters then obvious to all mens thoughts, it appeared worthy of the wisdom of the Government then to provide for the security both of his Majesty and of the *Succession*

Any who shall read *D' Ossat*'s Letters will find the various deep designs there opened, that related to several Foreign Princes and Potentates Jealousies of the Power that *England* would have in the balance of the World, by the uniting of the strength of *Scotland* to it upon the rightful Succession of King *James* to the Monarchy: and perhaps rather out of a design to *amuse* them than out of an humour to put by the thoughts of Mortality, Queen *Elizabeth* did shew so much unwillingness sometimes to hear and speak of her *Successor*. And during the constrained *Altum silentium* of the *Succession* then here, a *Book* of *the Succession* was writ by Father *Parsons*, and which made noise enough in the World, as those Letters mention, and by which *Book* the Author intended that our Hereditary Monarchy should be Thunder struck, especially with the help of the Papal *Breves* that came here to obstruct the *Succession*. King *James* at the end of his *Premonition to all Christian Monarchs*, printing *a Catalogue of the Lyes of* Tortus (*i. e.* Bellarmin) *with a brief Confutation of them*, refers to one *Lye* of *Tortus*, p. 47, viz. *In which words* [*of the* Breves *of* Clement *the* 8*th*] *not only King* James *of* Scotland *was not EXCLUDED, but included rather*: and the *Confutation* is thus, viz. *If the* Breves *of* Clement *did not exclude me from the Kingdom, but rather did include me, why did* Garnet *burn them? Why would he not reserve them that I might have seen them, that so he might have obtained more favour at my hands for him and his Catholicks?* And that *King* in his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, p. 29. refers to *the two* Breves *which* Clemens Octavus *sent to* England *immediately before Queen* Elizabeth's *Death, debarring him from the Crown, or any other that either would profess or any ways tolerate the Professors of his Religion: contrary to the Pope's Manifold Vows and Protestations* Simul & eodem tempore *and, as it were, delivered* uno & eodem spiritu *to divers of his Majesty's Ministers abroad, professing such kindness and shewing such forwardness to advance his Majesty to the* English *Crown.*

Any one who reads in *D' Ossat* the inclination of that Pope to Principles and Practices of this kind, will not wonder at his Majesty's thus exposing his *Un-holyness*: and the nature of the *Breves* is sufficiently there explained, and proved to be according to his Majesty's measures published of them.

That Great King was sufficiently acquainted with the Principles and Practices of the *Papacy*, that had been so injurious to *Hereditary* Monarchs. He knew that a Popish Parliament in *England* had shewed their Abhorrence of the Pope's being somewhat like an *Excluder-General* of Kings, and an Arbitrary one too, as appeared by the *Words* in the *Statute* of 25 *H.* 8. viz. *The Pope contrary to the inviolable Grants of Jurisdictions by God immediately to Emperors and Kings, hath presumed to invest who should please him to inherit in other mens Kingdoms and Dominions,*

ons, which we your Loyal Subjects Spiritual and Temporal abhor and deteſt: and the practices at *Rome* for King *James*'s *Excluſion* had made deep impreſſions in his thoughts. As he was a Prince of great *Reading* he could not but know particularly the many Anti-Monarchical *Tenets* that were publiſhed by many Popiſh *Commentators*, poſitive Writers, *School-men*, *Canoniſts*, and never cenſured by any *Index Expurgatorius*, tho yet ſeveral Popiſh *Authors* who aſſerted the Power of Kings were ſo *cenſured*, and particularly *Bodin de Republicâ*: and he could not be ignorant of Popes having required ſeveral Crowned Heads to ſwear Fidelity to them and their *Succeſſors*, and that particularly the Pope ſent *Hubertus* to require *William* the *Conqueror* to ſwear *Allegiance* and *Fidelity* to *Him* and his *Succeſſors*, and who magnanimouſly refuſed ſo to do: and that the *Papacy* endeavoured to root its Power in the World by obliging men in their Oaths of Fidelity to any particular Pope, to ſwear the ſame likewiſe to his *Succeſſors*, according to the common Style in thoſe *Oaths*, viz. *Fidelis & obediens ero Domino Papæ*, &c. *& ſuis ſucceſſoribus*: and that thus too the *Oath* of all Popiſh *Biſhops* at their Conſecration runs; and that the Great *Auſtrian* Family had not more carefully ſecured to it ſelf the Scepters of the *Empire* by the Conſtitution of a *King* of the *Romans*, than the *Papacy* had made Proviſion of that King's being ſworn that he would from that time be a *Protector* and *Defender* of the Pope and Church of *Rome*, according to thoſe *words* in the Oath as I find it ſet down in *Magerus*, viz. *Ego N. Rex Romanorum FUTURUS Imperator, promitto, ſpondeo, & polliceor, atque juro Deo & beato Petro me de cætero protectorem, atque defenſorem fore ſummi Pontificis & ſanctæ Eccleſiæ Romanæ*, &c.

He had moreover conſidered the great *Fermentation* in the minds of ſo many Loyal People in *England*, by Queen *Elizabeth*'s being ſo reſerved as She was in the buſineſs of the Succeſſion, and which as Dr. *Matthew Hutton* Arch-Biſhop of *York* mentioned in a memorable *Sermon* he preached before her at *White-Hall*, *Gave hopes to Foreigners to attempt freſh Invaſions, and bred fears in many of her Subjects of a new Conqueſt*, and who thereupon very loyally ſaid then, *The only way in Policy left to quell thoſe hopes and aſſwage thoſe fears were to Eſtabliſh the Succeſſion, and at laſt intimating as far as he durſt* (ſaith my Author) *the nearneſs of Blood of our preſent Sovereign*, he ſaid plainly, *That the expectations and preſages of all Writers went Northward, naming without any Circumlocution* Scotland. There is an *Abſtract* of this *Loyal* and Learned *Sermon* (and which *throughout* pointed at the *Succeſſion*) in the *Hiſtory of ſome of the Biſhops of* England *in the time of Queen* Elizabeth, printed in the *Year* 1653: and the fate of the Sermon was ſuch that tho perhaps it tickled not the Ears of that Queen, it ſo far touched her Conſcience that the *Hiſtorian* ſaith, *She opened the Window of her Cloſet and gave the Arch-Biſhop* thanks for it.

No doubt but *Parſons* ſaying in his *Book* of the *Succeſſion*, That *he thought the Affair about it could not be ended, without ſome War*, did much heighten the Popular Fears of War happening thereupon: and 'tis moſt probable the long fear of War in that *Fermentation* did variouſly weaken the Kingdom. Nor is it a new thought for the long *fears* of War to be held to bear ſome proportion to the miſchief of War it ſelf, in obſtructing Trade and Commerce; inſomuch that ſeveral *Writers* of the *Regalia* and *fiſcal* matters among the *Tractatus Illuſtrium*, have told us, That *Quando timor belli idem operatur quod ipſum bellum, remiſſio ſit conductoribus*, (i.e. of the *Revenue*) and hath Entituled them to *defalca-*

tions. We may imagine by the juſt effects of our late *Fermentation*, what the ſtate of the *Body* Politick was in that, namely, like the ſtate of long tormenting *anguiſh* in the *Body* natural upon the pricking of an *Artery*, and importing often more trouble and danger than the cutting of one. And by the great triumphant *Flame* of joy appearing in the *Act* of *Recognition* in King *James*'s time, (and which appears in our *Statute-Book*, as I may ſay, like a *Pyramid* of the *Fire* of Zealous *Loyalty*, and greater and higher than any former *Act* of that nature) we may judge how overjoyed all the Loyal People of *England* were on his coming to the Crown: and as *Pliny* in his *Panegyrick*, ſaith of *Nerva*'s adopting *Trajan*, *It was impoſſible it ſhould have pleaſed all when it was done, except it had pleaſed all before it was done*, the ſame might be applied to the *Caſe* of King *James*'s Succeſſion to the Crown. The very *Title* of the *Act* ſpeaks the Triumph of the Hereditary Monarchy, viz. *A Recognition, that the Crown of* England *is lawfully deſcended to King* James, *his Progeny, and Poſterity.* There was an end of all the dreadful inconveniences of the uncertainty of the *Succeſſion*, and of the *fears* of the People of what was worſe than being torn in pieces by *wild Horſes*, I mean the rending their *Conſciences* by *contrary* Oaths about the *Succeſſion*, as in *Harry* the 8th's time. There was an end of the fears from the growing greatneſs of *France*, and fears of any Foreign *Fremuerunt gentes*. *England* was reſtored to it ſelf, and *Scotland* added to it: and tho *Boccaline* like an airy *Ingenioſo* in his *Politick Touchſtone* makes *England* weigh *leſs* on the throwing *Scotland* into the *Scales*, any one will find that in him but grave *Romancery*; who ſhall conſider what with Oracular Wiſdom *another-gueſs* Statſ-man than *Boccaline* told *Harry* the 4th, I mean *D' Oſſat* in his long Letter to him from *Rome*, Book 7th, and *Anno* 1601. where he ſaith, That *the Pope deſiſted not to hope that his Majeſty might be perſwaded by reaſon of State to endeavour that the Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland *may not be joyned in the Perſon of one King, conſidering the great miſchiefs that the* Engliſh *alone have done to the* French *more than all other Nations put together*, &c.

And indeed that *England* is at this day preſerved not only from the danger of being overbalanced by *France*, but from the loſs of its ancient figure of *balancing* the World, muſt highly be attributed to the *Hereditary* Monarchy being fixt in the Line of King *James*, and to *Scotland* being thrown into the *Scales* as was ſaid: and if any one ſhall tell me by the way, that the *weight* of *Scotland* was prejudicial to *Loyalty* in 41, I ſhall anſwer him, that its *weight* hath in this *preſent* Conjuncture of 81 afforded Loyalty ſo great a Compenſation by that late *Act* of *Parliament* there acknowledging and aſſerting the *Right* of the *Succeſſion*, &c. and which begins thus, viz. *The Eſtates of Parliament conſidering that the Kings of this Realm deriving their Royal Power from God Almighty alone, do ſucceed lineally thereunto according to the known Degrees of Proximity in Blood*, &c. that as *Hiſtorians* tell us how in the dark barbarous times many hundreds of years ſince men repaired from all Countries to *Ireland*, to learn the Liberal *Arts* and *Sciences*, I ſhall ſay that they may now profitably go to *Scotland* to learn *Loyalty*: and I doubt not but that Kingdom which is ſo notorious for its mortal, or immortal hatred of *Popery* (call it which you will) and even of that very part of it which I call the *Religionary* one of it, having thus by the *Exterminium* of that *irreligionary* part of it, viz. That *Dominion is founded in Grace*, taught us Loyalty in the eſtabliſhing the Hereditary *Lineal* Succeſſion, may be as inſtrumental in giving Loyalty in the Body of the People here, its *tempe-*

ramentum ad pondus, as it was formerly in oppreſſing us with its weight, as a *gravamen*, and be an occaſion of bleſſing our Land with ſuch a joyful *Conjuncture* of time as enſued after King *James*'s Succeſſion, as I have before mentioned, and to the Conſideration of which I ſhall return.

England that had formerly, by reaſon of the uncertainty of the *Succeſſion*, being like the *Erratica Delos*, a floating Iſland, and that too in Seas of Blood, and did then appear like it afterward, fixed and bleſſed with a Pacifick and *Oracular* King, and as ſtrong a Foundation for the Hereditary Monarchy as could be wiſhed, was ſhortly after in danger of being again unfixed by the Outrage of the *Gun-Powder* Treaſon, and the *Principles* that legitimated that practice, being *really believed and practiſed*; and an account of the practice of which Treaſon we have in the *Statute* of 3° *Jacobi* c. 2. as likewiſe of the fiery *Principles* that animated the *Actors* to it in *Thuanus*; and in King *James* his *Premonition to all Chriſtian Monarchs*, p. 10. a general reference is made to *the violent bloody Maxims that the Powder-Traytors maintained*: and by occaſion whereof after the deſigned outrage againſt the *Lineal* Succeſſion of the *Prince* and the Hereditary Monarchy being in danger while ſuch bloody Principles and *Maxims* were not exterminated, it was in ordinary prudence requiſite to apply the extraordinary Remedy of the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, to rivet that Fundamental *Maxim* of the *Crown* the ſtronger in Nature, viz. *That the King never dies*. And the *Addition* of thoſe words in the *Promiſſory* Clauſe of the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, viz. *HIS or THEIR Perſons, THEIR Crown and Dignity*, and which *words* were not in the *Oath* of *Supremacy*, was a plain indication of the *intention* of the Law-givers to tye Mens Souls to the Hereditary Monarchy in the Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent.

And moreover with a proſpect to mens having a conſcientious regard to the King's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, the *Fathers* of our *Church* then probably in the *Preface* of the *Collect* in the *Common-prayer* for the *Prince* and the *King's Children*, as overjoyed with the ſight of *King* James's *being enriched with a moſt Royal Progeny* (as the words in the Act of the Recognition are) did cauſe theſe words to be inſerted, *Who art the Father of thine Elect and of their SEED*.

The *Preface* to the *Act* requiring the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, hath in it the expreſſion of *Loyalty and Allegiance unto the King's Majeſty and the CROWN of* England, and mentions the deſign of the *Gun-powder Treaſon* as tending to *the ſubverſion of the whole State*: and therefore if in the ancient times of Popery (and when the *Pope* was generally revered here as a 13th *Apoſtle*) upon any emergent Papal Uſurpations which gave juſt cauſe of apprehending future ones intended, and particularly in the Caſe of the Pope's *Mandates* or *Bulls*, which were called *Gratiæ expectativæ* or *proviſiones*, and pretendedly iſſued out of the Pope's pious care to ſee a Church provided of a *Succeſſor* before it needed, our Kings did think themſelves obliged to provide Statutes againſt *Proviſors*, whereby the *Jus patronatus* was ſecured to them and their Subjects, and by *Statutes* of *Præmunire* did as it were build *Forts* before the Enemies coming, the *Premuniment* of the Hereditary Monarchy by the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, was moſt neceſſary to prevent any *Papal Gratiæ expectativæ* of the *Crown*, and the Popes impious care to provide a *Succeſſor* to its Hereditary Rights. The *Premuniment* of ſome *Laws* by others is no new thing nor yet a new word, however ſome idle *Criticks* have accounted the word *præmunire* in our Statutes to be barbarous; for *Grotius* in his *De jure belli*, &c. *l.* 2. *c.* 5. §. 14. ſpeaking of ſome *Laws* of the *Jews* ſaith, *In*

quarum

quarum προφυλαχὴ, & ut Hebræi loquuntur præmunimentum *additæ ſunt leges cæteræ*: and according to the ſenſe of ſome taking *præmunire* for *præmonere*, the conſtant *premonition* of Heavens great *Monitor* called *Conſcience*, (and which is the *pulſe* of the *Soul*, and like the *Pulſe* is *Fidelis nuncius vitæ aut mortis*) to warn men by this *Oath* to defend the *Lineal* Succeſſion of the Crown, was no leſs neceſſary: and King *James*'s ſetling the *Premonition* in the minds of his own Subjects, was but naturally previous to his *Premonition* ſent abroad to Foreign *Princes* and *States*.

And how far *Harry* the 7th's *Statute* by which *no Perſon who ſhould ſerve the King for the time being*, &c. *ſhould therefore be attainted or impeached*, might induce the Government to ſecure the undoubted Rights of Succeſſion, by the *Oath* of *Allegiance* being framed as it was, and rooting our *Loyalty* thereby the deeper into our *Conſciences*, and by the fear of our being juſtly *impeached* in the Court of Conſcience *in omnem eventum*, if we defended not thoſe Rights of Succeſſion, is obvious to Conſideration.

As I have thus in this *Concluſion* ſhewed that it was the Law-givers *intention*, particularly in the *Oath* of *Allegiance* to oblige us to pay our *Allegiance* not only to the King, but to his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* in the Legal Courſe of Deſcent, ſo I might here further *Ex ſuperabundanti* dilate on ſuch *intention* being to ſecure the ſame without any reſpect to the *Religion* of ſuch *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*. A Prince of ſuch profound Learning and Obſervation as King *James* could not be ignorant of what hath been ſince, by the Loyal *Writers* of the *Succeſſion*, ſo clearly and ſtrongly aſſerted, viz. That *the Succeſſion to the Crown is inſeparably annext to the Proximity of Blood by the Laws of GOD and NATURE, and That* Statute-Laws *contrariant to thoſe are* null and void, *and That the Hereditary Monarchy was indiſputably founded on inherent Birthright according to the* Style *of the Act of Recognition*, and not any Religionary *Regeneration, and That the acceſſion of the Crown purgeth all Obſtructions*.

And that that Prince did by the *Oath* of *Allegiance* deſign only to *twiſt* the *Band* of our *natural* Allegiance the ſtronger (an *Allegiance* tyed not to Princes Faith of the *Croſs*, but to their *Crown*) appears throughout his *Apology* for the *Oath* of *Allegiance*. He likewiſe in his *Premonition to all Chriſtian Monarchs*, p. 9. doth with ſome warmth of words reflect on *the Malice of ſome who impudently affirm, That the Oath of Allegiance was deviſed for deceiving and entrapping of Papiſts in point of Conſcience*: and ſaith, That *tho the Houſe of Commons at the firſt framing of the Oath made it to contain, That the Pope had no Power to excommunicate me, which I cauſed them to reform, only making it to conclude that no Excommunication of the Popes can warrant my Subjects to practiſe againſt my Perſon or State*, &c. *ſo careful was I that nothing ſhould be contained in this Oath except the profeſſion of Natural Allegiance, and Civil and Temporal Obedience, with a promiſe to reſiſt to all contrary uncivil violence*. From thence it appears that what looked like the *Religionary* part of Popery, namely, the *Pope's* exerciſing a *Spiritual* Power againſt him, or the *Notion* as *Aquinas* delivers it, That there is *Poteſtas in ſummo Pontifice puniendi omnes mortales ratione delicti*, he intended not to whet the ſharpneſs of the *Oath* againſt, but only againſt the *Irreligionary* part of *Popery* beforementioned, and as to which he might rationally depend on the Zeal of any *Heir* or *Succeſſor* tho *Roman* Catholick concurring with his therein.

He

He having in the foregoing *Page* mentioned how *that Parliament that was to have been blown up, made ſome new Laws againſt Papiſts*, ſaith, *So far hath my Heart and Government been from any bitterneſs as almoſt never one of thoſe ſharp Additions to the former Laws have ever yet been put in Execution.* The Execution of ſome Laws of *pecuniary* Mulcts on *Papiſts* who in that Conjuncture *believed* the irreligionary part of the *Papal* Power, might ſeem to carry ſuch a Face of Juſtice with it, as the practice of the *Cuſtom-houſe* doth purſuant to the 13th and 14th of *Harry* the 8th, c. 4. *Whereby any* Engliſh *man or born Subject of* England, *who ſhall ſwear Obeyſance or live as Subjects to any Foreign Prince ſhall pay Aliens Cuſtoms*: but 'tis a *madneſs* to think of any *Prince's* abdicating his Temporal Power, and ſwearing Temporal Obeyſance to any one, and no man but he who has *Læſa principia*, can ſuppoſe that King *James*, who avowed in his *Premonition, That no man in his time or the late Queens ever died for his Religion, nor yet any Prieſts after their taking Orders beyond Sea, without ſome other guilt in them than their bare coming home*, and who *p.* 16. of his *Apology* avows and *maintains to his own knowledge, that Queen* Elizabeth *never puniſhed any Papiſts for Religion, but that their puniſhment was ever extorted out of her hands againſt her will by their own mis-behaviour*, could ever intend that by the withdrawing of Allegiance from any of his *Heirs* in the Courſe of their Lineal Succeſſion, on the pretence of any of their *Religionary* Notions or other pretence or ground whatſoever, there ſhould be a *ſolutio continui* or political death inflicted on the *Hereditary* Monarchy, by the preſerving of which the lives of all the People of *England* could only be preſerved.

He in his *Premonition* and *Apology* diſcharged the *Moral* Offices of *honouring all men*, with relation to *Papiſts* his Subjects, and judgeth ſome of them to be of *quiet diſpoſitions and good Subjects*, and in p. 3, 4. 46, 47, 48. of his *Apology*, he makes a difference between *many of his Popiſh Subjects who retained in their hearts the print of their natural Duty to their Sovereign, and thoſe who were carried away with that Fanatical Zeal the Powder-Traytors were*, and uſeth the expreſſion of *quietly minded Papiſts, and Papiſts, tho peradventure zealous in their Religion, yet otherwiſe civilly honeſt and good Subjects*: and acknowledgeth, That *his Mother, altho ſhe continued in that Religion wherein ſhe was nouriſhed, yet was ſo far from being ſuperſtitious or* jeſuited *therein, that at his baptiſm (tho he was baptized by a Popiſh Arch-Biſhop) ſhe ſent him word to forbear to uſe the ſpittle in his Baptiſm, which was obeyed*: and in his *Premonition* ſpeaking to Roman *Catholick Princes and wiſhing them to ſearch the Scriptures, and ground their Faith upon their own certain knowledge, and not on the Report of others*, ſince every man muſt be ſafe by his own Faith: *but leaving this to God his Merciful Providence in his due time*, he further wiſheth them *to imitate their Noble Predeceſſors, who in the days of greateſt blindneſs, did divers times courageouſly oppoſe themſelves to the encroaching Ambition of Popes*: and acknowledgeth, That *ſome of their Kingdoms have in all Ages maintained, and without interruption enjoyed their liberty againſt the moſt ambitious Popes*, &c. and ſaith, That *ſome of thoſe Princes have conſtantly defended and maintained their lawful freedom to their immortal honour*: and concludes his *Premonition* with *earneſt Prayers to the Almighty for their proſperities, and that after their happy Temporal Reigns on Earth, they may live and Reign in Heaven with him forever.*

This Learned *King* did ſufficiently thereby Proclaim himſelf an Enemy to the Papal *Tenet* of *founding Dominion in Grace*, as to thoſe *Foreign* Popiſh

Popiſh Princes, and could not therefore but more abhor the effects of it in the Caſe of his *Hereditary* Succeſſors; and he having judged that thoſe Foreign Princes who owned the Religionary *Tenets* of Popery, did yet *conſtantly defend and maintain their lawful freedom from all Papal Uſurpations to their immortal honour*, and with ſo devout a Charity pray'd for *their happy Temporal Reigns on Earth, and that they may live and reign in Heaven afterward*, could not but ſuppoſe that any of his Heirs who might be of the *Roman* Catholick Communion would yet diſown any *Tenet* of Popery that was *irreligionary*, and would *Exterminate* all Papal *Uſurpation*, and that they might here expect a *happy Reign on Earth*, and a *happier* in *Heaven* hereafter, *leaving it to God to open their Eyes* (as aforeſaid) in matters Religionary, and *to render them ſafe by their own Faith.*

King *James* in his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* doth *incidenter*, prop up the Juſtice of the *Oath* of *Supremacy*, and in *p.* 49, 50, 51. doth inſert 14 contrary *Concluſions* to all the *Points* and *Articles* of which the *Oath* of *Supremacy* conſiſts, to denote the *abſurdity* of the oppoſing that *Oath*: and which *Concluſions* tho many *Clerical* and *Lay-Papiſts* among his Subjects might maintain, yet he might well think it Morally impoſſible for a *Roman* Catholick Prince here to do ſo: and he gives a very good reaſon for the inducing any one ſo to judge of his meaſures, viz. *That thoſe Concluſions were never concluded and defined by any compleat General Council to belong to the Pope's Authority: and their own School Doctors are at irreconcileable odds and jarrs about them.* He had then his Eye on the *Lateran* Council as appears by the other words there in the *Margent*, viz. *Touching the PRETENDED Council of LATERAN*, See *Plat. in vitâ Innocen.* 3. and by which *Council* the King knew that all except *two* or *three* of thoſe *Concluſions* were concluded and *defined.* If therefore many of the poor petty *School-Doctors* were ſo fearleſs of the *Papal* Thunder, as in Caſes when they were perhaps unconcerned to impeach the *Papal* Uſurpation, there was no cauſe of apprehenſion in that our wiſe Monarch that any of his High-born *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* would ever favour the Uſurpations of that Authority.

When Queen *Elizabeth* was ſo firmly ſatisfied concerning the *Loyalty* of the *Roman* Catholick *Lords* Temporal, and of their great *Quota* in the *balance* of the Kingdom ſecuring their abhorrence of all *Papal* Uſurpations, as not to impoſe the *Oath* of *Supremacy* on them, (tho yet She took care to have it impoſed on the Popiſh *Biſhops*) can we imagine that the great Intereſt of an *Heir* of the *Crown* in the *Hereditary* Monarchy, did not give a *Plerophory* of ſatisfaction to that Great Monarch, that ſuch an *Heir* would never permit any Uſurpation to prejudice his Crown Imperial?

Moreover if in the *Caſe* of the *device* of an Inheritance by *Will* on the *Condition* of the *Legatees* not holding this or that Philoſophical or Religionary *Tenet*, the *abſurdity* of ſuch Condition would not fruſtrate the device, but would be taken as *Pro non adjectâ*, and that thus in that known *Caſe* in the *Digeſt*, viz. *Of an Heir made on an abſurd Condition*, namely, *On Condition he ſhould throw the Teſtators aſhes into the Sea, the Heir was rather to be commended than any way queſtioned who forbore to do ſo*, how can we think in the Inheritance of the Crown (which is from God and by inherent Birth-right) any ſuch ſuppoſed abſurd *Condition* of a Prince's not *believing* this or that Speculative *Religionary* Tenet, (and for his profeſſing of which he hath a dear bought *Liberty* by the ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη,

or the *New Teſtament* of *Jeſus Chriſt*) ſhould be intended to operate to his prejudice?

But that I may in a word *perimere litem* about that Kings never intending the leaſt prejudice to the Succeſſion, by any of his *Succeſſors* being *Roman* Catholicks, I ſhall obſerve that that King who was ſo great and skilful an *Agoniſt*, for the *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of the Church of *England*, did yet in the *Articles* of the propoſed *Match* with *Spain*, and afterwards with that of *France*, agree that *the Children of ſuch Marriage ſhould no way be compelled or conſtrained in point of Conſcience or Religion, and that their Title to the Crown ſhould not be prejudiced, in Caſe it ſhould pleaſe God they ſhould prove* Roman *Catholicks: and that the Laws againſt Catholicks ſhould not in the leaſt touch them.* And that the ſenſe of the *Government* then was likewiſe to that effect avowedly declared, is manifeſt from the *Paſſages* of thoſe times: and the needleſs quarrel therefore that our late *Excluders* would have expoſed us to with *France*, was a thing worthy their conſidering.

But enough of this *Concluſion*, if not too much: for where the *Tide* of the *Words* of any *Oath* runs ſtrong and clear, we need not to regard the *Wind* of any Law-givers intention: however yet I have made it appear for the redundant ſatisfaction of the *ſcrupulous*, that while they have embarqued their Conſciences in theſe *Oaths* they have had ſuch Wind and Tide both together on their ſide: and that therefore any *Storms* which the Takers of theſe Oaths relating to the *Lineal* Succeſſion of the Crown may have raiſed either in their *Conſciences* or the *State*, muſt be ſuppoſed to be very *unnatural*.

Having thus in the foregoing *Concluſions* aſſerted and proved the Obligation relating to the Kings *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, as reſulting from the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, I ſhall briefly anſwer ſuch objections thereunto or rather *Scruples*, (for they deſerve not the name of *Objections*) as ſome noiſy *Nominal* Proteſtants have troubled themſelves and others with, and ſo end this *Caſuiſtical* Diſcuſſion.

The firſt *Objection* or *Scruple* then I ſhall take notice of that ſome have raiſed againſt the Obligation of theſe Oaths as above aſſerted, is that they were made in relation to *Papiſts* only, and were enjoyned to be taken for the diſcovery of thoſe that were ſuſpected to be ſo.

As to which it will be ſufficient to ſay, that it is moſt plain that all Perſons who have taken theſe or any other lawful *Oaths*, are bound by *Deeds* to fullfil what they have ſworn in *Words*: and it is an abſurd thing to doubt whether the Law intended that thoſe Perſons ſhould obſerve the *Oaths*, whom it hath enjoyned to take them. And to this purpoſe we are well taught by Biſhop *Sanderſon* in his 6th *Lecture* of *Oaths*, That *tho Papal Uſurpation was the cauſe of the Oath of Supremacy, (the arrogating to himſelf the exerciſe of Supreme Juriſdiction* in ſpiritualibus, *throughout this Kingdom*) *yet the* Oath *is Obligatory according to the expreſs words in the utmoſt Latitude: the reaſon is, that the intention of a Law is general to provide againſt all Future inconveniences of the like kind or nature*, &c. I *refer* the *Reader* to him there at large.

By the Meaſures of that *Biſhop* as to the *Oath* of *Supremacy*, we likewiſe may direct our ſelves in the *Oath* of *Allegiance* being Obligatory according to the *expreſs words in the utmoſt Latitude*, tho that *Oath* was made by occaſion of the *Gun-powder* Treaſon.

And as to the *intent* of the *Oath* of *Supremacy*, King *James* tells us in his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, p. 108. That it was to prop up *the*

Power

Power of Chriſtian Kings as Cuſtodes utriuſque tabulæ, *by commanding Obedience to be given to the word of God, and by reforming Religion according to his preſcribed Will, by aſſiſting the ſpiritual Power with the Temporal Sword*, &c. *by procuring due Obedience to the Church, by judging and cutting off all frivolous Queſtions and Schiſms as* Conſtantine *did, and finally by making* Decorum *to be obſerved in every thing, and Eſtabliſhing Orders to be obſerved in all indifferent things*, &c. whereby his Majeſty doth clearly denote the *intention* of that *Oath* to have been to extend againſt any *Non-Conformiſts* continuing their *Schiſm* in the Church.

And as to the *Oath* of *Allegiance* being intended againſt *Proteſtants* as well as *Papiſts* making a *Faction* in the State, the *Book* called *God and the King*, compiled and printed by King *James*'s Authority, ſufficiently ſhews throughout, by the Notification of the particular *Moral* Offices required by the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, and likewiſe by his Subjects natural Allegiance, and which *Moral* Offices are there ſtrengthened with paſſages out of the *Scriptures* and *Fathers*: and the Doctrine of *abſolute* Loyalty is there well Eſtabliſhed, and likewiſe the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance* overthrown, and the *Scope* of the *Book* is to plant Loyalty throughout the Kingdom: and to make the *Oath* of *Allegiance* be *re verâ* a *Premuniment* in all mens *Conſciences* againſt Faction and Rebellion.

The *Sect* of King *James*'s old Enemies in *Scotland* the *Puritans*, and whom he ſaid *he found there more diſhoneſt than the Highlanders and Border-Thieves*, is not named in that *Book*; and he having cleared them from being participants in the *Gun-powder* Treaſon, did with Juſtice as well as perhaps with hopes of their emendation after the *Tenets* of *Loyalty* that had been then lately publiſhed by the *Engliſh Non-Conformiſts*, order that *Sect* not to be in that Book marked *Nigro carbone*. But he could not but know their former *Principles* as well as *Practices* here as exactly as any one: and in his *Canons* here publiſhed a Year before the *Gun-powder* Treaſon, *The impugners of the Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of* England *were variouſly cenſured*; *the Authors of Schiſm in the Church of* England *were cenſured by the* 9*th Canon, and the maintainers of Schiſmaticks by the* 10*th, and by the* 27*th Schiſmaticks were not to be admitted to the Communion. The maintainers of Conventicles were cenſured by the* 11*th, and the maintainers of Conſtitutions made in Conventicles cenſured by the* 12*th: and* it refers to *the wicked and Anabaptiſtical Errors of ſome* who outraged the King's *Supremacy and* Regal *Rights, and who did meet and make Rules and Orders in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical without the King's Authority*: and therefore as the King knew that ſuch Perſons who had made *Schiſms* in the *Church* had thereby made *Factions* in the *State*, and would make more (the *Church* being neceſſarily *included* in the *State*) and would be as dry Tinder ready to take the Fire of Rebellion from ſuch Republican Tenets as were in *Parſons*'s Book of the *Succeſſion*, and the Writings of *Bellarmine* and other *Romaniſts*, and being juſtly apprehenſive that ſuch Antimonarchical *Principles* as had infected the *Scotch* Puritans might in time infect the *Engliſh* ones, as well as that the Principles of the *Powder-Traitors* might infect other Loyal Papiſts, he applied the *Oath* of *Allegiance* as a general neceſſary Antidote to the *Conſciences* of his Subjects to prevent ſuch infection.

In *p.* 109. of his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, he cited *Bellarmine* for the *Tenets*, That *Kings have not their Authority nor Office immediately from God, and that Kings may be depoſed by their People for divers reſpects*; and

and when ſuch Writers did ſo ſpitefully with the *Papal* Power endeavour likewiſe to bring in the *Sea* of the *People* to overwhelm Kings, it was time to raiſe the Bank of that *Oath* the higher againſt the ſame, and for the *Takers* of that *Oath* to be obliged *to bear Faith and True Allegiance to his Majeſty, his Heirs*, &c. *and him and them to defend*, &c. *againſt all Conſpiracies*, &c. *which ſhall be made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crown and Dignity, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch Sentence or Declaration or* OTHERWISE, *and to declare that neither the Pope, NOR ANY PERSON WHATSOEVER hath Power to abſolve them of this Oath.*

When therefore I ſee any ſerious man *diſloyal*, who hath took the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, and whom *Neceſſity* (as we ſay) doth not draw to *Turpitude*, I ſtill attribute much of his *diſloyalty* to his not with intenſe and recollected thought dwelling on the view of his *Moral* Obligations in the clear *Mirror* of that *Oath*, but to his curſory viewing them, and, as St. *James*'s words are *like a man beholding his natural face in a Glaſs, but beholdeth himſelf and goeth his way, and ſtraitway forgetteth what manner of man he was.* How many outragious Acts of *Diſloyalty* after 41 had been avoided if the *Law* of the *Oath* had been writ in the *hearts* of the Takers of it as it ought to have been? As for *Example*, ſince to *Prorogue* or *Diſſolve* Parliaments was ever a known *Right* and *Privilege* belonging to the *Crown*, could any Perſon who had ſworn to defend its *Rights* and *Privileges* endeavour to retrench that particular one by the *Act* for the perpetuating the *Parliament* of 40? How eaſie would Princes find their Reigns, and Subjects their *Conſciences*, if theſe would think of all the Royal *Rights* they have ſworn to *defend*, and how they are to defend them?

I have mentioned the great *Law* of *Athens* againſt any ones *bearing Office* under an Uſurpt Power, and the terrible *Oath* for the confirmation of that *Law*, and I have likewiſe mentioned the Author of the *EXERCITATION*, and Mr. *Prynn* as aſſerting the unlawfulneſs of bearing *Office* under our late uſurp'd Powers by reaſon of the *Oath* of *Allegiance* having before obliged them to the *King, his Heirs and Succeſſors.* The *Author* of the *Exercitation* doth very appoſitely to ſtrengthen that his Loyal Aſſertion cite an excellent *paſſage* out of *Tully*'s Epiſtles *ad Atticum*, *viz.* of his doubting the lawfulneſs of his bearing the *Office* of a *Councellor* of State in ſuch a Caſe: *Ec magnum ſit* τῶν πολιτικωτάτων σκεμμάτων, *veniendumne ſit in Conſilium Tyranni, ſi is aliquâ de re bonâ deliberaturus ſit. Quare ſi quid ejuſmodi evenerit ut accerſamur, quid cenſeas mihi faciendum utique ſcribito. Nihil enim mihi adhuc accidit quod majoris Conſilii eſt.* And the truth is, the *great* thing that inclineth ſo many to deſire *Changes* in Governments, being the hopes of the *Acqueſt* of *Offices*, it was but natural for the *Athenian* Wiſdom to fence with ſharp precaution againſt the *luſciouſneſs* of *Authority* under an Uſurper, and to let every man know (as I may ſay) *in terrorem*, that in the *day of his eating the forbidden fruit*, he would *die the death* by the hand of every man; and for the wiſdom of the Government in King *James*'s time by the effect and neceſſary Conſequences of the *Clauſes* in the *Oath* of *Allegiance* to *tye* mens *Conſciences* from ſupporting any *Uſurpation* by bearing *Office* under it.

That *Law* and *Oath* of *Athens* were no doubt as almoſt all other matters of Learning known to King *James*; and could he have foreſeen how the gueſt after Offices occaſioned the *Demagogues* to promote the *Rebellion* of 41, (for 'tis known they were then mighty *Nimrods* after mighty

mighty Offices in the State, and after what particular ones) and how the ſeveral *Uſurpations* ſupported themſelves here afterward through mens ſupporting themſelves by *Offices* under them, and how in this preſent *Fermentation* men have been tempted to *Faction* by hopes of *Offices* (and in purſuit of which men were never generally ſo *wary* as i• this Conjuncture) I am apt to think that *in uberiorem cautelam* for Loyalty, and the making men appear *perjured* even to all of the groſſeſt underſtandings, who ſhould bear *Office* under any *Uſurper*, and conſequently deterring them from *projecting* to alter the Hereditary Government, he would have inſerted into the Oath a particular expreſs *Clauſe* of not bearing *Office* here under any other.

But further to illuſtrate the *intent* of the Government in King *James*'s time for making the *Oath* of *Allegiance* a *Præmuniment* in our *Conſciences* againſt *Popular* as well as *Papal* Uſurpations, I ſhall here call in, *Teſtimonium adverſarii*, I mean the publiſher of Cardinal *Perron*'s long *Oration* made in the *Chamber of the 3d Eſtate, or Commonalty of* France upon the *Oath* of *Allegiance* exhibited in the *General Aſſembly* of the three *Eſtates* of that Kingdom, and in his long *Preface* to which he calls our *Oaths* of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance* deteſtable; but ſaith, That *the greater number of the Deputies of the 3d Chamber did frame the form of an* Oath *which they wiſhed might be miniſtred in that Kingdom, as that which bears the name of ALLEGIANCE in ours, whereby the ſame principal Article is abjured, namely, That no* French *King can be depoſed for any Cauſe whatſoever, and that the contrary Opinion is Heretical, and repugnant to the Doctrine of the Scriptures. But this difference is found between the two Oaths: that whereas the* Engliſh *one in one of the Clauſes, ſeems to exclude not only the Authority of the CHURCH over Kings, but even of the COMMONWEALTH alſo (yea tho it ſhould be accompanied even with that of the Church) that of* France *ſhoots only at the abnegation of the Churches Authority.*

The *Author* however in that *Preface* (and which was *Permiſſu ſuperiorum*) contrary to the Loyal *Sentiments* of the *Majority* of that 3d *Chamber*, inſerts very impiouſly and diſloyally, *That Kingly Authority cannot come immediately from God to any man, but by Miracle: and that all the Kings whom we know, do either rule by force of Conqueſt, and in that Caſe the Authority of the Common-wealth, if it be Uſurped, may be reſumed, or by Donation, Election, Marriage, or Succeſſion of Blood, in which Caſes Kings forfeit by not performing the Conditions, under which either they or their firſt Anceſtors did enter, whether they were expreſſed or neceſſarily implyed.*

But neither that *Author* nor any other *Roman* Catholick Writer hath writ with greater Contempt of and *Spight* againſt the *Power* of *Kings*, than ſome Nominal *Proteſtant* Authors have to the ſcandal of Chriſtianity done: and that I may ſhew how neceſſary it was that the *Oath* of *Allegiance* ſhould be levelled at the outragious *Principles* of Diſloyalty in *Proteſtants* as well as *Papiſts*, I ſhall conclude my *Anſwer* to this *Objection* with a *reference* to a *Book* of ſome vile Nominal *Proteſtants*, who having according to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Expreſſion aforeſaid, *derived Doctrines of Sedition and Rebellion from the Church of* Rome's *Writers*, were (I may add) grown therein perhaps more learned than their Maſters. It was *printed* in 8° beyond Sea in the *Year* 1556. and called, *A ſhort Treatiſe of Politick Power, and of the true Obedience which Subjects*

owe to Kings and other Civil Governors, with an Exhortation to all true Engliſh *men, Compiled by*

D. I. P. B. R. W.

Who the *Authors* of it were, I know not, nor the meaning of thoſe initial *Letters* of *Names*: but do judge it to be in *Principles* of Sedition and Treaſon as bad as *Doleman* of the *Succeſſion* or *Mariana*, and to have ſtartled King *Philip* and Queen *Mary* as much as the Book of *Killing no Murder* did *Cromwel*. I never in the Courſe of my viewing Books ſaw but one of them, and the *Reader* will quickly ſee why no *Library* durſt in the Reign of thoſe Princes harbor it. 'Tis there aſſerted, That *the Body of every State may redreſs and correct the Vices of their Governors, and ought ſo to do.* And the Book endeavours to prove *the lawfulneſs of killing Tyrants by the Law of Nature*, and prophaneth the *Book* of God by citing for a deſperate uſe ſome *extraordinary* Acts of private Perſons there recorded: and indeed a loyal man cannot read the Book without horror; and eſpecially when he ſhall conſider what were the effects of this deteſtable Book. It helped to provoke the fury of *Philip* and *Mary* to flie out into the Arbitrary *Proclamation* ſeveral Months before her death, for the declaring of any one a Rebel, and being without delay executed by *Martial* Law, with whom that and other Books of that Nature printed beyond Sea ſhould here be found. And another effect of the publication of that and thoſe other Books was to irritate the Government againſt thoſe poor Innocents who were here martyr'd, and who ſufficiently abhorred ſuch Treaſonable Books: for this Book was publiſhed beyond Sea, and probably imported here about two years before her death. But for the honour of our *Engliſh* Exiles then, I judge that none of them had a hand therein: I having obſerved many Words, and Idioms and Phraſes there to have been *Scotiſh*.

It is probable that King *James* and his *Miniſters* had heard of this execrable *Book*, wherein ſome *Nominal* Proteſtants trumpetted out their *Principles* of real Rebellion; and no wonder then if the *Oath* of *Allegiance* was therefore framed with *Clauſes* to ſecure the Government from all irreligionary *Principles* of *Proteſtants* as well as *Papiſts*.

It hath been objected in the *ſecond* place againſt our being *become* bound to the Kings *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* by Virtue of thoſe *Oaths*, that it is by all *Caſuiſts* agreed that among the *Tacit* Conditions that are preſumed to be in all *Oaths* (and which are to be regarded as much as if they were expreſs'd) *Rebus ſic ſtantibus* is one: and that that therefore as none of the King's *Heirs* was then excluded from the Privilege or Right of his Lineal *Succeſſion* by the *Legiſlative* Power, ſo if things thus ſtood with him at the time of the *Deſcent* of the Crown, that is, at the time of the Kings deceaſe, the Oath obliged to the payment of abſolute and irreſpective Loyalty to him then: and that thus when the King's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* were *Kings* and *Queens* of this *Realm* according to the Style of ſome old Oaths, they would be Entitled to our *Allegiance*, and not otherwiſe.

In *Anſwer* to this *Objection*, I ſhall ſay firſt, that if we ſhould admit that which is not true, that the *Rebus ſic ſtantibus* were ſo to be applied in this *Caſe*, yet it is moſt clear that the Takers of theſe *Oaths* who were any *Members* of the Three *Eſtates* in Parliament were thereby *ipſo facto*, and

actually

actually bound (as I have laid in the 7th *Concluſion*) not to do any *Act* there to *exclude* the Succeſſion according to proximity of Blood: and moreover any of the *People* who took theſe Oaths were thereby *Morally* bound not to chooſe any to *repreſent* them in Parliament from whom they might fear their endeavouring of ſuch Excluſion.

Secondly, *Premiſing* that there was ſomewhat of irreverence in ſuppoſing that the Legiſlative Power would ever afterward make a *Solutio continui*, (as I called it) in the Hereditary Monarchy, yet it muſt be ſaid that any ſuppoſed *Act* of that kind would be *Null* and *Void*, as the Loyal and Learned late *Writers* of the *Succeſſion* have ſhewed, and to whoſe *Writers* of that Subject I *refer*: and therefore our Obligations to the King's Heirs and lawful Succeſſors by Virtue of theſe Oaths muſt remain *uncancelled* in the *Court* of *Conſcience*: and however any *Act* of Parliament ſuppoſed to be made againſt the *Law* of *God*, may a while be *de facto* received in any *Courts* of *Law*, yet is it in the *Court* of *Conſcience* to be looked on as a poor *Eſcrole*, and as not worthy the name of a *Law*.

It is moſt manifeſt that by theſe *Oaths*, there is *jus alteri acquiſitum*, I mean to the King's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, as well as to the *King*; and that therefore any ſuppoſed *relaxation* of the *Oaths* without the *conſent* of all *Parties* for whoſe behoof they were made, is a thing Nugatory and not allowable in the *Court* of *Conſcience*.

And as I have ſpeaking *cum vulgo* called ſome *Anti-Papiſts*, whoſe Principles tend to *Faction* in the *State* and *Schiſm* in the *Church*, Nominal Proteſtants (tho yet I ſhould be ſtill as much content with any Law that made it *Penal* to call them Proteſtants, as with one that ſhould be ſo to call *Quacks Phyſicians*) ſo I ſhould in the Court of Conſcience call any *Acts* of Parliament that are contrary to the *Eternal* and *Natural Rules of indiſpenſable Juſtice*, only *Nominal* Laws, ſuitably to what is ſaid in the admirable *Preface* of *Ærodius* his *Rerum Judicatarum Pandect*: viz. *Quod ſi quid iniquè, malo more, ſordibus, & adverſus illam ſempiternam legem atque immutabilem, hic aut illic judicatum, tranſactum ſit, qualis fuit apud Græcos* Socratis, Phocionis, *apud Romanos* Metelli Numidici, Rutilii Rufi, M. Ciceronis *damnatio*; *in eccleſiâ* Flaviani, Johannis Chryſoſtomi: *contrà abſolutio* P. & Sexti Clodiorum, *atque adeo* Gabinii, *quam propterea legem impunitatis appellarunt, non magis judicata aut decreta debent appellari, quam Seiæ, Apuleiæ, & Liviæ leges. Leges non ſunt inquit Cicero.*

But *Thirdly*, The juſt allowance of the *Rebus ſic ſtantibus* that can be in this Caſe is this, there being nothing of pretence of relaxation from all Parties ſuppoſeable, theſe *Oaths* bind us to the King's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, as long as there is any *ONE* of them remaining in the World: and without the inſertion of the words in the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, viz. *I do believe and in Conſcience am reſolved that neither the Pope NOR ANY PERSON WHATSOEVER hath Power to abſolve me of this Oath or any part thereof*, its *indiſpenſableneſs* to thoſe who know the Obligation of *Oaths* to be *jure Divino naturali*, would have ſufficiently appeared. *In fine*, there are *Rationes boni & mali æternæ & indiſpenſabiles*, and to *ſtand to promiſes* is one of the things that are ſimply and in their own nature good, and it is impoſſible (as the Scripture ſaith) *That God ſhould lye*, and therefore *man* made after God's *image*, muſt therein anſwer the *Archetype*: and hereby our Princes have the *Garranty* of our *Allegiance* ſworn to *them*, *their Heirs and Succeſſors* being indiſpenſable by *Popes*, or *Acts* of *Parliament*, or by *God* himſelf: for he cannot diſpenſe with the Law of Nature, *Humanâ naturâ manente eadem.*

Laſtly,

Laſtly, It is moſt manifeſt from what I have already ſaid, that any ſuch *Tacit* Condition in theſe Oaths as before mentioned, was contrary to the *ſenſe of the Impoſer* as well as to the *Words*, and was therefore not allowable in the *Court* of *Conſcience* in this Caſe: and I believe that the *Conſciences* of ſuch who have made this *Objection*, muſt tell them, that when they took theſe *Oaths*, their *ſenſe* of them was then contrary to any ſuch condition being allowed. And therefore any ſuch *After-birth* of a ſtrained *Interpretation* being ſo contrary to the Law of *God* and the *Land*, and the ſenſe of the *Impoſer*, as well as the words of the Oaths, and to the *ſenſe* in which they actually took them, muſt be thrown away.

There hath been a third *Objection*, if it may be called one, or if yet it may be called a *Scruple*, for I think it hardly deſerves the name of that. However it having got under ſome mens *feet*, or into their *heads*, it hath made them ſo *uneaſie* as frowardly to trample on the Rights of Crown'd Heads, and it hath troubled us by the name of *Hæres viventis*, and as if that were a *Chymæra*, when as indeed the Objection is altogether *Chymerical*.

When Sir *L. J.* had with ſo much clear reaſon ſhewed much to this purpoſe, viz. *That the Excluſion-Bill was againſt the Fundamental Juſtice as likewiſe the wiſdom of the Nation, and that it would induce a CHANGE in the Government: and that was likewiſe againſt the Religion of the Nation which teacheth us, That* Dominion is not founded in Grace, *and that we are to pay Obedience to* Princes *whether good or bad, as accordingly the Primitive Chriſtians did, and that it was againſt the Oaths of the Nation, namely, of* Allegiance and Supremacy: *and that his* R. H. *is the King's lawful Heir, if he hath no Child, and in the Eye of the Law we are ſworn to him*, and when he had further ſignalized the weight of his Political Remarks, and Learning in that *Speech* as well of as his *Loyalty*, ſo as on the account of both to merit a place for it in the *Engliſh* Story, and had inſtanced in ſome Princes and their Subjects of different Religions living very happily together, it may perhaps be a *blot* in that Story, that Sir *W. J.* in an anſwer to that *Speech* granting, That *we are ſworn to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors*, ſaid further, *That we are not obliged to any during the King's life, but to himſelf: for it were Treaſon if it were otherwiſe. The King hath no Heirs nor Succeſſors during his life: for according to his Law* (meaning Sir *L. J's*) *and ours*, Nemo eſt hæres viventis.

In *anſwer* to which, I ſhall ſay that that *Proverbial* Latin *ſaying* in the Law Books doth amount to no more in nature, and hath no more influence on Humane Affairs, nor particularly on *Moral* Offices, than that kind of Proverbial *Sayings* in the *New Teſtament*, viz. *For where a Teſtament is, there muſt alſo of neceſſity be the death of the Teſtator*, or *a Teſtament is of no ſtrength while the Teſtator liveth.* Every one knoweth that a *Will* is in its own nature revocable, and Legatees and Executors may be altered by the Teſtator: and for any one to quote it as a Maxim, *Nemo eſt Executor viventis* (and for a *Legatee*, or in effect an *Executor* in a *Will*, the word *hæres* is often uſed in the *Civil* Law and by the Writers of it) will be no more ſignificant, than the telling the Legatee or Executor is, that they muſt not meddle in the Teſtators Goods till he be dead: and it may uſefully operate to divert People from the ſlothful Omiſſions of making their Wills in due time, out of a fond imagination that their Legatees or Executors would have a Title to any thing before the Teſtators death.

But

But after what hath been ſaid of the *revocableneſs* of *Wills*, if I have lawfully *ſworn* to continue ſuch a man my Heir, or Executor of my *Will* or *Legatee* therein, can I then at my pleaſure with a *Salvo* to *Conſcience* alter it therein? And if a *Father* hath *ſworn* to give his Children ſuch a part of his *Eſtate* by his *Will*, as by the *Civil* Law is due to them out of his Eſtate when he dies, ſhall he then be allowed in the Court of *Conſcience* to alter ſuch bequeſt *Ad libitum*? This comes a little home to our Caſe: for we have before hand ſworn to pay the King's *Heirs* at the Deſcent of the Crown the *Allegiance* that will be due to them then by *inherent* Birthright.

St. *Paul* writing to the *Romans* alludes to that Cuſtom of the *Roman* Laws, and which is yet retained in *Germany* and many other places, viz. *And if Children, then Heirs*, and makes them certainly *Hæredes viventis*: and when any by the *Civil* Law were *Hæredes ab inteſtato*, or *Heirs* at Law, that Law as it made no difference between Land and Goods, ſo neither did it between Eldeſt and Youngeſt, nor Male and Female, but divided the whole Eſtate real and perſonal, equally among the Children; and the Law tying Parents to leave a *Quota* in their *Wills* to their Children, St. *Paul*'s Conſequence was good, i. e. *if Children, then Heirs*. We know that the *Heirs* of our *Kings* are not ſuch as that Law called *Hæredes Teſtamentarii*, but they ſucceeding by the right Divine and Inherent Birthright, may be ſaid to be *Hæredes legitimi*, and when in the King's Life-time the Law hath enjoyned men by a Liquid Oath to defend all *Privileges, Preheminences belonging to the King's Heirs and Succeſſors*, can it be either *Law* or *Senſe* to ſay they are now no *Heirs*, and that any who have taken that *Oath* may actually *exclude* ſuch *Heirs* becauſe they are not actual *Succeſſors*, and as if too none could be a *Succeſſor* but an actual one, according to that old *Dicterium, That no Prince ever put to death his Succeſſor?*

But to ſhew further how groſly Sir *W. J.* was miſtaken in his interpretation, and applying of the ſaying out of the *Civil* Law, viz. *Nemo eſt hæres viventis*, I ſhall refer to *Paulus de Caſtro* (as Eminent a *Commentator* on the *Civil* Law as any one whatſoever) who doth on the *Digeſt De liberis & Poſthumis. l.* Gallus §. etiam *n.* 3° & 4to diſcuſs the point of *Hæres viventis*, and where he ſaith, *Nota quod filius vel alius deſcendens in poteſtate patris, qui tenet primum locum dicitur eſſe ſuus hæres etiam vivente patre*; and then objects the ſaying, That *Vivens non habet hæredem, ergo non ſuum hæredem*: and he anſwers, That *iſtud verbum HÆRES idem ſignificat quod DOMINUS*, &c. *& poteſt ſumi duobus modis* 1° *propriè prout eſt Succeſſor in Univerſum jus quod defunctus habuit* (meaning *hæres* as the ſame with an *Executor* by the Law of *England*) *& iſto modo* vivens non poteſt habere hæredem. 2do *Sumitur ſtrictè*, &c. *& impropriè pro filio vel nepote, vel alio deſcendente qui teneat primum locum in ſuitate & iſto modo* vivens poteſt habere hæredem; *ſicut enim filius VIVENTE patre dicitur DOMINUS bonorum paternorum licet impropriè, ita poteſt dici HÆRES prout iſtud verbum ſumitur pro Domino.* He had before ſpoke of the General Rule, That *Hæres ſuus dicitur quem nemo præcedit*, and he there mentions what likewiſe all the Books agree in, That *Hæredes ſui & neceſſarii dicuntur liberi qui in familiâ proximum à patre gradem obtinent*: *ſui, quia hæreditatem tanquam ſuam, neceſſarii quia jure antiquo retinere cogebantur.* He intends there (I ſuppoſe) by the *jus antiquum* that Law of the 12 *Tables*, viz. *Inteſtatorum hæredes primò ſuorum hæredum velint nolintve ſunto.*

We find in the New Teſtament ſuch *Heir* judged to be *Lord of all*, *Gal.* 4. 1. And thus *Grotius* on that *place* in the *Hebrews*, *whom he hath appointed Heir of all things* ſaith, That by *Heir* is meant *Lord*, *Nam & Latinis* Hæres *idem quod* herus. *Chriſtus in cœlum evectus, rerum omnium eſt Dominus; à patre ſcilicet hoc jure accepto.* The very *Inſtitutes* likewiſe tell us §. *ult. De hæred. qualit.* That *pro hærede gerere, eſt pro Domino gerere: veteres enim hæredes pro Dominis appellabant.* And ſuch *Lords of all* then were the *Heirs*, that tho ordinarily they could not have their *Legitima pars* in their Fathers life-time (and ſo we find it but in the *Parable* in St. *Luke* that the Prodigal Son ſaid, *Father give me the Portion of Goods that falleth to me, and he divided unto them his Living*) yet if the Father were *re verâ* a *Prodigal*, the Son might by imploring the Office of the Judge obtain in the Fathers life-time ſomewhat like the *legitima* to be allowed for his ſubſiſtance. And moreover *Grotius* on the other place of Scripture, *Si autem filii & hæredes*, ſaith, *Sententia eſt conveniens non tantum Iſraelitico Numerorum* 28. *ſed etiam Gentium juri. Nam lex quædam tacita liberis hæreditatem parentum addicit.* L. *Cum initio.* ff. *De bonis damnatorum. Sed magis eſt ut jus Hebræum reſpexerit* Paulus, *ideóque τέκνα hic ſunt υἱοὶ filii, non quod non utrique ſexui Chriſtianorum aptari poſſint quæ dicit, ſed quod jure* Moſis *filii neceſſariò hæredes, filiæ non niſi filiis deficientibus.*

None need therefore wonder at *De Caſtro's* having pronounced the *Heir* to be the ſame thing with *Dominus*, and at his leaving it out of doubt that direct Deſcendants are a mans *Heirs* in his life-time, becauſe they are ſuch as are called *Heirs at Law*. And there is little room for doubting here in *England* who are *Heirs at Law* to private Perſons, for Sir *Edward Coke* hath to this purpoſe ſaid that throughout his time, viz. *Ne duas quidem quæſtiones adverti de jure hæreditatum:* but God be thanked there can be no room for any in the Caſe of the Crown.

King *James* when he Erected the Monument for his *Mother* on the Northſide of her Grand-father *Harry* the 7th's Tomb, and put theſe words in the Inſcription, viz. *Coronæ Angliæ dum vixit certæ & indubitatæ hæredis*, neceſſarily implied that there was another Sovereign living while She was thus Heir to the Crown.

Let any one conſider how many *real* Soleciſms Sir *W. J's. imagined* one muſt occaſion. Is it not a *Soleciſm* to ſay, I cannot now *promiſe* a *future* lawful thing, viz. *Allegiance* to the King's *Heirs* at the time of the Deſcent of the Crown, ſince nothing can be *promiſed* but what is *Future*? In the Body of the *Civil* Law matters of right are ſometimes founded on trite Philoſophical *Axioms* and ſuch as *Non entis, nulla ſunt accidentia*: but it were a Soleciſm to deny, that the Takers of theſe *Oaths* have become bound at that time to the *Hæredes viventis*, who were then *nondum vivi*, or that a *Leſſee* is bound at the perfecting of his *Leaſe*, to pay his Rent to the *Heirs* of the *Leſſor* tho then not in nature. If the *Style* of the *King* of the *Romans*, can in an *Elective* Government, and during the Emperors life be, *Ego N. Rex Romanorum futurus Imperator*, is not the next *Heir* of the Crown in an *Hereditary* Monarchy to be *ſtyled the certain and undoubted Heir of the Crown as long as he lives?*

I find not the term of *apparent* joyned to *Heir* in any *Books* of *Law* or *Hiſtory* but of our Country: but *God* making *Heirs*, and eſpecially the *Heirs* of *Crowns*, the inherent Birth-right by Proximity of Blood is the *id ipſum* to be regarded: and if *Hæres viventis QUATENUS* ſuch muſt be a *Soleciſm* according to Sir *W. J's.* inſinuation, then the *Quotation*

uſually

uſually brought out of Sir *E. Coke* by *Writers* of this Subject, *That the Heir apparent is Heir before the death of his Anceſtor*, muſt be a Soleciſm too, according to the known *Rule* in Logick of *A quatenus ad omne*, &c.

I ſhall ſtudiouſly avoid the *embaraſſing* the Queſtion with needleſs *Points* of Law: and do conſider, that if in *Courts* of *Law* we are above the *Apices verborum*, we are much more above them in the *Court* of *Conſcience*. And here I muſt ſay it, that if in the *interpretation* of Princes favours and Conceſſions we are allowed to go by the *Rule* that in them *Exuberantior fides requiritur*, and that therefore *promiſſio in dignitate Regali facta, æquipollet juramento*, and that a *Sovereign* Prince *appealed* to about the *Rights* of Subjects is Morally bound to *proceed* therein *Ut DEUS qui ſoli veritati innititur*, and according to the *Style* of the Judges *delegated* by *Sovereign* Princes, *Solâ rei veritate inſpectâ*, and throwing off the *Formal* Rules and Solemnities even of *poſitive* Laws themſelves: it may be well inferred that the Divine *Law* of *Nature* obliging us to *Gratitude*, we are Morally bound in the preſervations of the *Lives* and *Rights* of Princes (tho we had not been ſworn to them, yet) to regard them as *God*, and not to obſcure their Rights with *Formalities* and ſubtilties of Law, and much leſs with tricks of words, but eſpecially in the interpretation of our Oaths to them to uſe the greateſt *ſimplicity* therein that is ſutable to the Law of Nations, Nature and Chriſtianity, and to abhor what the *Lawyers* call a *Subdola juris interpretatio*, and what may be called, as the expreſſion is in *Job*, a *darkening of Council by words without knowledge*, and a gloſs that corrupts the *Text*, and is directly contrary to the Right of Kings and Princes; for the ſecuring of which and removing all *doubts* or *ſtrife* about the ſame theſe *Oaths* were made.

And ſhould any one tell me of the effect of that ſaying *Nemo eſt hæres viventis* in our Common-Law, and that *Land* being given to *A.* for life and the remainder to the *Heirs* of *B.* and that *A.* dying while *B.* lives who hath at that time a *Son*, that *Son* ſhall never have the Land becauſe of *Non eſt hæres viventis*, but it ſhall go back to the *Donor* if alive, or if dead to his *Heirs*, I will ask him if the *Donor* ſhould be bound in Juſtice and Equity by a certain future time to Lett the *Heirs* of *B.* have the Land, and had voluntarily ſworn that *B*'s Heirs ſhould then have the ſame, whether the *Donor* then could with a *Salvo* to *Conſcience* keep the Son or other Heir from the ſame by Virtue of the *Non eſt hæres viventis*? But we are to be tender how we compare the Inheritances of private Perſons with that of the Crown, which is of a higher Nature, and without a *Metaphor* differs from them *Toto Cœlo*, and is ſo much above them. And how regardleſs were they then of the Birth-right of the oldeſt *Monarchy* in the World, and particularly of the preſent Glorious Royal Line, that would not allow it the *Privilege* of being plainly underſtood as they do to private Inheritances, and as to which *William* the *Conqueror* in that part of his *Charter* to *London* is allowed to ſpeak intelligibly enough, viz. *And I wyll that ich Child be his Faders Eyer.*

But I am weary of this *Wild-gooſe* chace of the *Hæres viventis* among old Books: and my pointing back any one to my 3d and 5th *Concluſions* may ſave my labour of ſpeaking here much more of it, It is ſufficiently ſet forth in the *third*, *in what ſenſe the words of Oaths* are to be taken, and where I mentioned *Ames* ſaying, That *they are regularly to be taken in that ſenſe that the words have in the COMMON uſe of men.* And to this purpoſe we are well told by *Vaughan* in *Shepbard* and *Goſnald*'s Caſe, That *were the penning of a Statute is dubious, long uſage is a juſt* Medium *to expound*

pound it by : for jus & norma loquendi *is governed by uſage, and the meaning of things ſpoke or writ muſt be as it hath conſtantly been received to be by common acceptation.* But I have ſhewed the word *Heir* to be no *doubtful* word : and as I have mentioned it to be a word that the Glory and Power of our *Saviour* is expreſſed by, I may add that our Noble Privilege as we are Chriſtians being ſo often repreſented in Scripture by the word *Heirs*, &c. we are *Morally* bound to guard the word from the Aſſault of any new interpretation that would outrage it with *doubt* and ambiguity.

I have ſhewed that as our *Oath* is part of a *Statute-Law*, if there could be any *doubt* of it, the *Judges* are to interpret it : and our Anceſtors were ſo far from truſting private men to interpret Statutes, that they have not allowed the Court Chriſtian judicially interpret the very *Statutes* that concern the things there conuſable. And as ſome Papiſts do vainly ſometime tell us, That *we by our Religion damn all our Popiſh Anceſtors*, it may here with truth be ſaid, that any by finding out a new *ſenſe* of the word *Heirs* do condemn the underſtandings of thoſe and their Morals in not obſerving the Oath by the meaſures of that interpretation ; and I may as truly ſay, that we venture on damning our ſelves by Perjury, if while we venture on a new *ſenſe* of the *Oaths* both contrary to the common ſenſe of the words and of the Impoſer, we do not particularly take the *Oaths* with our *Proteſtation* of that new *ſenſe*, and much more if *reſerving* that new *ſenſe* in our minds we ſhall further in one of theſe *Oaths*, viz. That of *Allegiance* declare, *That we have ſworn every thing therein according to the PLAIN and COMMON ſenſe and UNDERSTANDING of the ſame words without ANY Equivocation, or Mental Evaſion, or ſecret Reſervation whatſoever.*

It is a certain *Rule* about *Oaths*, That *Juramentum non extenditur ad ea de quibus cogitatum non eſt* : and ſo is this other, viz. *Non licet nobis interpretatione tacitâ comminiſci conditiones, niſi quæ vel publico jure receptæ ſunt, vel ex re ipſâ, aut verbis quibuſdam manifeſtè colliguntur* : and I may add another, That *Minimè mutanda ſunt quæ interpretationem certam ſemper habuerunt.* But as it hath appeared to all a ſuperfluous thing ever to have the Judges conſulted about any being *Heirs* to the King in his life-time, and wherein there is no *Dignus vindice nodus*, ſo likewiſe tho *Contra captiones ex actu ambiguo naſcentes, remedio eſt proteſtatio, quæ declaratione intentionis actum madificatur, juſq; in poſterum competens conſervat*, yet no man was ever found ſo ridiculous as to make any *Proteſtation* at the time of his taking theſe Oaths concerning this new *ſenſe* of the word *Heirs* : and what is a greater reflection on our *Excluders* as to their Non-obſervance of the *Promiſſory* Clauſe relating to the King's Heirs, is that the Excluders were embarqued in their *Excluſion*, and *half-Sea* over in their proſecution of it, and had thrown away their *Compaſs* of the common ſenſe of the *Oaths*, before the new one of *Hæres viventis* was found or heard of, an *interpretation* that I believe the very *Author* of the *Sheriffs Caſe* would have held ſcandalous, and which indeed amounts not to ſo much as a *Scruple* of *Conſcience*, or to more than a *Quirk* of Law. It hath long been the Cuſtom of *Spain* not to make any men *Judges* who have been Advocates, as ſuppoſing that their ſtraining the Law as Practitioners for their Clients, might make them the leſs Candid in their Judgment of the Law on the *Tribunal* : but the truth is, the giving Judgment in the *Court* of *Conſcience*, that this *new-found* interpretation of the word *Heirs* would in that Court indemnify the Takers

kers of the *Oaths*, may well ſeem unworthy of the dignity of any *Judge* or *Counſellor* or conſcientious *Attorney*, and any one of thoſe whom the old *Comædian* calls the *Leguleiorum fæces decemdrachmariæ*, not wholly ſteer'd by *Trick*.

As great a *Judge* in that *Court* as ever our *Nation*, or perhaps *Chriſtendom* bred, I mean our Biſhop *Sanderſon*, having in his 2d *Lecture* of *Oaths* ſaid, *That we become guilty of the hainous Crime of Perjury, if a milder interpretation of an Oath chance to deceive us*, doth well mind us of the profitable *Rule* which in *doubtful* matters commands the *choice* of the *ſafer* part. And thus the *Caſuiſts* generally giving us that *Rule*, that in all doubtful matters we are to *incline* to the ſafer ſide, and that therein 'tis ſafer to think a thing to be *Sin* than not, and in order to the great *EXCLUSION* of *Perjury* telling us, That *Cum de ancipiti perjurio in futurum quæritur, illa eſt benignior ſententia quæ Conſcientiæ tutior, atque ita quæ crimen interpretatur ut excludat*, and that when ever we recede from the *literal* ſenſe of an Oath to the *intention* of the *Law-giver*, we ought to be very *ſure* of that *intention*, if we will be ſafe from the danger of *Perjury*, I think that *new* interpretation ſo clearly contrary both to the literal ſenſe of the *Oath* and the intention of the Law-giver (as I have ſhewn) was a very unſafe trick for men to put upon their *Conſciences*.

But as the word *Heir* is a *plain* word, ſo it is likewiſe as *plain*, that ſome men by the *Hæres viventis* would put a *Trick* on the *State*: for let any one go to diſſect all the meaning that can be in the *Hæres viventis* in plain *Engliſh*, and it will be neither better nor worſe than to make the *ſenſe* of the Impoſer of the Oaths be, that men ſhould obſerve the Promiſſory Clauſes relating to the King's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* only on the *terms* of the Objection of *Rebus ſic ſtantibus*, which I have before mentioned and fully anſwered.

Nor can any men evade their being by the *Oaths* obliged to *defend* the Rights of the Hereditary Monarchy, and thus prop up ſuch their *new* interpretation of *Heirs* by Virtue of the *expired* Statute of the 13th of *Elizabeth* (which ſome have raiſed ſuch duſt with) that made it *Treaſon to affirm, That the Laws and Statutes do not bind the Right of the Crown and its Deſcent, Limitation, Inheritance, or Governance.* It is not an *expired* Statute, nor any one in *being* can make the Obligation of our *Oaths* to the King's *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* to *expire*. We were in Conſcience, and by the *Law* (which is by ſome termed *Communis ſponſio Regni*) obliged before our *Oaths* taken to defend the Rights of the King's Heirs and Succeſſors in all juſt ways: but if any men ſhould be ſo vain as to think that we were not before obliged to them on the account of the *Hereditary* Monarchy, yet it is moſt certain that an *Oath* doth often induce an Obligation where there was none before: and we are not now conſidering what WAS Treaſon, but what IS Perjury. An *Act* of Parliament may inflict the *Ultimum ſupplicium*, on that which perhaps is not *Malum in ſe*, as for example, *The Exportation of Wooll*, tho when we have a *glut* of it; nay, by the 28th of *Harry* the 8th, *c.* 7. touching the *Succeſſion* of the Crown, the not taking of the contrary *Oaths* is made Treaſon. But I need not here ſay more than that if any in the 13th *Year* of Queen *Elizabeth* had took the *Oath* of *Supremacy* enjoyned in the firſt *Year* of her Reign, and did not obſerve the Promiſſory *Clauſe* therein, they did offend God and their Conſciences thereby. But I have mentioned it that Arch-Biſhop *Hutton* notwithſtanding that 13th of *Elizabeth*

made it a *Præmunire* to *ſpeak of any Perſon being her Heir and Succeſſor, except the ſame were the natural Iſſue of her Body*, did publickly in his *Sermon* before her, diſcharge that Promiſſory part of the *Oath* by aſſerting King *James* his Right to *ſucceed* her, and was publickly by her thanked for it.

On the whole matter, we are not bound by theſe *Oaths* to look backward on other mens actings, but to look forward on our own. Enough has been ſaid of too much that was done to oppoſe King *James*'s Succeſſion, and of the neceſſity of the *Oath* of *Allegiance* to ſecure *England* to the Royal *Line* and by it: and the providing of the *fortius vinculum* on the emergency of the Gun-powder Treaſon, was but ſutable to the general prudence of all States: and the expreſſion of Allegiance to be paid to the King's *Heirs and Succeſſors*, when *Kings and Queens of this Realm*, which was in ſome former Oaths, was not in *this* neceſſary, nor yet in the Oath of *Supremacy*, becauſe of the great Fundamental Clauſe in both before mentioned, viz. *The King IS the only Supreme Governor*, &c. he *IS ONLY Supreme*, and ſo none co-ordinate, or equal to him; *our Sovereign Lord the King, IS lawful and rightful King*, &c. and ſo the word *IS* muſt neceſſarily hinder any *Heirs* or *Succeſſors* foreſtalling the Market if they ſhould preſume before their time to come for our actual Allegiance, however ſworn to them to be paid in future time.

Our *Law-Book* of *Oaths* mentions a long Promiſſory *Oath* made voluntarily to *Harry* the 6th, by 2 *Arch-Biſhops*, 16 *Biſhops*, 3 *Dukes*, 5 *Earls*, 2 *Viſcounts*, 14 *Abbots*, 2 *Priors*, and 7 *Barons*, and but part of which I ſhall here ſet down, viz. *I* A. B. *knowledge you moſt High and Mighty and moſt Chriſtian Prince King* Henry 6. *to be my moſt redoubted, and rightwiſe by Succeſſion born to Reign upon me, and all your Liege People, whereupon I voluntarily without Coercion, promiſe and oblige me by the faith and truth that I owe to God, and by the faith, truth and ligeance that I owe to you my moſt redoubted Sovereign Lord, that I ſhall be without any variance, true, faithful, humble, and obeyſant Subject and Liege man, to you my moſt redoubted Sovereign Lord*, &c. *and ſwear to endeavour to do all that may be to the weal and ſurety of your moſt Royal Perſon*, &c. *to the weal, ſurety, and preſerving of the Perſon and benign Princeſs*, Margaret *Queen, my Sovereign Lady, and of her High moſt Noble Eſtate, She being your Wife and alſo the weal, ſurety, and honour of the Perſon of the right High and Mighty Prince* Edward, *my right redoubted Lord the Prince your firſt begotten Son, and of the Right High and Noble Eſtate, and faithfully, truly, and obeyſantly*, &c. *Firſt, my Allegiance to you my moſt redoubted Sovereign Lord, during your life*, &c. *and if God of his infinite Power take you from this Tranſitory Life, me bearing life in this World, that I ſhall then take and accept my ſaid redoubted Lord, the Prince* Edward *your ſaid firſt born Son for my Sovereign Lord, and bear my true Faith and Ligeance to him, as by nature born for my Sovereign Lord, and after him to his Succeſſion of his Body lawfully begotten*, &c. *and in default of his Succeſſion*, &c. *unto any other Succeſſion of your Body lawfully coming.*

But the wiſdom of any Nation making Laws (and eſpecially about *Oaths*) as ſhort as may be, I account that thoſe of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance* have much better that *Multi-loquious* one (as I may call it) provided for the ſecurity of our *Allegiance* to the King *Regnant*, and afterward to his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, by plain and liquid words as far as Humane Prudence could provide for the ſame. And becauſe what is made by Humane Art is in danger of being by Humane Art eluded, and for that

we

we ſee that *Nature* it ſelf hath been made a *Term* of *Art* (a word that St. *Paul* thought *plain* enough when he ſaid *doth not Nature teach us that*, &c. yet of which word a late *Lawyer* and Kinſman of the Great *Grotius* hath in his Book, *De Principiis juris Naturalis* told us of *ſeven* ſignifications) and for that it is as eaſie for a captious verſatil Wit to turn the word Heir or moſt words into as many or more, the *Oath* of *Allegiance* was further with deep precaution made to exterminate all *cavilling* ſenſes and *calumnious* interpretations, and ſuch as that of the *hæres viventis*, by that *Final* Clauſe which *Crowns* that *Oath*, and that which alone as I partly hinted before amounts to an *Oath*, viz. *And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment heartily, willingly and truly upon THE TRUE FAITH OF A CHRISTIAN*, and after which it follows, *So help me God.* That the *Faith* of a *Chriſtian* alone amounts to an *Oath*, I ſhall cite the opinion of *Tuldenus* the *Regius Profeſſor of Law* at *Lovain*, when writing *De interpretatione Juramenti*, he ſaith, *Affirmatio per fidem tunc demum jusjurandum eſt, cum additum fuit Chriſtianam. Alciat.* in l. 41. c. *De tranſact.*

I conclude therefore that what *Chriſtian* ſoever hath taken this *Oath*, hath by Virtue of the words of *The faith of a Chriſtian* obliged himſelf thereby as much as if he had ſaid, *That Great Privilege of Birth-right belonging to the King's Heirs, a Privilege ſo great that the deſpiſing of it, as in the Caſe of* Eſau *is applied in Scripture to mens prophaneneſs in deſpiſing their Inheritance of Bliſs by Chriſtianity, I do as ſincerely promiſe to defend according to my Oath, and without any Fraud or Mental Reſervation or the leaſt cavilling, capricious or calumnious interpretation, as I value the great Privilege that Chriſtianity hath ennobled Humane Nature with in being* Heirs of God and joynt Heirs with Chriſt *as St.* Pauls *words are, and of being* Heirs according to the Promiſe; *and may all the Divine* Promiſes be *ſo* Yea and Amen *to me, and interpreted with not only a plain but a full and fair interpretation, and ſo likewiſe the very* Oath of God, *mentioned in the* Epiſtle *to the* Hebrews, *As I do plainly, and fully, and fairly, and with the exuberant honeſty and ſimplicity enjoyn'd by the Chriſtian Religion, and ſo much tranſcending the* Bona fides *of the Heathen Morality, perform my Promiſſory Oath of Allegiance to the King and his Heirs and Succeſſors.*

I ſhall in the *laſt* place take notice of what I have not without horror obſerved, namely, that ſome diſloyal *Authors* have preſumed in *Print* to pretend the lawfulneſs of Excluſion of *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* on the account of their *Religion*, by colour of the puniſhment of Idolaters according to the *Judicial* Law: and as to which it will be ſufficient here to ſay, that that Law was given only to the *Jewiſh* Nation, and that it did never bind any elſe or doth, and that the *Divine* Law *natural* and *poſitive* bind us to the Obſervation of our *Oaths*, and that *Chriſtianity* doth not found *Dominion* in *Grace*, and that the *Patriarchs*, and *Joſhua*, and the Princes of the People of *Iſrael* made Leagues with *Idolaters*, and on both ſides there was mutual *Faith* confirmed with ſolemn *Oaths*, and that an *Oath* Promiſſory to pay Allegiance to the *Heirs* of the Crown at the time of its Deſcent is much more lawful.

And I might urge that the *Jewiſh* Kings tho often idolatrous, yet as the Lord's *Annointed* had *De jure & de facto* Obedience payed them without reſpect to their *Religion*, or *Irreligion*.

And by Virtue of the *Moral* Offices of *honouring all men*, and of the *Internal* Communion *due from all Chriſtians to all Chriſtians*, I ſhall without offending the *Church* I hold *External* Communion with, venture to go as far in my *Meaſures* of *Charity* as ſome of its great Ornaments,

Dr.

Dr. *Hammond* and Biſhop *Taylor* and likewiſe Biſhop *Gunning* have done in freeing many *Roman* Catholicks from the guilt of Formal *Idolatry*. Innumerable Acts of Idolatry may be charged on many Perſons of that Communion, and particularly on all ſuch as do *worſhip* the *Croſs* or *Saints* and *Angels Cultu latriæ*, and on ſuch as in the *Euchariſt* determine the thoughts of their worſhip to the *Conſecrated* Bread. But I believe there are others who do not intentionally direct their adoration to any Creature in that Sacrament, and only to the Perſon of *Chriſt* our Lord: and as when *Abimelech* miſtook *Sara* from her Husband, being informed by *Abraham* that *She* was his *Siſter*, God was pleaſed to acknowledge, That *he did it in the ſimplicity of his heart*, ſo I ſhall leave ſuch to their *Maſter*, and without particular ground charge no particular Perſon of them with the guilt of Formal *Idolatry*: and ſhould much rather chooſe to abſolve a Church from approving *Idolatry* than to render the Perſons in it liable as *Idolaters*, to be in a *Chriſtian* State dealt with according to the *rigor* (or as ſome *Calviniſts* call it) the *Equity* of the *Jewiſh* Law.

As we juſtly remember the Bigottiſh Cruelty of the *Marian* days, ſo we muſt be ſo juſt to our ſelves as not to forget how ſome *Nominal* Proteſtants (and ſuch too as were *magni nominis*) did long ago (and as they do ſtill) accuſe the *Diſcipline* of the *Church* of *England*, and its decent *Ceremonies* with the guilt of *Idolatry*: and how fatal both to our Church and State ſo falſe and baſe and *ſpightful* an Accuſation hath proved. Mr. *Hobs* in his Hiſtory of our late *Civil Wars* attributes ſomewhat of the ſucceſs of the diſloyal Enemies of our Church to the natural Cauſe of their *fighting with ſpight*.

We know that not only Mr. *H. Jacob* in his *Expoſition of the* 2d *Commandment*, printed in the *Year* 1610. hath thus charged our Church with *Idolatry* in expreſs words, but that *Ames* himſelf did ſo in effect in his *Puritaniſmus Anglicanus* that *Year* printed: and as Learned and Pious a Man as he was, his *Caſes of Conſcience* ſhewing him tainted with the *Tenet* of Monk *Gratian* and *Calvin* and our *Aſſembly-men* about the *Judicial* Law (for he ſaith there, That *that Law tho not appertaining to Chriſtians, Sub ratione legis ſperialiter obligantis*, yet is ſo *ſub ratione doctrinæ, quatenus vel generali ſuâ naturâ vel proportionis æquitate exhibet ſemper nobis optimam juris naturalis determinationem*) one might eaſily gueſs from ſuch a *Principle* when believed and practiſed, what quarter the Church of *England*, or any Church accuſed of Idolatry could expect.

The truth is, that on the *Diviſion* of the *World* by ſome into 30 *parts* and rendring 19 thereof to be down-right *Idolaters*, and 6 *Mahumetans and* 5 *Chriſtians*, it may well ſeem a deplorable abſurdity that the Chriſtian *Quota* ſhould be ſo much addicted both to call one another *Idolaters*, and to *Sacrifice* one another *as ſuch*, beyond the ſuperſtitious rage of the *Heathen* ἀνθρωποθυσία.

Mr. *Jacob* in his ſaid *Expoſition* calls the *Lutherans* Idolaters for having *Images* in their *Churches*: and what may well ſeem ſtrange is, that when *Cromwel* the *Uſurper* being inclined to *tolerate* the *Jews*, and appointing a Meeting of his Miniſters of *State* and his *Divines*, to debate the lawfulneſs of it, at that time *Fiennes* his *Lord-Keeper* declared it then *unlawful*, for that the *Jews* were *Idolaters*, as *worſhipping God out of Chriſt*, and whereby he *implied* in effect that *Adam* was an *Idolater*. Thus apt have Enthuſiaſts been to play with *Idolatry*: but a ſhameful thing it is to our *Engliſh* underſtandings, not to have a juſt general apprehenſion of the aim of *ſome* factious *Anti-Papiſts* to ſet up new real *Idolatry* in the *State*, while they

they are vexing us with their old *Nominal* Idolatry in the Church; I here refer to all that would outrage the *Hereditary* Monarchy, and I call any Crime of that Nature by the name of *Idolatry*, as our judicious *Sanderſon* hath done in his Learned Lecture, *De legum humanarum cauſâ efficiente* §. 15. where having ſhewn how *Kings* are called *Gods*, *Pſalm* 82.6. *Quod ipſius Dei in terris vices gerant, idque Deo ipſis Conferente hanc poteſtatem, non populi ſuffragiis, EGO dixi Dii eſtis*, he thus goes on to ask very properly, *Poteritne populus aliquis ſine turpis idololatriæ crimine ſibi Deos conſtituere, cum ſit uniuscujuſque hominis, ei qui ipſius vicem gerat, poteſtatem vicariam ſuâ authoritate demandare, non alieno arbitratu? Audebitne quiſquam mortalium id Juris ſibi arrogare ut qui Dei in terris Miniſter & Vice-Deus futurus ſit, omnem illam ſuam authoritatem & poteſtatem ab ipſo ſibi collatam agnoſcat?*

Let all ſuch then who did *AUDERE* thus in the Affair of our *Hereditary* Monarchy, and to have the *Vice-Deus futurus* moulded by their fancies, conſider how great a *Caſuiſt* hath loaded them with *Idolatry*: and moreover remember how the inſpired *Prophet* did make *Rebellion as the Sin of Witchcraft*, and contumacy or *ſtubborneſs* as *Idolatry*.

I was contented with finding one thing asked by the ingenious *Author* of the *Compendium*, becauſe I ſuppoſed, and that then even by *Calculation*, I might *reſolve* the *doubt* (and which I have held my ſelf obliged to do) viz. *Can it be ſaid that the Monarchy of* England *hath gotten by the Reformation* (*and what deſperate Enemies that hath created us may be eaſily imagined*) *that nothing but* Popery, *or at leaſt* its Principles *can make it again emerge or laſting?* but was ſorry and aſhamed to find that *Authors* had cauſe to cite the diſloyal *Pamphlet* of *Pereat Papa*, as aſſerting *the lawfulneſs of proceeding againſt Idolaters* as is there mentioned, and that he likewiſe had ſo much reaſon to make ſo great a *Remark* on the *Excluſion* in the foregoing *Page*: viz. *He who believes he can disinherit a lawful Succeſſor on the account of Religion, will hardly find Arguments of force to keep the Prince in being on his Throne whenever this happens to be imputed to him.*

Moreover I was aſhamed after the effort of the *Idolatry* in the *Excluſion*, and of the *Mobile's* worſhipping a *Plot-Witneſs* with the name of σώτηρ, that the Non-Conformiſt *Author* of the *Book* called *The peaceable Deſign*, printed in the year 1675. ſpeaking ſo tenderly of the *Papiſts* then in the words of, *The Papiſt in our account is but one ſort of Recuſants, and the conſcientious and peaceable among them muſt be held in the ſame predicament with thoſe among our ſelves that likewiſe refuſe to come to Common-Prayer*, yet reprinting his *Book* in the *year* 1680. doth thus alter the former paſſage, and ſay, *The Papiſt is one whoſe worſhip to us is* Idolatry, *and we cannot therefore allow them the liberty of publick aſſembling themſelves as others of the Separation.*

When the Non-Conformiſts had a while after the *Declaration* of *Indulgence* idolized both it and the *Papiſts* for being ſuppoſed to have had ſome hand in the procuring it, and were as ſoon weary of it as *Children* of their *Images*, yet it ſeems that preſently after the noiſe of the Popiſh *Plot*, the *Non-Conformiſts* Cenſure of *Tranſubſtantiation* was *tranſubſtantiated*, and their Religion grew to be *Idolatry*: as if the ill actings or *ſhams* of either a few or many indigent or diſſolute Perſons ought to be turned on the whole *Body* of Papiſts, or eſpecially on their *Religion* it ſelf and their Religionary *Tenets*. But many of the *Non-Conformiſts* then being abandoned to *ſham* the very *Church* of *England* and its *Diſci-*

pline with *Idolatry*, and with a participating in the *PLOT* to bring in *POPERY*, according to what Arch-Biſhop *Laud*'s Star-Chamber *Speech* mentions as the *Style* of the *Libels* in thoſe days, *That there were then great Plots in hand, and dangerous Plots to change the Religion eſtabliſhed, and to bring in* Romiſh *Superſtition*, the ſagacious Loyal began to ſee that they made but a *Stalking-horſe* of the *Plot* of the *Church* of *Rome* to ſhoot at the *Hereditary* Monarchy, and by outcries againſt the Church of *Rome* to bring in a *Roman* Republick, and to make themſelves the *Idols* of the *People* in a popular *State*, while they complained of the *Idolatries* of *Churches*.

But there remains ſomewhat elſe to be ſaid as to this point of calling, or thinking every particular *Papiſt* an *Idolater*, and that is what I ſhall further urge out of the great *Speech* aforeſaid of the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges*, who knew well enough that *Papiſts* had in their *Writings* frequently called Hereticks *Idolaters* (and as accordingly the *Author* of a Popiſh *Pamphlet* printed in *London* in the *Year* 1663, Entituled *Miracles not ceaſed*, hath done, and where his words are, *The Proteſtant Religion is a Cheat and Heatheniſm, the Proteſtant Biſhops are Cheaters and Prieſts of* Baal, *the Proteſtant Religion is ridiculous and idolatrous*) yet this Arch-Biſhop in that *Speech* having (as I ſaid) cleared his *Prince* tho a *Proteſtant* from the guilt of *Hereſy* and *Pertinacy*, doth likewiſe there particularly ſay, *he is no Idolater*, and where he likewiſe hath with great judgment and loyalty taught us, that as to thoſe *Conſtitutions* in the *Civil Law* whereby *Manichees* and *Arrians* are *excluded* from *Magiſtracy* and publick *Office*, *It was to be underſtood to be only in the Caſe of Inferiour Magiſtrates and not of* Sovereign Princes, *who cannot be diſinherited of their Rights without the deſtruction of the whole Government and People: and to decree any thing of whom did only belong to the Juriſdiction of God Almighty.*

There is another thing that inclines me to think my ſelf *Morally* bound not to call all Papiſts *Idolaters*, and to wipe off the ſtain of Idolatry from the Church of *Rome* as much as any of the *Fathers* of our *Church* have done, and that is the *Converſion* of *England* from Heatheniſh *Idolatry*, that *Gregory* the *Great* was God's Great Inſtrument in many hundred of years ago.

HAving thus *Finiſhed* my *Caſuiſtical* Diſcuſſion, I ſhall be glad if the *Reſult* thereof may by the Bleſſing of God (*whoſe both the Deceived and the Deceiver are*, according to the words of *Job* 12. 16.) be in all ſuch Proteſtants who have been *deceived* into a belief and practice of the Irreligionary *Tenet* of Popery, viz. *Of Dominion being founded in Grace*, a more exuberant Compaſſion to all Loyal Papiſts who have not believed and practiſed that *Tenet*, and may have erred in *Popiſh* Tenets *Religionary*. 'Tis both viſible and palpable that ſuch *Excluders* and Nominal *Proteſtants* while they accuſed Papiſts of being deluded into a *Plot* to deſtroy the *King*, were themſelves deluded into a *Practice* that would *ipſo facto* have deſtroyed the *Hereditary* Monarchy. 'Tis moſt plain that by being ſo *deceived* they have given occaſion to Papiſts to reproach Proteſtants by ſaying to this effect, *You ſee how vain your attempts are to leave Popery and its* Tenets: *and as he who would by running or riding or ſailing to any remote places, imagine to be able to get from being under the Covering of the Heavens, would give any one occaſion to upbraid his vanity, by telling him he could*

not

not do it, for that the further he went from being under one part of the Heavens, he would but Compaſs the being nearer to another part thereof; ſo while you would get from being under the Predominance of one part of Popery, you obtain but to be the nearer to another part of it: You have run from the belief of Purgatory *to the* Tenet *of founding dominion in Grace; and there being no ſteady hand among you to hold the balance, that* Tenet *practiſed by you would inſtead of a* Purgatory *hereafter, make a preſent* Hell *upon Earth. You are got from the Council of* Trent, *and yet the* odioſa materia *in the very* Council of Lateran, *which you charge upon us as a general one,* is *approved, believed and practiſed by you:* And *you would Exterminate the King's Heirs and Succeſſors as Heterodox in Religion; and have in effect abſolved your ſelves from your Oaths Promiſſory in their behalfs. Thus therefore doth the Univerſality of our* Catholick and Heavenly *Religion ſeem to be naturally made like that of the Heavens, from which there is no eſcaping.* Thou who abhorreſt Idols doſt thou commit Sacrilege, *and abhor the* Sacredneſs *of the Regal Power, and of thy own Oaths? And thou who abhorreſt Superſtition in things, wilt thou idolize* words, *and imagine there can be Sacredneſs in letters? Doth not every one know that even* literæ ſignificantes Sacras ſententias non ſignificant eas in quantum ſacræ ſunt, ſed in quantum ſunt res; ergò literæ non ſunt Sacræ? *Doth not the very word* Sacred *likewiſe ſignifie* accurſed? *Can therefore the name of* true Proteſtant *Legitimate a* Calumnious *interpretation of* Oaths, *more than the name of the Society of* Jeſus *Legitimate the* Doctrine *of* Calumny, *or more than the word Catholick Monopolized formerly by the* Donatiſts *and* Arrians, *could juſtifie or Sanctifie their* Tenets? *Will your name of* Reformation *weigh any thing, if while you are* come out from among *the Religionary* Tenets *of our* Church, *you remain in the* Babel *of the Irreligionary ones, approved by ſome of our Popes and Doctors and Schoolmen; and which we grant, that if believed and practiſed would bring every Kingdom to confuſion, and not only into a diverſity of Languages, but into an alteration of the* Hereditary *Government, and* Tranſubſtantiate *even that? If you are angry with us for miſtaking Saint* Peter's Succeſſors (*as you think*) *will you not be angry with your ſelves for miſtaking the* Succeſſors *of your Kings, ſo eaſily to be known? Since you may think him a* wiſe Child who knoweth his true *Spiritual* Father, *as well as his true* Natural *one; will you reproach our underſtandings for not knowing that true* Spiritual *one, and what is the true* Church, *when you ſeem thus not to know your true* Political *Father, or who is to be in the courſe of the deſcent the true King? Will not you pity us for our* Implicit Faith *in the Guides of the Church, in things wherein we cannot hurt you, when your ſelves do by* Implicit Faith *follow the* Demagogues *in the State in matters that would deſtroy us all? When* Brutus *after he had given the blow to* Cæſar, *found cauſe to exclaim of* Vertues *being* an empty Name; *will not you after you have thrown off the* Papal *Power of* Excluding *Kings make your* Reformation *an* empty Name, *if you at laſt* reform *your ſelves into* Popery, *and after all your imagined* Converſions *from Popery, we ſhall ſee your natural* Converſion *to it, and as* Natural *as the Common* Hieroglyphick *of the* year *ſhews us, and how* in ſe convertitur annus?

The truth is, that as to the *Caſe* of many of our *Nominal* Proteſtants, and ſome *real* ones, being thus *deceived* as aforeſaid in the buſineſs of the *Excluſion*, there lyes a *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*, &c. and a worſe *opprobrium* than that of another common *Latine* ſaying, *Stulti dum vitant vitia*, &c. for here they have run but from *Popery*

to

to *Popery*, from a Popery more *genteely* clad to a *ſecond-hand* Popery, and even into a *frippery* of Antimonarchical *notions*; and they have run into the *Subſtance* of the worſt part of *Popery*, and what I account worſe then *Tranſubſtantiation*, while they have been purſuing the *magni nominis umbria*, I mean the ſhadow of the *Great* Name of *Proteſtant*. And I will ſtill call it a *great* and *noble* name, however abuſed by *Schiſmaticks*, and tho not uſed in our *Canons* and *Articles*, &c. and wherein we ſoar above the *dictates* of *Luther* and *Calvin*, and the *diſtinctions* of Names they occaſioned; and for which purpoſe our great-Souled *Bramhall* in the *title page* of his *Juſt Vindication of the Church of* England, hath the quotation of *My Name is Chriſtian, my Sirname is Catholic, by the one I am known from Infidels, by the other from Hereticks and Schiſmaticks*; but yet doth often in that *Book* and his other writings uſe the word *Proteſtants*, for ſuch who have laudably oppoſed the *Papal* Uſurpations and Impoſitions. And in the mentioning of the *Proteſtant Churches* beyond *Sea*, that *word* is juſtly and properly applicable. Moreover our Great *Chillingworth*'s writing of, *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation*, hath endear'd that *Name* as well as his *own* to us thereby. The adherents likewiſe to the *Church* of *England* are often put to it to uſe the diſtinction of *Proteſtant Recuſants*, to ſpeak Intelligibly. But 'tis the *Church* of *England-Proteſtant* that the *Orthodox* and *Loyal* generally mean by that *name*, when they ſpeak of *Proteſtants* alone here, according to the *Rule* of *analogum per ſe poſitum*, &c. It is for the honour of theſe *Proteſtants* who *have not ſo learn'd Chriſt and Chriſtianity* as to be untaught their *unnatural* Allegiance and natural obligation of their *Oaths*, that it may be obſerved of them, that tho many within the *pale* of that *Church*, have been tempted a while to extravagant thoughts and actings in the point of *Excluſion*, yet they have through the Divine influences on their underſtandings ſoon come to themſelves again; and tho the Loyalty of ſome of theſe like *Steel* hath been *bent*, yet it hath not like *lead* ſtood and continued bent: And notwithſtanding that being Tranſported a while with the Paſſion of Anger againſt *Papiſts* and *Plots*, they *ſaid in their haſte*, that *Dominion* was founded in *Grace*, I obſerv'd ſo many of them by their *ſecond* thoughts ſo averſe from the *ſecond-hand* Popery (as I call'd it) that they might merit an exemption from being cenſured by *Papiſts* as aforeſaid; and that by virtue of the *Rule* of Law, viz. *Quidquid calore iracundiæ vel ſit vel dicitur, non prius ratum eſt quam ſi perſeverantiâ apparuit judicium animi fuiſſe; ideoque brevi reverſa uxor, nec divertiſſe videtur.*

And here I am likewiſe to obſerve that tho many who have been members of the Church of *England*, becauſe it was by *Law Eſtabliſhed*, and have for faſhion-ſake gone to our Common-Prayer with no more concernment than the *Monk* went to *Maſs* who ſaid *Eamus ad communem errorem*, yet ſuch of this Church whoſe Devotion hath been deep rooted in their heads and hearts, and who have ſeriouſly thought of thoſe words in the *Collect*, viz. *So rule the Heart of THY Choſen Servant* Charles *our King and Governor*, &c. did not long ſay *Amen*, to any mens thoughts or motions of *Chooſing* their *King*.

Let *Rome* and the *Conventicles* thus like *lead* ſtand bent (as I ſaid) but the Doctrine of the *Church* of *England* and its *Prayers* have ſufficiently told us whoſe *choſen Servant* our King is. I have here occaſion to refer to an Illuſtrious *Son* of this *Church*, and whoſe whole life hath been as perfect a *Comment* on the *Oath* and *Moral* Offices of *Allegiance* and of

abſolute

abſolute and *unconditional* Loyalty as any could be, and more uſeful to the World than any *Written* one, I mean the *Duke* of *Ormond*, and therefore it is but *Juſtice* to him and the *Subject* I have been treating of for me here to *cite* him in what was publiſhed by the Loyal and Learned Father *Walſh*, in *Anſwer* to what was by the *Nuntio*'s Party pretended as a *Scandal*, namely, *That one of a different Religion from thoſe* Iriſh *Papiſts ſhould be MADE CHOICE OF to Govern them: and that that Party did fear the Scourges of War and Plague to have juſtly faln ſo heavy on them, and ſome Evidence of God's Anger againſt them for putting God's Cauſe and the Churches under ſuch a hand, whereas the truſt might have been managed in a Catholick hand under the Kings Authority*, but to which the *Anſwer* was thus with great Loyalty and Judgment, viz. *Now at length they are come plainly to ſhew the true ground of their Exception to us, which they have endeavoured all the while to diſguiſe under the Perſonal Scandals they have endeavoured to caſt upon us. They are afraid of Scandal at* Rome *for MAKING CHOICE* as they call it (*as if they might CHOOSE their Governor*) *of one of a different Religion. If this be allowed them, why they might not next pretend to the ſame fear of Scandal for having a King of a different Religion, and ſo the Power of CHOOSING one of their own Religion, we know not*: and concludes with an Obſervation of that Party's having infamouſly practiſed the Doctrine of *Calumny* in relation to the then *Queen*.

And all Papiſts therefore owning the *Diſloyal* Principles of that *Party* have thereby the *Pudet hæc opprobria*, &c. put on them. Nor can it be by any Impartial Relaters of *News* either *told* at *Gath* or publiſhed in *Aſcalon*, that any *Sons* of the *Church* of *England* were actually miſguided in thinking they might *chooſe* their *future* King, but it muſt likewiſe there be ſaid, how the *Fathers* and *Divines* of that Church did in that Conjuncture ſo univerſally, and with ſuch an *Impetus* of *Reaſon* and *Scripture* propagate the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, and of the Loyalty that the 13th of the *Romans*, and our *Oaths* require, whereby the *Popery* of *founding Dominion in Grace* hath been ſo much *Exterminated* from that Church and the Realm, that the very *ſenſe* and *reaſon* and *humor* of the People of *England* is bent againſt it, and is likely to be ſo more and more.

And it was natural for our *Divines* in this *Conjuncture* thus to do, when ſo many factious counterfeit *Proteſtants* were by their outcries making *Papiſts* of them, and publiſhing infamous *Pamphlets* that expreſsly ſhook the *Rights* of the *Hereditary* Monarchy, and of the *Church* by Law Eſtabliſhed, and with an *intent* to ſhake the ſame in that time when the *Excluſion* was deſigned; and as appeared particularly by the *reprinting* for that purpoſe the Pamphlet of the *Rights of the Kingdom*, and in which the *Author* did endeavour to prove the *Peoples Right to chooſe their Biſhops*. The *Clergy* therefore ſeeing ſuch *Nominal* Proteſtants by that *real* part of Popery *of founding Dominion in Grace*, thus bent on the ruine of Church and State, were concerned to bend all their forces of reaſon in premoniſhing People of their danger from that part of Popery.

Thus as when a *Light-houſe* is ſet up to warn *Navigators* of a *Bank* of *Sand*, if yet by the force of the *Sea* and *Wind* ſuch Bank happens to be removed, the *Light-houſe* muſt be removed likewiſe, the ſame thing was accordingly done by the Juſtice and Prudence of our Divines giving us a *notification* of the *Sands* of *Popery* having ſhifted their place.

The late Experience that our *Church* had of its uſage under the Great *Uſurper*, and of his putting it out of his Protection as knowing the *born* and *ſworn* Allegiance of its Church-men, and likewiſe its Doctrine muſt neceſſarily make them true Adherents to the *King's Heirs and Succeſſors*, hath neceſſarily taught them that they cannot externally flouriſh under any *Uſurper* whatſoever. They know that the *Oath* that *Cromwel's* Parliament Enacted to be taken by him was a *Canting* Oath, and to which he was ſworn *to the uttermoſt of his Power to uphold, and maintain the true reformed Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament to the uttermoſt of his Power and his underſtanding.* The *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of the *Church* of *England* was not to expect to be *upheld* and *maintained* by him, nor can it be *upheld* or *maintained* by any *Uſurper*.

Dr. *Gibbon* the *Author* of the Theological *SCHEME* averred to me, that Mr. *Nye* and *he* attending a *Committee* of *Parliament* in the times of the *Uſurpation*, that Mr. *Nye* being deſired by the *Committee* to give them a *deſinition* or *deſcription* of a *Miniſter* of the *Goſpel*, then anſwered, *A Miniſter of the Goſpel is one ſent forth by the State to preach the Goſpel, receiving protection from them and maintenance under them, and all others reſtrained*; and we know that he and others then treated the *Church* of *England* in *words* and *things* like an *Eccleſia maligrantium*; and how they were then *RESTRAINED ab Officio*, &c. and juſt as the *Faction* and *Schiſm* of many Nominal Proteſtants began about 41 to call our Divines *Names*, as I have obſerved, ſo lately the Popiſh *Plot* was made the *Vehicle* of *the Poyſon* of ſome Mens *Calumny*, and neither *Machiavel* nor *Jeſuit* did ever more ſtedfaſtly practiſe the *Divide & Impera*, than ſuch men in that Conjuncture did, that by weakening us with our *Diviſions* they might at once deſtroy the *Lineal* Succeſſion of our *Hereditary* Monarchs in the Realm, and the *Succeſſion* of *Biſhops* in the Church: and our Kings in their *Coronation Oaths* ſwearing *to keep Peace and Agreement to the Holy Church, the Clergy and People*, Factious and Schiſmatical Perſons having *broke* their own *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* may be ſaid to have endeavoured to *break* the King's *Oath*, according to the old known form of the *Indictment* of ſome of our *Judges* for *Bribery* in which it was ſaid, that our Kings being bound by their Oath *to do Juſtice to their People*, ſuch Judges did *Violare Sacramentum Domini Regis*.

It hath pleaſed God by the fierce Zeal of ſeveral *Non-Conformiſts* for the *Excluſion*, to open the Eyes of many Conſcientious and Loyal People among them, and to bring them thereby to the Boſom of the *Holy* Church of *England*; for they ſeeing ſuch *Doubts* and *Objections* as ſome had raiſed againſt the *Obligations* of our Oaths, to be but *Scruples*, and that conſiderate, ſerious, and devout Perſons of the Church of *England* had ſoon thrown the *Scruples* away, were naturally thereby induced to *throw off other Scruples*; and it was likewiſe but natural to them to think that their very *Doubts* and *Objections* for their having *ſeparated* from the Church of *England* were but *Scruples*. And as to *doubts*, tho the *Rule* is, *Quod dubitas ne feceris*, yet not only *Sanderſon* but *Ames* hath told us, that *Scruples* are not to be regarded: for *Ames* in his *Caſes* of *Conſcience l.* 1. *c.* 16. viz. *Of a ſcrupulous Conſcience*, having ſaid, That *a Scruple is a fear of the Mind about what one is to do which vexeth the Conſcience, as a little Stone in ones ſhooe troubles the foot*, he wiſely concludes, That *Multi ſcrupuli cum non poſſint commodè tolli contrariâ ratione, deponi debent quaſi violentiâ*

violentiâ quadam, dum excluduntur ab omni conſultatione: and that, *Scrupulus eſt formido temeraria, & ſine fundamento, atq; adeo non poteſt obligare.* He there mentions, *A man being ſaid to be ſcrupulous in diſcuſſing his paſt Actions, or in ordering his future ones:* and I am confident that many of the Loyal late Non-Conformiſts when they conſider their paſt Actings will now accord to ſay, that many of the clamorous pretences they were tempted to urge for *Liberty* of *Conſcience*, ought to have been (as *Ames*'s words are) *laid aſide with violence*: and I do likewiſe believe that many of the Pious Members of the *Church* of *England* who while the *Formido temeraria* and *ſine fundamento* carried them to incline to think it lawful to ſhake the Foundation of the *Hereditary* Monarchy, and the ſuper-ſtructures of their *Oaths* by new interpretations, do with a pious *horror* think of the poor *Vapours* pent in their Imaginations that made ſuch Temporary Earthquakes in their *Moral* Offices of Loyalty, and might have made perpetual ones in the Kingdom.

And that becauſe ſome of our *Engliſh* Princes long ago, whoſe *Titles* were cloudy, did *de facto* make uſe of the Legiſlative Power to render them *clear* to the People, for any to think that therefore the Monarchy was not then *de jure* and *jure Coronæ* Hereditary, and that therefore after the *Liquid Oath* of *Allegiance* made to ſtatuminate the moſt *clear* Title of a Crown that can be ſuppoſed, it could ſince be lawful for any Parliamentary Power to diſturb the Succeſſion and diſpenſe with our *Oaths*, can appear to the Conſiderate to be nothing but a *Scruple* unworthy their thoughts. And moreover becauſe ſome of our *Princes* heretofore deſired their *Parliaments* to intermeddle in ſetling the *Succeſſion*, for any therefore after the *Oaths* to think it might be lawful to diſturb their *Prince* with renewed importunities *again* and *again* to alter the Courſe of the *Deſcent* after his various Declarations of his Mind that he would never conſent to any ſuch thing, muſt neceſſarily appear to the conſiderate, a *Scruple* fit to be thrown off. Much more then muſt it appear to ſuch to have been a vile *Scruple* to have fancied it lawful to pronounce men *Enemies to the Kingdom*, becauſe they ſo loyally defended the *Hereditary* Monarchy according to their *Oaths* in that *HOT* Conjuncture, wherein the *Air* of mens *fancies* was ſo generally infected.

And as in any long *Intervals* of *extreme* hot or cold *weather* not to participate with the generality of mens bodies in ſome *ſenſible* effects of it, would argue ſomewhat of *diſtemper* in ones Conſtitution, ſo in the late *heat* of the *Populace* againſt *Popery*, it was inconſiſtent with the *ſoundneſs* of *Loyalty* not ſome way to partake of the effects of that heat, and as I have ſometimes perhaps too much with many other Loyal Perſons done. I remember to have read it ſomewhere in a *Print* full of Wit and Loyalty ſaid with gayety of humour to this purpoſe, viz. *That while a whole Nation was drunk* (meaning I ſuppoſe intoxicated with the belief of *Witneſſes* telling incredible things, and the Populace being thereupon drunk with Anger and Rage againſt the Perſons of the Papiſts) *it was to little purpoſe for any one man to be ſober.* The *Notions* that men, had of a *Plot* were very various. Some then were ſo far gone in Credulity as, like the *Fool* that *Solomon* ſaith, *believeth every word*, they were reſolved to believe every thing the *Witneſſes* had ſaid or would ſay. The *Loyal* generally acquieſced in the Notification of it as publiſhed by the Government, and thereby diſcharged part of the *Moral* Obligations of the *Oaths* I have diſcourſed of, whereby they were to *defend* all the *RIGHTS* and

Privileges

Privileges belonging to the King, his Heirs, &c. and one of thoſe *Rights* and *Privileges* is what is allowed by the *Law* of *Nations* to all *Sovereign* Princes, namely, *To have faith given to their publick atteſtation of any Fact.* Yet Religion allowing men the uſe of the *judicium diſcretionis* about the ſenſe and importance of the *Writ* divinely *inſpired*, they modeſtly employed their *Diſcretion* in conſidering what by the *Dii nominales* was publiſhed, and if any thing therein ſeemed *above* their reaſon and not contrary to it, their faith reſted therein. But the Loyal ſoon found that the *fears* and *jealouſies* of *Popery* began more and more to turn into *fears* and *jealouſies* relating to the Witneſſes *Veracity*, and they could not without a profound horror and aſtoniſhment reflect on the *intoxication* of a great Body of Men, believing ſome incarnate Devils in accuſing one that had appeared to *Chriſtendom*, as great a *Saint* of her *Sex* as the ſteady practice of all Moral Vertues glorifying a heavenly mind on Earth could render her, and who with ſuch a Character muſt ſhine as a *Star* in the *Hiſtory* of the Age.

That many of the *Popiſh* Clergy about that time vainly endeavoured to have their Religion *Paramount*, and had hopes to get their *Lands* again, none will think impoſſible who have ſince ſeen ſome of our Schiſmatical *Paſtors* ſo infatuated as to think it practicable for them again to thrive by their old Religion-Trade. And that ſuch particular Perſons as were by the late Earl of *Clarendon* in his *Book* againſt *Creſſy* printed in the *Year* 1673. remarked for *the petulant and unruly Spirit that ſwayed too much among them*, might continue in the year 1678. no wiſe man doubted: for the ſaid *Earl* there ſaid, *The wiſeſt and ſobereſt Catholicks of* England *did all they could to reſtrain that petulant and unruly Spirit.*

Many ſagacious Proteſtants who knew the irreligious Principles that the *Jeſuits* Writings ſwarmed with, were apt to fear that there were then endeavours to have ſome of them practiſed by ſome ill men who were *Bigots*, or *Paupers*, and whom neceſſity might prompt to be mercenary in making diſorders in the State. The *Judicious* and Learned Biſhop *Morly* was obſerved then to have ſome *Notion* or *Idea* of a Popiſh *Plot*, peculiar to himſelf. And as then many had their various Conceptions of the noiſed Plot, ſo many loyal and ſerious thinking Perſons ſuppoſing it to be very unreaſonable and barbarous to involve the whole *Body* of a Religion in the guilt of ſome particular Perſons, and on any pretence to bereave them of that freedom in the profeſſion of their *Religion*, that both the Law of the Land and of God allowed them, did employ their thoughts and *fancies* for the reclaiming the Age from the humour of ſeverity then ſhewed to the *Perſons* of Papiſts in general.

The Earl of *Angleſy* one of his Majeſties Great *Miniſters* publickly moved him in the *hot* Conjuncture *to releaſe all Papiſts and even* Prieſts *out of Priſon, who were not charged with any thing of a Plot.* And the *Diſloyalty* of many *Nominal* Proteſtants then appearing in their many publiſhed *Prints*, it ſeemed very horrid to all ingenious men that the lives and liberties of *Loyal* innocent *Papiſts* ſhould be ſacrificed to feed the humours or appetites of any *Beaſts* of *Prey* in the *Ark* of the Proteſtant Church; I ſpeak with *Alluſion* to thoſe thouſands of harmleſs *Sheep* in *Noahs* Ark employed in feeding about 20 *pair* of *Carnivorous* Beaſts there.

I thank God, that while I was a ſharer With many of the Loyal, in the hatred of the Irreligionary *Principles* formerly maintained by the *Court* of *Rome*, and many of its Churchmen, and particularly of thoſe of the *Jeſuits* (which that Court hath lately diſclaimed,) I have likewiſe ſhared with them in the Diſclaiming of hatred or enmity to any mens *Perſons*, whether *Jeſuits*, or *Jeſuited* Proteſtants; and I deſire to live no longer than I ſhall with the moſt *perfect hatred* abhor the *Popery* of *founding Dominion in Grace*, and endeavour to perſwade all *pretended* Proteſtants, (but real *half-Papiſts*) ſo to hate the ſame, but likewiſe with a *perfect Love* to love the *Perſons* of their *Brethren-Papiſts*. And it is with Juſtice to be by all men to our Popiſh fellow-Subjects acknowledged, that whatever *petulance* ſome of them were formerly guilty of, or of any ambitious deſign of making too great a Figure in the *internal* Government of the Nation, yet that the deportment of the generality of them hath of late appeared with ſuch a face, not only of *Loyalty* but *Modeſty*, and Complaiſance with his *Majeſties* meaſures in employing the hands and heads of *Proteſtants* of the Church of *England* in the Management of the great matters of State, as is neceſſarily attractive of our Chriſtian Love and Compaſſion; and the rather for that we have ſeen at the ſame time many Factious *Anti-Papiſts* to have made a greater *Figure* in the *internal* Government of the Kingdom, than ever any Papiſts did in the Reigns of King *James* and the *Royal* Martyr, and to have thereby given diſturbance both to the External Government and the Hereditary Monarchy. I did obſerve for ſome Conſiderable time after the *Plot-epoche* ſomewhat of a becoming Humanity and Gentleneſs in many *Anti-Papiſts* relating to the Perſons of the *Papiſts*, and likewiſe of the *Divines* of our Church, but was afterwards ſufficiently ſenſible of their intolerable *rancour* and *animoſities* againſt both, and of the infamous uſe and application they made of the *Jeſuits Doctrine* of *Calumny*, and of the Weapons they borrowed from *Parſon's* of the *Succeſſion*, to promote the deteſtable *Excluſion*, and of their borrowing from *Athens* and old *Rome*, the Thunderbolts of their old *REPUBLICAN Curſes*, viz. of *ENEMY*, &c. and throwing them at the moſt *Loyal* of our *Patriots*, and abſurdly calling them *Enemies to the King and Kingdom*, becauſe they aſſerted the Rights of the *Hereditary* Monarchy in oppoſing the *Excluſion*. By that kind of *Republican* Curſes they gave us the *omen* of what they would have been at. And ſo *extravagant* was the uſe of that *anathema* in the late *Conjuncture*, that when one in a great *Aſſembly* moved againſt Sir *G. J.* (a Perſon that all the Loyal muſt own for his ſteadineſs to the Hereditary Monarchy, and for his having firſt kindled that great Zeal for Loyalty which doth now like a *wall* of *Fire* defend our *Metropolis*, that he might be voted ſuch an *Enemy* as aforeſaid, a *Burgeſs* for that City (as I was informed) did Ridiculouſly and Preſumtuouſly move that he might be voted an *Enemy to Mankind*. But it was eaſie for ſuch as had took *Gods* name in *vain*, ſo to take *Mankinds*.

I ſhall not degenerate from the *Moral* Offices of Charity to mens *Perſons*, if I call the *Excluſion* that would have broke the *Balance* of the *Monarchy* that was the old *Balance* of the World, *enmity* to *Mankind*; but ſhall without my here calling any men *names* leave it to the *ſoft* voice of *God's Herald* called *Conſcience* to ſuggeſt it that tho a man who was *deluded* a while by the error of the *Excluſion* that would have been ſo fatal to the Realm, might by reaſon of any good intentions ſo for a while ill guided, not deſerve perhaps to be judged to be an *enemy* to

the King and Kingdom *formaliter*, yet that if after *Conſideration* and all thoughts made about his *Sworn* Allegiance, he doth not *make* a *ſtand*, but ſhall at any time again endeavour the going over the *Rubicon* of the Bloud *Royal* in its *Line* of *Succeſſion* ſtated by *God* and *Nature*, and the defending his *falſe-ſteps* beyond it, by Aſſociation or Arms: I ſay I ſhall leave it to *Conſcience* to tell him or warn him by the indeleble *Characters* of natural right there ſo legibly Engraved, how much he will deſerve the cenſure of ſuch an *enemy* as hath been mentioned; and ſhall be glad he may be thereby to better effect warn'd then *Cæſar* was from his *Uſurpation* by the great *Senatus Conſultum*, which *Rivallius* in his *Hiſtory* of the *Civil* Law, *Printed* in the *year* 1530. ſaith that he *ſaw* remaining Engraved on a Marble *Pillar* by the River *Rubicon*, viz. *Juſſu mandatúve P. R. Commilito, armate quiſquis es, Manipulariſve, Centuriove, turmæve legionarie hic ſiſtito, vexillumve ſinito, nec citra hunc amnem Rubiconem ſigna, ductum, commeatumve traducito. Si quis hujuſce juſſionis ergo adverſus præcepta ierit fueritve, adjudicatus eſto P. R. H. ac ſi contra patriam arma tulerit, penateſque è ſacris penetralibus aſportaverit. S. P. Q. R. Sanctio Plebiſciti. S. ve C.* He likewiſe ſaith that *In Portu Arimini alterum eſt adhuc ejuſdem ſententiæ ſenatuſconſultum*, and which appearing to be a Noble piece of *Curioſity*, and expreſſive of the ſame ſenſe with the former, tho with ſome difference of words, I ſhall here entertain the *Reader* with, viz.

Imp. Mil. Tiro. armate quiſquis es, hic ſiſtito, vexillumve ſinito, arma deponito, nec citra hunc amnem Rubiconem, ſigna, arma, exercitumve traducito. Si quis ergo adverſus præcepta ierit, feceritve, adjudicatus eſto Hoſtis P. R. ac ſi contra patriam arma tulerit, ſacroſve penates è penetralibus aſportaverit. Sanctio plebiſciti, ſenatuſconſulti, ultra hos fines arma proferre liceat nemini.

Rivallius having cited theſe *Senatuſconſulta*, ſaith that *Quibus ſenatuſconſultis* Cæſar *fortaſſis territus cum è Galliâ rediens ad Rubiconem uſque perveniſſet & adverſus Pompeium populumque Romanum bellum geſturus eſſet militibus dixiſſe fertur*, et etiam nunc *regredi poſſimus, quod ſi Ponticulum tranſierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt.* And thus let all *members* of the true *Church Militant* in theſe *Realms* by what name or title ſoever known, who have been tempted to think the *Excluſion* lawful, thank Heaven that they have lived to repent of the ſame, and that *even now they may go back* from the ſinfullneſs of ſuch *thought*, and conſider that if they had paſſed over this *Rubicon*, they were to expect beſide the fate of their Involving their Country in *War*, the other *tremendous* one of being found *fighters againſt God*, to *whom* they were *ſworn.*

I have little further to add but to acquaint the Judicious *READER*, that I deſire if he findeth any thing here-ſaid, that he may reaſonably think to be not according to the *Theological* meaſures of the *Church* of *England*, or the *Political* ones of the *State*, or againſt the *moral* Offices of Charity toward the Perſons of all men, or againſt the *Internal* Communion due from all *Chriſtians* to all *Chriſtians*, (tho I know of no ſuch thing here ſaid) it may by him be taken as *non dictum.* There is no keeping of *Paſſion* in number, weight and meaſure, and particularly of that of *Anger.* The Excellent *Biſhop* of *Downe* that was, *Doctor Jeremy Taylor*, hath often told me, *That when he was to return an anſwer to a Friends Letter that had Anger in it, he never concern'd himſelf to return an anſwer to the angry part of it, becauſe he conſi-*

conſidered that the anger of his Friend was over before the Letters arrival. But againſt all the *Irreligionary* Principles of the *Jeſuits*, and particularly that of *the Founding Dominion in Grace*, I would crave aid from *Poſterity* for the continuance of my Indignation in the known *words* of, *O me prope laſſum, juvate Poſteri*, but that the *Pope* hath ſaved me the labour; and ſo I hope thoſe Principles in them are retiring to their Eternal *reſt*, and I deſire not to hinder their εὐδαιμονία. And that no pious *Roman Catholick* may labour under the weight of being Cenſured as one who is neceſſarily to *believe* and *practice* ſome Principles beforementioned out of the *LATERAN Council*: I have mentioned various things that may be of uſe to that effect, and perhaps more ſatisfactory than what hath by any of their *Church* been ſaid, who have denyed it to be a *General Council*. Such denyal will not effectually do their work, ſince *Cardinal Perron* hath (as I ſaid) ſhew'd it to be a *general one*: and his reputation for his profound Judgment and Learning being ſo great, and ſuch that the late Learned *Lord Faulkland*, the *Secretary* of *State*, was wont to ſay, *That* Baronius *and* Bellarmine *were but fit to ſerve him as amanuenſes, or by gathering for him the quotations out of Authors he had occaſion to conſult*) it would be in vain for any Learned writer of the Church of *Rome*, to think by his *Authority* to out-weigh that of *Perron* the *Cardinal*. But by my *citing* likewiſe that *Cardinals* not holding himſelf *obliged* to proceed in *France* according to the meaſures of that *Council*: I have ſhewed the vanity of mens Fears of any ill effect of it annoying us here, and as (I hope) I ſhall be able further to do in my remarks on the *Munſter Treaty*; and that ſince *all things with God are poſſible*, we may conclude that tho neither *Jeſuited Papiſts* or *Proteſtants* ſhould ever *recant* any of their former *Irreligionary Principles*, the *voice* of *Nature* may in effect do it for them, and render ſuch Principles *abſolete*, and as inſignificant as the *Stings* of *dead* Animals.

Several Learned *Prints* publiſhed by *Proteſtant* Authors in this *Fermentation* have urged the Council of *Lateran* for Princes *exterminating* Hereticks, and every one knows that in the barbarous old times of *Popery* that *Council* did operate barbarouſly to that purpoſe; and 'tis poſſible that in a certain *Country* in the World I will not name, *Hereticks* (ſo called) have been treated partly after the *Mode* of that *Council* by ſome, with an intent to *encreaſe* our *Diviſions*, and the *ferment* of the *popular* hatred againſt *Papiſts* and *Popery* here. But the Great *Perron* having declared himſelf not obliged by that *Council* to ſhew that ſeverity to the *Hereticks* in *France*, hath ſufficiently inſtructed the World that *Roman* Catholick *Princes* are not by that Council bound always ſo to do; and the *Conſtellation* of the Great *Roman*-Catholick *Kings* ſhining in the *Munſter Treaty* hath likewiſe given us light therein.

To Conclude; we are not from the old former Omiſſions or Commiſſions of Princes, and People, neceſſarily to infer *future* ones. The Prudential Rule is, *De futuris ſemper meliora ſperanda ſunt.* It is likewiſe a ſaying often applied by *Magerus*, *De futuro ſtatuere ex præteritis, prudentis non eſt.*

Seneca having ſpoke of the continual *Changes* of things, and how that *Bis in idem flumen non deſcendimus*, &c. ſaith, *Ego ipſe dum hæc loquor mutari, mutatus ſum.* We have had inſtances in former times, and in the late Conjucture, of the *Sands* of Popery *often ſhifting* as I called it. The *Lord-Keeper* Puckering *in his famous Speech*, obſerved that in one *Conjuncture, the Puritans did then joyn and concur with the Jeſuits*: and the

Doctri-

Doctrinal Meaſures of the *Jeſuits* and our Nominal *Proteſtants* about the lawfulneſs of *Excluſion* have lately been the ſame. And I think that ſuch *Proteſtants* may reaſonably conclude, That it was not for nothing, and not without ſome end that Divine Providence permitted ſo many of them to *erre* therein, and that probably it might be to the end to produce in their minds ſo *great* a degree of *Compaſſion* and *Charity* toward the *Perſons* of all *Roman*-Catholick Chriſtians, as may not only laſt in this *Conjuncture*, but be operative in them by all *Moral* Offices of *Humanity* and *Chriſtianity* during their *Lives*.

FINIS.

As for moſt of the literal and punctual Errors, which do not endanger the Senſe, they are left to the diſcretion, and favour of the Reader as they ſhall occurr to him. But ſome of the moſt remarkable, he may pleaſe to take Notice of as followeth,

In the PREFACE.

PAge 2. Lin. 10. after *give*, add *it*. ib. l. 32. for *belief*, read *believe*. p. 3. l. 4. *outrage* there and generally throughout the following work Printed wrong. p. 5. l. 43. for *great Truth*, r. *great thing*. p. 13. l. 3 dele *but*. p. 15. l. 9. for *But*, r. *And*. ib. l. 30. dele *But*. p. 14. the Word *Independant*, there and generally throughout the following work Printed falſe. p. 18. l. 9. dele *by*. p. 19. for *Vilitigation* R. *Vitilitigation*. p. 20. l. 38. for *thinks*, r. *think*. ib. l. 45 for *Juſtifications*, r. *Juſtification*, p. 21. l. 11. for *Articles*, r. *Homilies*. ib. l. 24. dele *or Romes to ours*. ib. l. 49. for *as of*, r. *as to*. p. 23. l. 3. for Divines, r. *Princes*. ib. l. 30. after *commodabunt*, end the *parentheſis* p. 25. l. 18. for *the Signing*, r. *the making*. p. 36. l. 6. for *warming*, r. *warning*. p. 47. l. 38. for *naturally*, r. *natural*. p. 62. l. 28. for *I had*, r. *had I*. p. 69. l. 2. for *Reſolution*, r. *Religion*. ib. l. 24. for *Maximinian*, r. *Maximin*. p. 70. l. 5. after *Library*, add *that I have ſeen*.

In the INDEX.

PAge 3. Line 1. for *being an ill*, r. *being in an ill*. p. 3. l. 4. for *time of* David, r. *the line of* David. ib. for *ten*, r. *nineteen*.

In the DISCOURSE.

PAge 4. Line 11. for *othea*, r. *other*. p. 7. l. 13. for *Lovure*, r. *Louvre*. p. 7. l. 36. for *Voughe*, r. *Vogue*. ib. l. 51. for *Summonarily*, r. *Summarily*. p. 10. l. 37. for *Apoſtacy*, r. *perverſion*. ib. l. 39. for *Apoſtacy*, r. *perverſion*. p. 12. l. 28. for *Courſe*, r. *ours*. p. 13. l. 47. after *being*, r. *now*. p. 16. l. 37. after *ſince*, r. *originally*. p. 17. l. 20. for *thus for*, r. *thus far*. ib. l. 48. after *ſo is*, dele *it with*. p. 27. l. 24. for *the Principles*, r. *thoſe Principles*. p. 28. l. 1. & 4. for *Cannoniſe*, r. *Canoniſe*. ib. l. 32. for *have been*, r. *have been thought*. ib. l. 42. for *the Papiſts*, r. *ſome Papiſts*. p. 29. l. 18. for *no Religion*, r. *no reveal'd Religion*. ib. l. 18. there dele *and indeed*. p. 31. l. 13. *when they*, r. *when Papiſts*. ib. l. 25. after *ſhown*, r. *a full Point*. p. 32. l. 28. for *you who are*, r. *you are*. ib. l. 38. r. φιλάνθρωποι. p. 34. l. 4. for *Monarchiall*, r. *Monarchicall*. ib. l. 47. for *Actrocius*, r. *Atrocious*. p. 35. l. 3. for *Capital*, r. *Capitol*. p. 36. l. 30. for *the Papiſts*, r. *ſome of the Papiſts*. p. 37. l. 41. for *Lawful*, r. *venial*. ib. l. 53. for *of Proteſtants* r. *of ſome Proteſtants*. for *page* 325. r. p. 225. p. 39. l. 40. for *Creſwel*, r. *Chreiſton*. p. 40. l. 8. for *Pavure*, r. *Pauvre*. ib. l. 28. and l. 34, for *Creſwell*, r. *Chreiſton*. p. 41. l. 50. for *bladed*, r. *blade*. after page 42. r. page 43. ib. l. 1. for *carry*, r, *carrying*. p. 44. l. 31. for *State, there*, r. *State here*. p. 45. l. 40. for τας r. τοῖς p. 48. l. 41. for *the very*, r. *that very*. p. 54. l. 23. for *Churches*, r. *Churches*. p. 55. l. 49. for *ſerve vertue*, r. *ſevere vertue*. p. 60. l. 2, for *and think*, r. *think*. ib. l. 3. for *baldring*, r. *bantring*. p. 62. l. 2. for *Danaus*, r. *Alſted*. p. 65. l. 38. for *of the intolerable*, r. *of the ſo call'd intolerable*. p. 66. l. 23. for *ten*, r. *nineteen*. p. 69. l. 4. for *Conculcabis*, r. *Ambulabis*. p, 75. l. 32. after *to be*, r. *look'd on by many as*. p. 78. l. 35. for *that Queen*, r. that *by Queen*. p. 83. l. 12. for *and the*, r. *any ſuppos'd*. p. 86. l. 20. for *the Conjuncture*, r. *a Conjuncture*. p. 89. l. 6. for *will*, r. *may*. p. 106. l. 8. for *great late acceſſion*, r. *great acceſſion*. p. 114. l. 22. for *particulars* r. *peculiars*. p. 125. l. 29. for *the Spaniſh*, r. *of the Spaniſh*. ib. l. 53. for *of reaſon* r. *of his reaſon*. p. 131. l. 41. for *ground under the ſubſcription*, r. *groan'd under the ſuperſcription*. p. 137. l. 11. after *his name one*, dele *and*. p. 139. l. 8. for *doing with*, r. *doing which*. p. 147. l. 23. for *that Reſtoration*, r. *the Reſtoration*. p. 155. l. 32. after the words *to live*, add *yearly*. p. 160. l. 24. for 500, r. 5000. p. 164. l. 23. for *Idolatry*, r. *will worſhip*. p. 166. l. 27. after *having*, dele *of*. p. 167. l. 32. for *ſent to petition*, r. *ſent too to petition*. ib. l. 37. after *the word expire*, dele *and dy, and* add *by*, ib. l. *ult*. for *of many*. r. *of money*. p. 169. l. 35. after *with, begin a Parentheſis*, ib. l. 38. after *the word Country*, dele *the mark of a Parentheſis*, ib. l. 40. for *namely*, r. *yet*. p. 171. l. 2. after *of*, dele *the Colon*. ib. l. 19. for *owne*, r. *one*. ib. l. 31. after *on*, dele *that*. p. 175. l. 8. after *Mary*, add *and*. p. 177. l. 11. after *mallem*. add *me*. ib. l. 29. after *for*, add *ſaid he*. ib. l. 39. after *eligible*, add *not*. p. 179. l. 34. for *penetrating*, r. *perpetrating*. p. 182. l. 16. for *where*,

where, r. *were*. p. 195. l. 45. for *ever think*, r. *ever thank*. p. 209. l. 19. for *have*, r. *hath*. p. 210. l. 32. after *the word Consistory*, dele *The Cardinals*, and add *Those*. ib. l. 34. after *the word Heretics*, add *were*. p. 211. l. 38. after *that*, add *the*. p. 218. l. 13. for *and*, r. *or*. ib. l. 41. after *by*, dele *the*. p. 220. l. 51. after *day*, add *cost him*. p. 223. l. 53. for *were*, r *was*. for *causes*, r. *cause*. p. 226. l. 46. after *to*, dele *be*, and add *her*. p. 227. l. 46. after *to*, add *some of*. p. 243. l. 36. after *business*, r. *mostly*. p. 249. l. 11. dele *used and*. ib. l. 26. dele *when*. p. 252. l. 23. after *Interest*, add *of*. after *England*, add *that*. p. 265. l. 45. for *of*, r. *in*. p. 271. l. 25. dele *subtle*. p. 273. l. 2. for *on*, r. *or*. p. 275. l. 38. for *Lucriferous*, r. *Luciferous*, for *Luciferous*, r. *Lucriferous*, ib. l. *ult*, for *sunt*, r. *sum*. p. 282. l. 6. after *it*, dele *and*. ib. l. 7. before *till*, r. *were*. ib. l. 10. for *prattiques*, r. *Prattique*. ib. l. 11. after *have*, r. *no*. p. 283. l. 27. for *Religionary*, r. *Religionary*. p. 286. l. 25. for *angry*, r. *ayry*. p. 292. l. 34. for *officii*, r. *officio*. p. 303. l. 29. after *men*, add *in*. p. 304. l. 37. after *them*, dele these words, *that is to say, immediately on the King's Decease*. p. 307. l. 10. for *Custodii* r. *Custodiri*. p. 316. l. 34. for *diffent*, r. *different*. p. 317. l. 32. for *Metroplysical*, r. *Metaphysical*. p. 321. l. 12. for *gave*, r. *give*. p. 323. l. 22. dele the first *and*. p. 330. l. 25. for *Lutheran*, r. *Calvinian*. p. 345. l. ult. for *haredes*, r. *hereditates*. p. 355. l. 48. after *in*, add *sese volvitur*, and dele *se convertitur*. p. 357. l. 23. for *all*, r. *any*. p. 358. l. 16. dele *that*.